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Is John's Gospel Antisemitic? With Special Reference to Its Use of the Old Testament

by

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Abstract

We begin by observing the growing awareness among New Testament scholars of the key issues; the ‘elasticity’ of first century Jewish faith, sufficient to encompass many Jewish Christian groups; and the necessity for a correct terminology which not least distinguishes religious from racial polemic. We also observe the state of relations between Jews and ‘outsiders’ leading up to the first century CE, to discover that, excepting the Alexandrian situation, they were generally good.

We then examine John’s use of the Old Testament, first in his citations, then in his allusions. It becomes clear that John not only makes extensive use of the Jewish scriptures, but that those scriptures are essential to every facet of his Gospel. Since he also makes extensive use of contemporary Jewish exegeses of the Old Testament we conclude that he must hail from a Jewish (Ephesian) community, an identity he positively promotes in his presentation of Jesus Messiah. Since he often does not explain his use of the Old Testament, without which his message is lost, we further conclude that his readers too are Jewish. Finally, since his message has a specifically evangelistic as well as confirmatory component, we conclude that John’s purpose is to bolster his community’s faith and, *via* its members, to convince still wavering members of the synagogue the community has been expelled from, that Jesus is Messiah.

This necessitates a reassessment of John’s polemic against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι: it refers to all Jews who reject the Messiah (as opposed to us Jews who accept him). John’s replacement christology too must be seen as part of the internal Jewish response to the Temple destruction: he offers Jesus as the restoration of the lost cultus just as the Yavnean inheritors of the Pharisaic legacy offer halakah.

We end by noting that the only effective means of ensuring a non-antisemitic interpretation of John’s Gospel among its modern readers, both Jews and Christians, is to return the Gospel to this Jewish setting.

Ia: SETTING THE PARAMETERS

Scholarship to date¹

Up to the mid-1970's

The answer the uninitiated invariably give to our question is a shocked 'No', the rest a resounding 'Yes'. In reality the issue is more complex.

Despite the debt Christianity owes to Judaism, concern among Christians at their faith's penchant for antisemitism has until recently been minimal, more, downplayed. We have been the last to admit our crime. From Chrysostom in 386, anxious to block the successes of Christian Judaizers,² through Luther's 1543 diatribe *On the Jews and their Lies*,³ to the co-operating of much of the German church with the Third Reich, we have even been proud of our anti-Jewish heritage. A legacy of this "abiding contempt" is virtually every mediaeval cathedral in Europe.⁴

Before 1945 "only occasional prophetic Christians ... discerned any really grave nexus between antisemitism and Christianity."⁵ George Moore, James Parkes and A. Lukyn Williams were the first to draw attention to the systematic anti-Judaism of early Christian literature.⁶ Parkes especially devoted his life to the study of antisemitism, this "very evil thing".⁷ Prior to *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, his Oxford doctorate, he had written *The Jew and his Neighbor: a Study*

¹ Cf. Gager, *Origins*, 13-34; Parkes's Preface (v-xi) to A.T. Davies (ed.), *Antisemitism; Klassen*, "Anti-Judaism", esp. n. 16.

² See I.2-3,4,6,7, VI.1, VIII.5-8. This is well documented, e.g., Baum, *Anti-Semitic?*, 6.

³ In it he, like Chrysostom, singles out the Fourth Gospel as his major witness and to a lesser extent Matthew's. See H. Bornkamm, "Luther: Leben und Schriften", *RGG*³ (1960), 4:403.

⁴ Most notorious is the Notre-Dame-de-Paris Cathedral. See Ruether, *Fratricide*, 135, 209.

⁵ A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, xiii. Studies of pagan and Christian views of ancient Judaism, however, were nothing new: cf. Reinach, *Textes*; Juster, *Juifs*.

⁶ Moore, "Writers"; J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue. A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism* (New York: Atheneum, 1969³; first pub., 1934: concerning which Parkes later wrote [A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, viii], "... it is impossible to exaggerate the shock and horror that I felt as the grisly picture of Christian hatred unrolled from New Testament times onward."); A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos. A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge: CUP, 1935).

⁷ A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, vii.

of *the Causes of Antisemitism* (1930) but this only went as far back as the massacres of Jews in Western Europe accompanying the first crusade in 1096, since only now did hostility toward Jews become common (50f.). By 1936, in *Jesus, Paul and the Jews* he was going back much further, including a brief study on the Fourth Gospel.

He had been pre-empted by Conrad H. Moehlman, who in 1933 produced *The Christian-Jewish Tragedy: A Study in Religious Prejudice*. This was a direct appeal to Christian scholars to admit that the accusation of deicide made against the Jewish people rested on false accounts in the Gospels, notably the fabrication by Mark – or his sources – of a trial and condemnation by the Sanhedrin. Both Parkes and Moehlman were calling the New Testament to the witness stand. Ahead of their time, their failure was assured. ¹ It would take “the greatest crime against humanity” to change things.

The manner in which the destruction of European Jewry, this “sign of the times”, ² was conceived and executed has been chronicled exhaustively. ³ For the first time, in the midst of centuries-old Christian civilization, a vast organization of death attempted to destroy the Jewish people, acting out the Church’s fantasy that the Jews were a non-people, had no place before God and should have disappeared long ago by accepting Christ. With antisemitism pushed to its logical finale, the Church was forced to begin its painful “ideology-critique”.

Not that the Christian religion was the only aspect of Western culture under indictment. So were its opponents springing from the secular Enlightenment, the *philosophes*, together with the rise of bureaucracy and technocracy. Yet without it Hitler could never have passed off the Jews as society’s scapegoat or counted on such popular support: the Holocaust would never have happened. Davies puts it well: “We

¹ Parkes later admits this (A.T. Davies [ed.], *Foundations*, viii). The same fate was to await W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (London: SPCK, 1948; latest ed., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980). Significantly, Rabbi K. Kohler had long since described the Fourth Gospel as “a gospel of Christian love and Jew hatred” (*JewEnc* IX, 251).

² Pope John XXIII (*Pacem in terris*, nn. 39-43).

³ Cf. G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1961); R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967); Nora Levin, *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945* (New York: Schocken, 1975); Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975).

post-Auschwitz Christians stand today in that shadow, and perhaps will stand there always, or until our faith is purified of its ancient contamination”.¹

The flood of Christian reaction to the Holocaust, its ensuing myth and the new state of Israel began more as a trickle,² but concern at Christianity’s – especially the New Testament’s – role in the fomenting of antisemitism was at last roused.³ Jules Isaac, in charge of the teaching of history in French schools, had been deeply concerned about the false teaching on Jews and Judaism in many text books read by both ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’ children. From 1943, when the Nazis killed his wife, daughter and other members of his family, until his death in 1963, he wrote exclusively on the Christian origins of antisemitism.⁴

After years of writing, all done in hiding under Nazi occupation, he inaugurated a new era in the study of pagan and Christian views of Judaism with the publication in 1948 of *Jésus et Israël*.⁵ By minimizing the significance of pagan antisemitism (*cf.* his ensuing *Genèse de l'antisémitisme*) he laid the blame for antisemitism squarely at the door of Christianity, not simply implicated in the heightening of anti-Jewish attitudes, but antisemitism’s sole author. He had awoken his generation to a fatal link between the two and the subsequent work of Parkes, Baum, Flannery and Ruether are all responses, direct or indirect, to his challenge.⁶ Yet while he had ensured that the debate would focus on antisemitism’s Christian sources,

¹ A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, xiii. Littell, *Crucifixion*, speaks of the Holocaust as an “alpine event” in *Christian* history, comparable to Golgotha and the fall of Rome; P. van Buren, “The Burden of Freedom”: *Americans and the God of Israel* (New York: Seabury, 1976), refers to it as the contemporary image of the cross.

² For the generally sorry record of Christian responses to the Holocaust, see Littell, *Crucifixion*; Littell & Locke (eds.), *Struggle*.

³ A glance at post-Holocaust publications reveals this: A.T. Davies, *Antisemitism*; Littell & Locke (eds.), *Struggle*; Willis, “Auschwitz”, 432ff.; McGarry, *Christology*; Baum, “Dogma”; even as recently as R.L. Rubenstein & J.H. Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz* (London: SCM, 1989) – the front cover portrays a direct link stretching back to the Fourth Gospel. *Cf.* Dunn, “Question”, 177 (italics mine): “The Holocaust made it impossible to deny or explain away the shameful history of anti-semitism within Christianity. *Ever since*, Christians and Christian scholarship have been attempting to come to terms with that frightening heritage.”

⁴ Nowhere is this seen more than in his posthumous publication, J. Isaac, *The Teaching of Contempt* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964).

⁵ Parkes (A.T. Davies [ed.], *Foundations*, ix) deemed it “a much more epoch-making work” than his own *Neighbor* or Simon’s *Verus Israel*.

⁶ In Baum, *Jews*, Baum confessed that Isaac had forced him to modify his earlier uncritical approach to the theological problem of Israel.

showing how much anti-Jewish polemic drew on the New Testament, Isaac maintained that this resulted from a misinterpretation by Christians of their own scriptures. “Le christianisme en son essence exclut l'antisémitisme.”¹

Parkes too, this “courageous foe of antisemitism”,² was deeply affected by the Holocaust. He had already revised *Neighbor* in light of the Nazi open programme of antisemitism, abandoning the use of capitals when writing ‘antisemitism’ in an attempt to provide a more accurate English translation of the German “Judenhass”.³ He was quick to see a sharp distinction between pre-1914 antisemitism, at least connected to historical realities, and that created by Hitler, resting on complete fabrication.⁴ Most significantly, in a trilogy he continued where Isaac had left off, renewing interest in the relationship between pagan and Christian attitudes toward Judaism in the Greco-Roman world, the extent to which Judaism was a cultural force in Roman society at the time of Christianity’s birth and early development, and the precise character and extent of pagan and Christian antisemitism in the ancient world.⁵

While he was writing *Emergence*, Marcel Simon, Professor at Strasbourg, was covering the first four centuries of Christianity, but from the view-point of the development of Judaism under the stress of Christian hostility. His seminal writing, *Verus Israel*, covered every facet of nascent Christianity and its interaction with Judaism in the Roman Empire and was one of the key books in the field, dominating the new study of antisemitism and its Christian sources until about fifteen years ago.⁶

Isaac, Parkes and Simon, the majority of the scholars whose concern with antisemitism straddled the Holocaust, by establishing its links with Christianity had

¹ J. Isaac, *L'Antisémitisme a-t-il Racines Chrétiennes?* (Paris: Fasquelle Éditeurs, 1960), 21.

² The dedication in A.T. Davies, (ed.), *Foundations*.

³ We too prefer ‘antisemitism’ (cf. J.T. Sanders, *Jews*), though most scholars (e.g., Dunn, “Question”) prefer ‘anti-semitism’.

⁴ He cites the fantastic plagiarism or forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was used as “evidence” of the Jewish menace. See J. Parkes, *The Emergence of the Jewish Problem, 1878-1939* (Greenwood: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1946; repr. 1971).

⁵ J. Parkes, *The Foundations of Judaism and Christianity* (London: Harmondsworth, 1960); *idem*, *A History of the Jewish People* (London: Harmondsworth, 1962, 1964²); *idem*, *Antisemitism* (London: Harmondsworth, 1963). Unlike previous writers, he wrote the last two books fully aware of the facts of the Holocaust (still referring to it by its Nazi name, *Final Solution*).

⁶ Simon, *Verus*: its 1986 English translation is witness to its significance. Cf. earlier similar studies: Wilde, *Treatment*; L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1954. Eng. tr. *Jesus, Paul and Judaism* [New York: Atheneum, 1964]).

opened up the field to a new influx of scholarship.¹ Yet the issue remained: when and why did antisemitism come to pervert “the purity of the gospel”?²

Démann and, later, Thieme were pointing out that the most tragic schism within God’s people was the division between Western Church and Synagogue.³ Yet following Simon, the most significant responses to Isaac’s challenge came from another French scholar, Fadiev Lovsky,⁴ and a Christian convert from Judaism, Gregory Baum.⁵ One part of Lovsky’s twofold argument was that Isaac had underestimated pre-Christian, pagan antisemitism and ignored its impact in Christian circles from the second century onwards. This set the battle lines for a far-reaching debate that scholarship would have to become embroiled in. Meantime Baum, acknowledging the polemic edge in New Testament writings against the Jewish religion, began the painful process of repenting for the antisemitism produced by Christianity.⁶

In 1967 A. Roy Eckardt of Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, took up the issues raised by Moehlman, Parkes and Isaac and demanded that Christendom accept the fact that the foundations of antisemitism and responsibility for the Holocaust lie ultimately in the New Testament.⁷ At about the same time Alan Davies of Toronto University was examining the theology of Christian writers who had voiced repentance for the Christian share in responsibility for the Holocaust, to discover that with pitifully few exceptions none faced the fact that such repentance was shockingly superficial if it

¹ This was increasingly interested in what Ruether, *Fratricide*, 30, would term the “sibling rivalry” between Judaism and Christianity. Cf. Coser, *Functions*, based largely on the work of the German sociologist, Georg Simmel; P. Berger & T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York: Doubleday, 1967); and a later study of modern antisemitism, Tal, *Christians*.

² Baum, *Jews*, 5.

³ P. Démann, “Israel et Unité de l’Eglise”, *Cahiers Sionems* 7.1 (1953), 1-24; K. Thieme, *Biblische Religion Heute* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1960).

⁴ F. Lovsky, *Antisémitisme et mystère d’Israël* (Paris: Les Éditions de Cerf, 1955).

⁵ Baum, *Jews*. Baum refers to it in his Introduction to Ruether, *Fratricide*, 3.

⁶ Both Baum and Lovsky agreed with Isaac that while his work represented a serious challenge, antisemitism cannot be found in the pure and original form of the Christian faith.

⁷ Eckardt, *Brothers*, esp. 126. He had already noted Christianity’s demonizing of the Jew (*idem*, “Anti-Semitism”, in G.A.F. Knight [ed.], *Jews and Christians: Preparations for Dialogue* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965], 152), and after *Brothers* remained unrepentant: “How ironic it is that the more seriously the developing historical context of the New Testament is taken, the more indisputable are the evidences of *Judenfeindschaft*, indiscriminate hostility toward Jews” (*idem*, “Nemesis”, 233). M. Barth, *Israel and the Church* (Richmond: John Knox, 1969), too faced the issue of New Testament antisemitism / anti-Judaism.

did not involve a fundamental re-examination of their basic theological attitudes to Jewry and the Scriptures, especially in relation to contemporary Jews and Judaism.¹

In that same year fifteen German theologians contributed to a symposium examining the issue of *Antijudaismus* in the New Testament, noticeably ignoring that of *Antisemitismus*.² Yet by 1974 Eckardt could follow up his previous book with an appropriate successor in which he carried further Davies's study by analysing in detail two examples of Christian repentance for the Holocaust, one Roman Catholic, in the work of Cardinal Bea, the other Protestant, in the Declaration of the Dutch Reformed Church.³ This contained the most comprehensive background to Ruether's *Fratricide*.

Scholars were also beginning to study modern attitudes toward Judaism as they shed light on earlier periods. The most far-reaching were Charles Glock and Rodney Stark. Testing the hypothesis that antisemitism in modern America has clear religious roots within Christianity they argued that, given negative images of historical Jews and a high level of "religious particularism", their model (beliefs → feelings → actions) "overwhelmingly predicted a hostile *religious* image of the contemporary Jew".⁴ The prediction proved correct: American congregations with a higher view of scripture tended to be more antisemitic (the New Testament passage appealed to most was Mt 27:35).⁵ Their extensive sociological survey, besides exposing the dangers of an exclusive Christianity, again laid complicity at the feet of what the early Church had made its normative writings.⁶ Ruether subsequently took great support from it.

The effect of the Holocaust on Christianity was evident on a structure as indomitable as the Roman Catholic Church. A revolutionary new approach toward

¹ A.T. Davies, *Antisemitism*. He too saw the need for Christians to be more aware of their duty toward Jews, and for social structures to make Jews less dependent on that awareness (esp. 52).

² W. Eckert, N.P. Levinson, & M. Stöhr (eds.), *Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament? Exegetische und Systematische Beiträge* (Chr. Kaiser Verlag: München, 1967).

³ A.R. Eckardt, *Your People, My People. The Meeting of Jews and Christians* (New York: ADL, 1974). Of the authors writing during the ten years leading up to Ruether, *Fratricide*, Parkes singles out Eckardt and Davies, since "both deal with the penitence which any genuinely Christian writer must show in dealing with the post-Holocaust situation, and both have the courage to probe deeply into its ultimate effects" (A.T. Davies [ed.], *Foundations*, x).

⁴ Glock & Stark, *Beliefs*, 130 (italics theirs). Only one similar survey had been done before – R.M. Loewenstein, *Christians and Jews. A Psychoanalytic Study* (New York: Schocken, 1951). None have been done since.

⁵ Glock & Stark, *Beliefs*, 197. More recently cf. Przybylski, "Setting", esp. 182.

⁶ Glock & Stark, *Beliefs*, esp. 92ff., 208ff.

Judaism was taken in *Vatican II* under Pope John XXIII,¹ the biggest single factor leading to its proposal of a teaching differing from not only tradition but, as it understood it, the letter (though not substance) of scripture, being the annihilation of the six million Jews by the Nazis. Most monumental were *Lumen gentium*, dealing with those not subscribing to the Catholic faith, and *Gaudium et Spes*, dealing with the historical and worldly aspects of salvation (cf. *Dei Verbum*).² In these documents the Catholic Church redefined its relationship to the Jews and their religion: the Jews continue to be God's chosen people; their religion remains a dispensation and source of divine grace; and it is the Christian task not to convert them but to engage with them in dialogue and co-operation.³

This is not the extent of relevant post-holocaust scholarship to the mid-1970's.⁴ Yet the numbers involved remained pitifully small, their work limited. Most were shocked into admitting the importance of the study of antisemitism, and acknowledged both Christian complicity in the fomenting of anti-Jewish attitudes and that antisemitism is a part of Christianity's history – authenticating as prophets those pre-Holocaust scholars who had foretold the terrible price Christendom was yet to pay. Few were seriously questioning the complicity of Christianity in its essence. The work of a single scholar was to raise this to centre stage.

¹ Eng. tr., Abbott (ed.), *Documents*.

² *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate)*, 4: "Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God, as if such views followed from the holy Scriptures ... The Church repudiates ["and condemns" in an earlier draft is omitted] all persecutions against any man ... she deplores the hatred, persecution, and display of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews ..." (Abbott, *Documents*, 666-7 and nn.). The World Council of Churches later conceded the point originally made by Démann and Thieme: "... the relation of Church and Jewish people is an essential aspect of the apostolic faith" ("The Apostolic Faith in the Scriptures and in the Early Church", *Rome Report* 1983, in H.-G. Link [ed.], *Apostolic Faith Today* [Geneva: WCC, 1985], 259-60, 265).

³ Baum, "Dogma", 138: "the universality of divine grace ... [had] slowly moved to the center of attention in the twentieth-century Church".

⁴ Including R.L. Wilken, "Judaism in Roman and Christian Society", *JR* 47 (1967), 313-30; Flannery, *Anguish*, esp. ch. 2, which maintained (60-61) that Christian antisemitism was a legacy from the pagan world; R. Niebuhr, *Pious and Secular America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), which broke new ground in perceiving the survival impulse of collectives and their use of power and ideology to establish their existence at the expense of others, as operative in modern forms of antisemitism; Willis, "Auschwitz", which again wanted Christians to be more aware of their duties toward Jews and independence for the Jewish community, especially from Christians.

Rosemary Ruether

An American Catholic theologian, Ruether's fundamental critique of Christianity's separation from Judaism, a separation produced primarily by the divorcing of the concept of salvation from the redemption of history, first appeared in 1968.¹ But in 1974 she made a scathing attack on the antisemitism of the New Testament and accused Christianity in essence of being anti-Judaic: "For Christianity, anti-Judaism was not merely a defence against attack, but an intrinsic need of Christian self-affirmation. Anti-Judaism is a part of Christian exegesis".² Unlike Isaac's earlier critics, Ruether had embraced his basic position on the Christian sources of modern antisemitism and taken the emerging findings of scholars to their logical conclusion.

So it was not the imbibing of pagan attitudes that made Christianity antisemitic, but its own essential anti-Judaism, which always becomes fratricidal. At the heart of that anti-Judaism was Jesus as the Christ: "There is no way to rid Christianity of its anti-Judaism ... without grappling finally with its christological hermeneutic itself."³ Luke and John came in for particular acrimony. The "historicizing of the eschatological", predominant in the former, presented the coming of Christ as a new timetable in salvation history; the "spiritualizing of the eschatological", predominant in the latter, made eternity essentially concerned with man's inward spirituality, so that the eschatological could influence that part of him even though history remained unchanged. Both had a profound anti-Judaic effect on christology.⁴

Ruether was not entirely consistent. She sometimes presented antisemitism not as the unavoidable flip-side to christology, but the product of *Jewish rejection* of that christology: "The reciprocal relationship between messianic and anti-Judaic midrashim was rooted in the Church's evangelical experience. As the Church developed its christological exegesis and found this opposed by the traditional midrash of the

¹ Ruether, "Anti-Semitism". Here she first used the terms, "The Historicizing of the Eschatological" and "The Spiritualizing of the Eschatological". Cf. *idem*, "Anti-Judaism", 13.

² Ruether, *Fratricide*, 181; cf. 228.

³ *Op. cit.*, 116. Cf. her rhetorical question (246), "Is it possible to say 'Jesus is Messiah' without, implicitly or explicitly, saying at the same time 'and the Jews be damned'?"

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 240. See esp. ch. 5, "Theological Critique of the Christian anti-Judaic Myth".

priestly and scribal classes ... an anti-Judaic midrash grew up to negate this negation given to the Church's messianic interpretation of the Scriptures by official Judaism.”¹ The difference may be subtle, but it contains a fundamentally different implication.

Yet this could not take away from the significance of her work, which lay not so much in its originality as that it made more public the growing worries of Christian scholars over the New Testament and provided a justification for Jewish worries over the Christian faith. Having examined Christianity's heartbeat, her diagnosis was the worst imaginable – far from being a regrettable offshoot, antisemitism is part of Christianity's warp and woof and an integral part of the New Testament. It was this that gave *Fratricide* such renown.

Of Ruether's two-pronged attack, the more fundamental one of anti-Judaism being the “left-hand” of christology generated the most controversy. Most significant for us, however, is her accusations against various New Testament writings of consistently portraying the Jews as an abnormal people, the hallmark of whose religion was a devilish rejection of the Christ who came to save them. Paul's writings came in for particular attack, but like virtually all subsequent New Testament scholars Ruether reserved the ultimate expression of New Testament antisemitism for the Fourth Gospel and its inimitable use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.²

To the present day

In reality *Vatican II* had had no profound effect on Catholic theology;³ and despite Ruether there was no sudden blaze of scholastic activity.⁴ Gaston, five years after Ruether's book, could still write that since the Holocaust, “in general theology

¹ *Op. cit.*, 64, cf. 94. By acknowledging that christology derived from the crucifixion event, while anti-Judaism from the rejection of that christology by the Jewish religious leadership, Ruether also fails to prove that the Gospel-Acts' use of the Old Testament to explain this rejection is directly related to their christologies.

² *Op. cit.*, 111-116.

³ Baum (Ruether, *Fratricide*, 6) uses this fact as witness to Ruether's very points.

⁴ What initial response there was to Ruether was not complimentary. *E.g.*, Oesterreicher, *Anatomy*, which questioned the very validity of her contribution; Idinopulos & Ward, “Christology?”. Cf. Hare's review of *Fratricide* in *RelSRev* 2 (1976), 21. On Ruether's critics, see N. Ravitch, “The Problem of Christian Anti-Semitism”, *C* (1982), 42.

has gone on as if nothing had happened”.¹ Christian scholarship at large was not even giving its brother a decent burial. It had been relatively easy to concede that a later, distorted, Christianity had become antisemitic, but that Christianity essentially and the New Testament particularly was so, was a different matter.² Yet the issue was unavoidable, and gradually the impact of Ruether’s book came to bear.³

In his Introduction to Ruether’s *Fratricide*, Baum cited the work as one of several factors that had forced him to abandon his earlier conviction “that the anti-Jewish trends in Christianity were peripheral and accidental, not grounded in the New Testament”,⁴ though to be fair his ‘conversion’ was more a gradual realization going back to Isaac’s influence on him. Sandmel noted of Ruether’s work, “It does not seem to me that she exaggerates the extent to which Judaism appears in Christian theology as that which needs negation and rejection”, and could begin his study on the Fourth Gospel: “John is widely regarded as either the most anti-Semitic or at least the most overtly anti-Semitic of the Gospels”.⁵ Wilken was sure: “Christian anti-Semitism grew out of the Christian Bible, that is the New Testament”.⁶

The most significant response came from a symposium composed by Christian scholars.⁷ It was ultimately concerned with Ruether’s attack on christology, but was also the final concession that the ‘Pandora’s box’ of antisemitism in the New Testament was well and truly open. The contributors generally capitulated *in toto*. Baum was sure: “The New Testament – at least in most sections [inc. Ro 9 – 11] – teaches that the

¹ Gaston, “Paul”, 48. Ruether concedes this in the same volume: *idem*, “Problems”, 230.

² Leibig, “John”, 210: “There has been a certain theological hesitation to submit the very foundation of the Christian tradition – the New Testament – to such a critique”; *cf.* Baum, *Anti-Semitic?*, 4.

³ *Cf.* Stendahl, *Paul*; Koenig, *Jews*.

⁴ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 3. He was convinced of the anti-Judaic polemic of the Gospels above all, especially the Fourth Gospel (*cf.* Baum, *Religion*, 78ff.), and, like Ruether, pessimistic about the answer to the question, “Is it possible to purify the Christian message of its anti-Jewish ideology without invalidating the Christian claims altogether?” (Ruether, *Fratricide*, 8)

⁵ Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 163, 101. The major part of Sandmel’s answer deals with the Gospels. His work on the Fourth Gospel (101-119) is almost entirely taken up with John’s treatment of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, which he concludes, “One ... cannot deny the existence of a written compilation of clearly expressed anti-Jewish sentiments.”

⁶ R.L. Wilken, *The Myth of Christian Beginnings* (New York: Doubleday; London: SCM, 1979), 197. Flusser, in his foreword to Thoma, *Christian*, 17, has an identical view. For yet earlier similar sentiment, see esp. Epp, “Anti-Semitism”.

⁷ A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*.

Synagogue has missed its calling, that Israel has been blinded, that her religion is no longer a source of salvation, and that it is the task of the Christian Church to preach Jesus Christ to the Jewish people.”¹ Parkes concluded, “... the basic root of modern antisemitism lies squarely on [*sic*] the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament”.² Pawlikowski conceded, “The *Gospel of John* contains serious distortions in its basically productive christological development which serve to identify Jews (and by implication all other non-Christians) with the unredeemed, fallen world of evil.”³ Even A.T. Davies only found solace in that “through careful study, Christians can isolate what genuine forms of anti-Judaism really color the major writings [inc. Matthew, Paul and John], and, by examining their historic genesis, neutralize their potential for harm”.⁴

Hare argued that the Synoptic-Acts *christologies* are *not* anti-Jewish: even Matthew does not require a Jew to cease being a Jew to accept Jesus. Yet this is not to deny that Matthew contains “gentilizing anti-Judaism” (Mark and Luke-Acts “prophetic / Jewish-Christian anti-Judaism”), merely to turn Ruether’s argument on its head: “Matthew gives no such evidence that his anti-Judaism is intrinsically related to his christology.”⁵ Townsend’s ‘defence’ of the Fourth Gospel has a similar twist: “The *Fourth Gospel* reflects the situation of the Johannine community both before and after its divorce from Judaism. In the earlier stages before the divorce, the gospel betrays no denunciations of ‘the Jews’. Now, after the divorce, ‘the Jews’ have become the enemy.”⁶ It remains, the extant Gospel is bitterly anti-Judaic.

The lone voice of genuine dissent came from Gaston. He protested that the “theoretical structure for Christian anti-Judaism” taken from Paul is the result of a gross mis-representation of him, more the stuff of *Barnabas* and the like. “Paul writes to gentile Christians, dealing with gentile-Christian problems, foremost among which was the right of gentiles *qua* gentiles, without adopting the Torah of Israel, to full citizenship in the people of God.” Paul does not treat Judaism as “a kind of Christian

¹ Baum, “Dogma”, 137-138.

² A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, xi.

³ Pawlikowski, “Historicizing”, 155.

⁴ A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, xv.

⁵ Hare, “Rejection”, 40-41.

⁶ Townsend, “John”, 88.

heresy to be combated”, he even has no objection to Jewish proselytizers. The exclusive butt of his polemic are Judaizers – those who teach that gentiles can only be saved by half-observing Torah.¹

Gaston’s defence of a major New Testament corpus by now generally accepted as anti-Judaic was to remain alone. With the Holocaust moving into history, antisemitism *per se* was losing its place as the chief area of interest among scholars studying ancient attitudes to Jews and Judaism.² Those works directly affecting New Testament study were concentrating on the broader context of Jew, Christian and pagan interaction.³ More recently there has been a revival of interest in the Jewish roots of earliest Christianity, a topic Sandmel had done so much to open up (it is from such a perspective that this thesis derives),⁴ and a heightening of inter-faith dialogue between Christians and Jews.⁵ Those still interested no longer denied the existence of anti-Jewish sentiment in the New Testament,⁶ certainly not in the Fourth Gospel, preferring to ‘excuse’ it as a cultural or *Sitz im Leben* phenomenon which its writers would not want reaffirmed today.⁷ This has often been accompanied by an effort to

¹ Gaston, “Paul”, 49, 56. His confidence in Paul does not extend further: “it may be that ... Paul alone among the New Testament writers, had no left hand.”

² Catholic and Protestant scholars had so conceded antisemitism as endemic in the church that by 1980 Pawlikowski, *What?*, 4ff., could give a survey of the textbooks (e.g., Eugene Fisher, *Faith without Prejudice* [New York: Paulist, 1977]) that offered solutions to the problem.

³ E.g., Sevenster, *Roots*; Stendahl, *Paul*; E.P. Sanders, *Paul*; W.A. Meeks & R.L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (SBLSPS 13; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1978); Koenig, *Jews*; H. Conzelmann, *Heiden-Juden-Christen. Auseinandersetzungen in der Literatur der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981). More recently, F. Mussner, *Tractate on the Jews. The Significance of Judaism for Christian Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress; London: SCM, 1984); P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Jewish-Christian Dialogue. Theological Foundations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986).

⁴ Including the Israeli, D. Flusser, “Jesus in the Context of History”, in A. Toynbee (ed.), *The Crucible of Christianity* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969). This received new impetus from Vermes, *Jesus. Cf. J. Neusner, Judaism in the beginning of Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1984); Charlesworth, *Jesus*; M.R. Wilson, *Our Father Abraham. Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989); Casey, *Prophet*; Barker, *Angel*; Vermes, *Religion*; L.E. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus’ First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: TPI, 1994).

⁵ See the three indispensable volumes of E.P. Sanders, *et al.* (eds.), *Self-Definition*; Finkel & Frizzel (eds.), *Standing*, which was produced by the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies based at Seton Hall University (founded in 1953 by J.M. Oesterreicher). Lapide, *Resurrection*, provides an example of this heightening of dialogue from a Jewish perspective.

⁶ E.g., Charlotte Klein, *Theologie*.

⁷ Within a year of Ruether, *Fratricide*, R.E. Brown, “Passion”, conceded that in the Fourth Gospel the Jews are a collective entity, engaged with a fundamental hostility that no longer has a rightful part within Christian doctrine.

seek a point within the canon – usually Jesus, sometimes Paul – from which to develop a more acceptable Christian view of Israel and Judaism. ¹

Four years later Gager, destroying the assumption that Jew-pagan relations in the ancient world were generally bad, ² reiterated Gaston's thesis: Paul's writings have been misrepresented, the voice of Judaizing Christians to whom his writings were addressed deliberately lost. "Christ and Torah remain for Paul mutually exclusive categories ... the significance of Christ was that Gentiles no longer needed to become Jews in order to enjoy the advantages once reserved exclusively for Israel. This is not to say that the Gentiles have been incorporated into God's covenant with Israel at Sinai ... God's promise of righteousness leads in two separate directions." ³

Yet with the issue of New Testament antisemitism 'fair game', ⁴ that anti-Jewish sentiment exists at least in Matthew, Luke-Acts and, above all, John remains the overwhelming consensus. ⁵ The earlier, occasional, defence of some or all these writings with the plea that later Christians have misused their either internal prophetic critique or (albeit pathological) exhortatory device, ⁶ remains overruled. Even Gager only goes as far as to venture that, generally speaking, the anti-Jewish trends in the New Testament, especially these writings, are peripheral rather than essential. ⁷

Of these writings Luke-Acts, as "the one most likely to have been written by a Gentile", often provides the focus of attention, especially Acts on which "the main

¹ E.g., see many of the contributions to Richardson with Granskou (eds.), *Anti-Judaism I*.

² Gager, *Origins*. Ruether, *Fratricide*, 23-31, had already demonstrated the fundamental differences between pagan and Christian antisemitism, and Sevenster, *Roots* (esp. ch. 3), while not dealing directly with their relationship, had settled the non-reciprocity of the pagan variety upon the Christian variety. Cf. Hare's remarks on Sevenster's findings in *ReISRev* 2, 16.

³ Gager, *Origins*, 263-264. This is rejected by D.A. Hagner, "Paul's Quarrel with Judaism", in Evans & Hagner (eds.), *Anti-Semitism*, 128-150, esp. 149 & n. 67. An alternative to the notion that Paul uses νόμος in two ways is that he views it ineffective only in that Jews do not keep it: cf. M. Sklare, *America's Jews* (New York: McGraw, 1971), who notes that most Russian Jews choose America over Israel as the country to move to, and that of those who do so only 4% consider themselves to pray regularly.

⁴ More recently see e.g., C.E. Evans, "Is Luke's View of the Jewish Rejection of Jesus Anti-Semitic?", in D.D. Sylva (ed.), *Reimagining the Death of the Lukan Jesus* (Athenäum Monografien: BBB 73; Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1990), 46-47; Dunn, "Question" - though in *idem*, *Partings*, Dunn reverts to "The issue of 'anti-Judaism' in the New Testament writings" (140ff.).

⁵ See Cohn-Sherbok, *Crucified*; Lillian C. Freudman, *Antisemitism in the New Testament* (Lanham, New York & London: University Press of America, 1994).

⁶ Baum, *Anti-Semitic?*, 5; Vawter, "Gospels?", 486.

⁷ Gager, "Judaism", esp. 99-101.

weight of the charge undoubtedly hangs”.¹ Haenchen has long since concluded that by the end of Acts “Luke has written the Jews off”,² betraying an increasingly exclusive focus on Luke’s use of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Sandmel detected in Luke “a frequent subtle, genteel anti-Semitism” which in Acts “becomes overt and direct”,³ while Beck deems Acts the most anti-Jewish document in the New Testament.⁴ J.T. Sanders notes this pedigree of “common opinion”, indeed, his own indictment, especially of Luke’s use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, is the most outspoken and thorough of all.⁵

Hare is the exception when he deems Matthew a gentile Christian author,⁶ but many see him as ‘no-longer-Jewish’. So Stanton, “Matthew’s community has recently parted company with Judaism after a period of prolonged hostility”,⁷ a situation he later sees reflected in the sharp conflict and pain apparent in Matthew’s Christology.⁸ After all, there is no doubt that Mt 27:25 has provided scriptural warrant for endless denunciations of Jews as “Christ-killers”.⁹

Yet John’s Gospel, virtually taken unanimously as of the ‘no-longer-Jewish’ variety,¹⁰ remains deemed the most anti-Jewish of all, utterly abandoned to an antisemitic interpretation.¹¹ So Lowry: “who can deny that there is an unbroken epigenous line of development from John’s portrayal of the Jews as spawn of the devil, eagerly doing their “father’s desires”; through the medieval flowering of antisemitic

¹ Dunn, “Question”, 187.

² E. Haenchen, “The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity”, in L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress; London: SPCK, 1966), 258-278, here 278. J.T. Sanders would later adopt this phrase as his own.

³ Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 100.

⁴ Beck, *Mature*, esp. 270.

⁵ J.T. Sanders, *Jews*, 39-42. His review goes back to Franz Overbeck (1870), who perceived a clear, distinct “nationaler Antijudaismus” in Acts. He also reviews those who take Acts as presenting “[t]he view that only some Jews are incorrigible” (42-47), going back to Adolf von Harnack (1908), who viewed it as the first stage of developing early Christian antisemitism, John the second, the Apologists the third, *Barnabas* the fourth, and Marcion the fifth and last.

⁶ Hare, “Rejection”, 38.

⁷ Stanton, “Anti-Judaism”, 273.

⁸ Stanton, “Christology”.

⁹ Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 155, gives examples from his childhood; cf. R. Kampling, *Das Blut Christi und die Juden. Mt 27:25 bei den lateinischsprachigen christlichen Autoren bis zu Leo dem Grossen* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1984). Simon, *Verus*, 216, 219 (1964), cites Gregory of Nyssa’s and John Chrysostom’s anti-Jewish tirades (*PG* 46.685; 48.915), which conflate Mt 27:25 & Jn 8:44.

¹⁰ See Dunn, *Partings*, 141-142. E.g., McHugh, “Life”, argues that for John debate with Judaism is largely in the past and subordinated to the dramatic presentation of the claims of Jesus.

¹¹ Leibig, “John”, 212: “No other New Testament writing has been accused more often of an anti-Judaic thrust than the Gospel of John.”

tracts illustrated with woodcuts of “the Jews and their father, the devil”; up to a little children’s picture book, published in 1936 by the Nazi’s [*sic*] Stürmer-Verlag, whose first page is headed by the slogan: “*Der Vater der Juden ist der Teufel*”?”¹ Kysar, in a volume otherwise promoting an ‘internal hermeneutic’ for the New Testament’s Jewish polemic, is but the latest to rehash this image of a post-Jewish Fourth Gospel and its consequent “anti-Semitic tone”.²

A notable, recent exception to all this is Dunn. He argues that Matthew still considers himself a Jew, that “[*t*]he Fourth Evangelist was still operating within a context of intra-Jewish factional dispute”, while neither Paul, Matthew, Luke or John “would have accepted the proposition that they had denied or abandoned the law”.³ He catches the key issue: “Does the attitude to Jews in the post-70 NT documents indicate that the final breach, the decisive parting of the ways between Christianity and (rabbinic) Judaism, has already happened?”⁴ That is to say, in what relation do these writers stand to the Jewish people and faith? It is significant that in the same year as Dunn, *Jews*, Wright brought to the fore what has become increasingly clear over the last twenty to thirty years: “that the New Testament is a Jewish book about a Jewish Messiah presented as the climax of the Jewish story written by Jewish people using Jewish patterns of thought grounded in Jewish scripture”.⁵ It is a demonstration of this for the Fourth Gospel that concerns us.

¹ Lowry, “Rejected-Suitor”, 229. Cf. Epp, “Anti-Semitism”, 35; Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 201: “in one sense the problem is easy: the Fourth Gospel is anti-Jewish, and most likely its anti-Jewish statements are meant for a Christian audience”; Leibig, “John”, 211. Gager, *Origins*, 7, 134-159, never doubts that when the anti-Jewish elements of early Christianity prevailed they became normative *via* the Gospels, particularly the Fourth Gospel.

² Kysar, “Anti-Semitism”, esp. 124, 127.

³ Dunn, *Partings*, 141, 160, 162, italics his. Dunn reiterates his views on Acts, Matthew and John in ch. 8 of his *Partings* in a slightly expanded form in *idem*, “Question”.

⁴ *Idem*, “Question”, 179.

⁵ Wright, *New Testament*. The quotation is by P. Rodger, *NovT* 36.3 (1994), 296-297.

Judaism at the turn of the era

Misconceptions

Before going further we must ask the increasingly in vogue question, What was the Judaism from which Christianity, specifically the Fourth Gospel, derived? ¹ The Church's answer has often been less than complimentary. ² During the last century, however, interest in the life of Jesus (exemplified by Harnack's liberal appraisal) renewed concern for greater accuracy. After all, the *real* Jesus, like the earliest Christians, was a Jew, who taught in the synagogue and practised the Jewish religion of his day. ³ This was coupled by a growing awareness and exploration of the Near East inaugurated by Napoleon's conquests, involving renewed archaeological interest in the Holy Land especially, and the subsequent successes of the British Empire which brought hundreds of manuscripts to the British Museum.

Representative of this new study were the scholarly tomes of Emil Schürer. Yet Schürer's use of New Testament polemic to distort early Jewish piety betrays what remained the Christian spirit of the age. Thus he could still insist that in Jesus' time Jewish prayer "was bound in the fetters of a rigid mechanism", and that the *שְׁמֵעַ* and *Eighteen Benedictions*, the great liturgical prayers of the synagogue, had been "degraded to an external function". ⁴

¹ Dunn, "Question", 181-182, is too reticent: "failure to take account of the currents and eddies within the broad stream of first century Jewish religion ... may result in judgments which are anachronistic and unfair."

² Typical of a prodigious patristic lineage, in fifth century Caesarea Jerome defined Jewish prayers as *grunnitus suis, et clamor asinorum* (Amos 5.23).

³ The lesson has yet to be fully learnt. So Charlesworth, *Jesus*, 45-46: "Many Christians ... tend to assume that Jesus must have been unique and have had little relation with his contemporaries ... this improper perspective ... is dangerously susceptible to anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism." The present "third quest for the historical Jesus" (e.g., J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew* [2 vols., ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991/4]; Evans, *Contemporaries*; see Dunn, *Partings*, 185; Evans, *Life*; Chilton & Evans [eds.], *Studying*; M.J. Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* [Valley Forge, PA: TPI, 1994]) has been accompanied by renewed presentations of a gulf between the historical Jesus and Paul's and John's Hellenized versions (e.g., Casey, *Prophet*; see Dunn, *Partings*, 142). Thus Vermes, *Religion*, like *idem*, *Jesus*, makes no attempt to glean anything of the historical Jesus from the Fourth Gospel.

⁴ Schürer's multi-volumed *Geschichte*, here *History* II.2, 115.

With few exceptions scholars, motivated by a distinct theology and polemic, continued to reckon Judaism the monument to a dead religion. The Prayer of Manasseh, a prime example of the Jewish recognition of man's unworthiness before a perfect God (esp. vv. 11-12), written by a devout Jew and contemporary of Jesus, was overwhelmingly held by such eminents as Fabricius, Migne and Nau to be a "Christian" prayer. And no-one noticed JosAsen 12:5-12, a first century Jew's recognition that only God can forgive sin; or that the strikingly similar 'Lord's Prayer' (*cf.* the Qaddish) far from "Christian" invention is Jewish tradition. ¹ Judaism was robbed of its spiritual purity and sincerity, while Jesus and his followers were deemed too good to be Jews. ²

A dead pre-70 Judaism, moreover, could only be non-vibrant and monolithic. ³ Even Ruether in *Fratricide* falls foul of this tendency. She essentially parcels it into Rabbinic, Hellenistic and Sectarian midrash. The first, dominant in the Jewish homeland and definitive from the early second century, focused on a conservative interpretation of Torah taken as binding on all; the second, mainly in the Diaspora, interpreted Torah *via* Greek philosophy, emphasizing through allegorical reading (inherited from the Greeks) its spiritual rather than behavioural meanings; the third, grown by the heirs of the Maccabean revolt, was messianic, and used a typological exegesis of Torah to ascertain the exact arrival of the imminent divine rescue.

Life is only so orderly and schematic in the eyes of later historians. First century Pharisaism, which gave rise to the ultimately dominant rabbinic movement, was popular and powerful, but in no way 'official'. The Yavnean authorities did not

¹ Most of the pre-70 Jewish prayers are in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* II, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Mishnah. *Cf.* Charlesworth, *Jesus*, 30ff.; *idem*, "Prayers". For a recent defence of the Jewishness of the Lord's Prayer, see *idem*, "A Caveat on the Textual Transmission and the Meaning of Abba: A Study of the Lord's Prayer", in Charlesworth (ed.), *Lord's Prayer*, 1-14; M. Tilley, "The Lord's Prayer and Matthean Theology", same volume (15-27); also see M. Harding's bibliography on first century Jewish prayer, same volume (127-178). *Cf.* Evans, *Contemporaries*, 276-297.

² Covering scholarship up to Schürer and Bousset, Moore, "Writers", 197, noted: "Christian interest in Jewish literature has always been apologetic or polemic rather than historical." With notable exceptions – such as Isaac (*cf.* props. 1-10 of *Jésus et Israël*, which also happen to show the Jewishness of early Christianity) and Simon – Klein, *Anti-Judaism*, esp. 3-14, added that things have since remained generally unchanged, a judgement E.P. Sander's survey of contemporary scholarship (*Paul*, I.1, "The persistence of the view of Rabbinic religion as one of legalistic works-righteousness") upholds. Ten years ago Gager, *Origins*, 31f., could still lament the state of play, which more recently prompted Charlesworth to publish his *Pseudepigrapha* (see Charlesworth, *Jesus*, 51).

³ Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, followed Schürer by presenting rabbinic Judaism as generally equatable with first century Jewish practice.

succeed in establishing their authority over other Jews as quickly as is often assumed.¹ Most ‘official’ was the scripturally mandated Temple cult – under the Sadducees. Nor were the Pharisees of the early days so separated from Greek learning,² while the rabbis did not abandon imminent eschatology, messianic expectations (*cf.* Akiba’s recognition of bar Kokhba) or apocalyptic literature (*cf.* Daniel in the canon). “Hellenized Judaism” did not have the monopoly on allegory,³ and was hardly uniform: much wider than Philo (*cf.* Aristobulos, *Wisdom*), some extreme forms, *contra* Ruether, actually advocated abandoning the letter of the law.⁴ And the multiplicity of sectarian groups⁵ came in all varieties: the Zealots were more militarist than others; some did not have the dreams entertained at Qumran; not all were apocalyptic, and not all who were considered themselves part of an armageddon; some saw divine intervention as the only solution for man’s plight – for whom the term “messianic” is inapt; even their baptismal practices varied.

Despite renewed interest in the primary sources,⁶ scholarship has only recently recognized this and “the degree to which early Judaism was in fact a religion of grace and forgiveness”.⁷ The fact that first century Jews and Christians had “numerous options before them” but that by the early part of the third, “both ... had decisively narrowed their options”,⁸ provided the *raison d’être* for the three volumes of *Self-*

¹ See esp. the caution of Alon, *Jews, passim*; Schäfer, *Studien*, esp. 45-64, “Die Sogenannte Synode von Jabne. Zur Trennung von Juden und Christen im ersten / zweiten Jh. n. Chr.”

² Saul Lieberman’s careful studies, which Ruether cites (*Fratricide*, 264) while omitting some of their more impressive evidences, had long revealed this.

³ J. Lauterbach, “The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash”, *JQR* (1910), 291-333, 503-531, showed how rabbinic midrash included that of *המורות / ררשי רשומות*, symbolic exegetes who at times were fully allegorical. While late, as a balance to the fact that only Christians preserved Philo, this is relevant since it shows that such midrash is not *per se* un-Jewish.

⁴ See Philo, *Mig.* 89-93. There is a legitimate issue of whether extreme forms of Second Temple Jewish faith can still be deemed Jewish, but to question Philo in this way is unnecessary.

⁵ So *Jos. B.* 2.124, Essene groups were scattered throughout all the towns of Palestine.

⁶ *Cf.* Leon, *Jews*; Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus*; Smallwood, *Jews*; Stern, *Authors* (this was a completion of Hans Lewy’s re-editing of the texts first compiled by Theodore Reinach, which had been cut short by Lewy’s premature death in 1945); Kraabel, “Paganism”; Applebaum, *Jews*.

⁷ Dunn, *Partings*, 14. This led to the “re-emergence of the issue of Jesus’ Jewishness and Christianity’s Jewish matrix” (11). Dunn’s résumé of the study of how Christianity “broke loose” from its Jewish origins, from Baur’s *Church History* to E.P. Sanders’ *Paul* (1-15), does not include M. Smith, *Parties*, which, ahead of its time, argued that only in the fourth century did the “Yahweh alone party” finally win out with the ascendancy of Rabbinic Judaism and the triumph of Christianity.

⁸ E.P. Sanders, *et al.* (eds.), *Self-Definition II*, ix. *Cf.* Blenkinsopp, “Interpretation”, 25f.: “From this situation of conflicting groups, all of which saw themselves as at least the nucleus of the

Definition. Neusner is unhelpful when he speaks of “Judaisms” during this period,¹ but the point remains, first century Judaism was not a national creed but a living religion bound to the Jewish people, bearing their vitality and vibrancy. E.P. Sanders’ latest offering finally and conclusively presents the Palestinian Judaism of the century leading up to the Temple destruction as a functioning religion, the “common Judaism” of ordinary priests and people, within which early rabbinic legal material, and factional groups like the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes must be set.²

Blame for misconceptions cannot be laid entirely at the feet of modern Christian scholarship. Major culprits are the equally unmagnanimous Church Fathers, and early Jewish historians (*cf.* the oldest sets of Pharisaic tradition preserved in the Mishnah tract *Pirque Aboth*³). Later Christian and Jewish historians have been careless about accepting their accounts, failing to realize that both used history for self-validation, presenting themselves as the orderly heirs of scriptural revelation, neither eager to admit their heritage as mediated by a variety of uncanonized developments.⁴

Yet we maintain, with propositions 11-13 of Isaac’s *Jésus et Israël*, that the biggest culprit is a *non-Jewish* reading of the New Testament itself, which, especially in the Gospels, gives a distorted view of Pharisees and Jews generally. This is *our* fault: we have failed to recognize such polemic for what it is. Even Charlesworth singles out Mt 23:25-26 (par. Lk 11:39-40) and Lk 18:9-14 to blame for the popular Christian understanding of Jesus as breaking with Judaism as “a rigid and stale – even

Israel of the last days, only Pharisaism and Christianity survived in sufficient strength to assert their own vision and seek their own definition in face of an uncertain future.” This Symposium established the indispensability of Jewish New Testament scholarship, and the need for greater Jewish-Christian dialogue for a truer understanding of the Jewishness of early Christianity.

¹ Neusner, *et al.* (eds.), *Judaisms*. The plural form does not appear in any extant primary sources, only in the writings of modern scholars.

² E. P. Sanders, *Judaism*.

³ R. Judah I’s (or whoever’s) collating of what became known as the *Mishnah*, perhaps the earliest attempt at Jewish self-definition, was even now less successful than later generations made out. D.W. Halivni, “The Reception Accorded to Rabbi Judah’s Mishnah”, in E.P. Sanders, *et al.* (eds.), *Self-Definition II*, 204-212, argues that while R. Judah remained highly adulated his teachings were ignored; A.I. Baumgarten, “The Politics of Reconciliation: The Education of R. Judah the Prince”, in E.P. Sanders, *et al.* (eds.), *Self-Definition II*, 213-225, that it was because Akibans formed an important group of opponents to Patriarchal rule after 135 that R. Simeon b. Gamaliel II, in reconciliatory mood, arranged for his son to study with R. Eleazar.

⁴ Ruether too eagerly took later Jewish accounts wholesale, especially those of the rabbinic successors to the Pharisees.

false – piety”, but forgets that Matthew contrasts the Pharisees with the *Jewish* crowd and Jesus’ *Jewish* disciples (23:1,3), while Luke contrasts the Pharisee with a *Jewish* tax-collector – both are in the Temple praying! ¹

Paul has been attacked as much as anyone. Assuming that he rejected Judaism, Schoeps could only suggest that as a Diaspora Jew he “had ceased to understand the totality and continuity of the Berith-Torah”. ² Yet a man of Paul’s Jewish training could hardly misrepresent the “great prophetic doctrine of repentance”, central to his parent faith, by *accident*: “that seems from the Jewish point of view inexplicable”. ³ It could only be the result of vindictive anti-Judaic sentiment. It is this that suggests another story. For sure, while rabbinic ethical seriousness was heightened since the Law expressed God’s will for man’s good, Gaston and Gager show that Paul never has the Jewish faith speak of Torah as the means of salvation: his christology has a close relationship with his teaching on the law, but his midrash is halakhic rather than haggadic, concerned more with orthopraxy than orthodoxy. ⁴ Thus E.P. Sanders finds Schoep’s view astounding: Php 3:9 has nothing to do with the law as a means of self-righteous legalism – legalism is an anachronistic term for the first century. ⁵

In short, Paul too only becomes “anti-Jewish” when read outside his Jewish matrix. We will argue the same thing for the Fourth Gospel.

A true conception

A true conception of first century Jewish faith and its origins, which scholars are still discussing, ⁶ must have wide parameters. For instance, there was no strict

¹ Charlesworth, *Jesus*, 45-46. Indicative of the new, more sympathetic approach to Judaism, as long ago as 1975 the Vatican’s *Guidelines on Catholic-Jewish Relations* declared the picture in the Gospels, a caricature produced not so much with malice aforethought as by the situation that arose after the Temple destruction, in urgent need of being understood for what it was.

² Schoeps, *Paul*, 213, 198. This is in his conclusion to Paul’s teaching about the law, headed “Paul’s Fundamental Misapprehension”.

³ Moore, *Judaism* III, 151.

⁴ Gaston, “Paul”; Gager, *Origins*, 193-264. However, Gaston suspects some later mss of interpolation since Christian anti-Jewish sentiment was rife in the second century, when the text was subject to least control.

⁵ E.P. Sanders, “Paul”.

⁶ E.g., E. Nodet, *Essai sur les Origines du Judaïsme* (Paris: Les Éditions de Cerf, 1992).

demarcation between it and Hellenism. Greek words and concepts were frequently assimilated into rabbinic works: one of the early leaders of the Pharisaic movement bore the name Antigonos; *Prosbul*, Hillel's great legal invention, takes its name from a Greek phrase; even 'Sanhedrin' is a semitization of συνέδριον.¹ Later rabbis lamented this seepage of Greek influence, but some earlier ones pursued it with great zeal. When Simeon ben Gamaliel reported that his father's *Beth ha-Midrash* contained five hundred students learning Greek wisdom he may have exaggerated, but it is difficult to believe that he seriously misrepresented Gamaliel's acceptance of Greek learning.²

This has implications for New Testament attitudes toward Jewish life and faith, not least John's use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, both in terms of terminology and historical setting. Townsend and others argue that the Fourth Gospel's "anti-Judaic elements" are exclusive to its latest, post-70, strata, now the community acrimoniously and finally separated from an emerging Judaism with a duly emended בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנִיִּים.³ But it becomes increasingly possible that the Gospel is written from *within* this Jewish faith.⁴

Either way, one sympathizes with Ruether's motives in delineating strands of first century Judaism: it must meet certain criteria to exist at all. To be a Jew was to be part of a socially definable group, something Neusner's now regular references to Judaisms – while initially of shock value to traditional conceptions – do not appreciate.⁵ That someone like Neusner can accuse someone like E.P. Sanders of not understanding it at all shows that these criteria are not obvious,⁶ while Dunn notes the

¹ See Lieberman, *Greek*; *idem*, *Hellenism*; *idem*, "Greek".

² *b. Sota* 49b; *b. B. Qam* 83a. This is late, but it is hardly the stuff of talmudic invention.

³ See further, 301-305.

⁴ Cf. Dunn, "Question", 179-182; *idem*, *Partings*, esp. 143.

⁵ See also J. Neusner, "Varieties of Judaism in the Formative Age", in *Formative Judaism. Second Series* (BJS 41; Chico: Scholars, 1983), 59-89. Dunn too must be careful not to tip the balances (cf. *Partings*, 143 [italics his], "'Judaism' was a term or concept whose reference was in some dispute, whose range of application was shifting, whose identity was in process of developing"). In a modern context, despite the view of liberal Jews that the claim to be Jewish is enough, groups like the Falashas have found it impossible to integrate into Jewish society or take on Jewish custom.

⁶ *Contra* Neusner, "Judaisms", E.P. Sanders' welcome exposé of the historically unjustified denigration of "Palestinian Judaism" in much New Testament exegesis *via* "a comparison of patterns of religion", involves the notion of a clearly defined "Judaism", opposed particularly by Paul (esp. E.P. Sanders, *Paul*, 552). More recently Neusner seems to contradict *himself*: cf. J. Neusner, *Jews and Christians. The Myth of a Common Tradition* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: TPI, 1991): "From the very beginnings the Judaic and Christian religious worlds scarcely intersected" (x); "Judaism and Christianity are completely different religions, not different versions of one religion" (1). It is as well that he tones down these 'reader-grabbing' statements as he proceeds.

ambiguities of Jewish identity reflected in the Smyrna and Philadelphia of Re 2:9 & 3:9. ¹ But the existence of countless Jewish communities, with a cohesiveness that attracted pagans and Christians, means that *something* distinguished them from others.

Christian scholars have traditionally made doctrine the basis for exclusion from first century Judaism. This is the result of second century onwards Christian polemic, which, having raised doctrine to a level of primacy, had to make this the stumbling block for a blind Jewish faith. ² Yet Schiffman convincingly shows that *m. Sanh* 10.1, the “basis of most claims that Judaism has a creed”, in fact refers specifically to the Sadducees and Epicureans, together with those who will not adhere to the halakhic duties the Torah prescribes, ³ while so Blenkinsopp, “... prior to the [66-73] revolt there was no one clearly established practice with respect to a canonical law-code”. ⁴

Both Jewish and Christian faith only *began* to take on cloaks of orthodoxy over orthopraxy after the Temple destruction. ⁵ Indeed, it may well have been the failure to adapt in this way that provided the death-knell for the Sadducaic movement. Those few Sadducees who survived the Temple destruction simply lost their *raison d'être*, unlike the Pharisees who were able and willing to transmute Temple laws into good works laws and the like (*cf.* the Passover Tractate ⁶). In other words, the parameters of first century Jewish faith were determined by real events – expediency. ⁷ These were encapsulated in three things. ⁸

¹ Dunn, “Question”, 182 n. 23.

² *Cf.* N.J. McEleney, “Orthodoxy in Judaism of the First Century”, *JSJ* 4 (1973), 19-42, here 25: three things provided an orthodoxy of minimal content in the first century CE, to which proselytes were converted: the God of Israel; his people; and keeping the law of Moses. Such doctrinal definitions, however, had already been flawed; see L. Baeck, *Aus drei Jahrtausenden* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1958), esp. ch. 1, “Hat das überlieferte Judentum Dogmen?” (12-27).

³ Schiffman, “Crossroads”, esp. 140. Also note the baraita *y. Pe' a* 1.1 16b.

⁴ Blenkinsopp, “Interpretation”, 6.

⁵ *E.g.*, see Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 289: only with “the disappearance of such unifying bonds as the temple, the Sanhedrin and the festival pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the demand for allegiance to a single normative set of doctrines and teachings became stricter”.

⁶ This may be as early as 70 CE, though with the **למלך** now gone not necessarily.

⁷ As they always had been. See, *e.g.*, F. Dexinger, “Limits of Tolerance in Judaism: The Samaritan Example”, in E.P. Sanders, *et al.* (eds.), *Self-Definition II*, 88-114.

⁸ *Cf.* Dunn, *Partings*, ch. 2, “The Four Pillars of Second Temple Judaism”: monotheism, election and land, Torah, and Temple are “the axiomatic convictions round which the more diverse interpretations and practices of the different groups within Judaism revolved” (35, un-italicized).

The first, despite the assumptions to the contrary for the period after the exile, was nationality. This was not an excluder – conversion always remained a possibility: but anyone born within the covenant had automatic membership. In “Crossroads” Schiffman shows “conclusively” that no-one could be excluded from the Jewish people as a result of any beliefs or actions.¹ Indeed, it was because the emerging rabbinic Pharisees simply could not think in terms of Jewish groups, Christians included, as ‘no-longer-Jewish’ that after the destruction of the Temple they resorted to identifiers like **בְּרֵכַת הַמְּנִיִּים**.² Despite the impact of the Temple destruction on Jewish identity, not least in the Diaspora,³ nationality prevented the final parting until after bar Kokhba: with Jewish Christians and their pagan converts ignoring halakah, and Jerusalem gone, only now was the replacement of nationality in full view.⁴

The second was individuality. The Christian sects alone were hardly responsible for this growing emphasis. Quite independently, the process of rethinking how history and eschatology, the “temporal” and the “spiritual”, were to be linked had already taken on a new vigour with the Pharisaic revolution. The Pharisees proclaimed that the God of revelation was no longer simply the Father of the patriarchs and the people Israel, He was the Heavenly Father of the individual. For the person who internalized the Pharisaic system of oral and written Law and guided his life by it, the guarantee of eternal life stood on the horizon. Not just within the “liberal spiritualizing midrash” of the “Hellenized Diaspora”, then, but within Pharisaic tradition itself, there had been a spiritualising of the eschatological together with a shift from nation to individual, rightly observed by Ruether in the Fourth Gospel.⁵

¹ 140, *cf.* 152: Schiffman uses *m. Sanh* 10.3 and *t. Sanh* 13.2 to show that exclusion from a portion in the world to come (*m. Sanh* 10.1) “does not imply expulsion from the Jewish people”.

² Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 288-293: the various sects singled out by **בְּרֵכַת הַמְּנִיִּים** were ultimately outlawed because in their halakhic non-conformity they questioned the election of Israel.

³ See Goodman, “Diaspora”.

⁴ See D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (ABRL; New York, *etc.*: Doubleday, 1992). This switch has never since been reversed. Despite the flexibility of Jewish identity in modern Israel (*cf.* Dunn, “Question”, 181), the Jewish Supreme Court refused 5,000 Falasha Jews admission to Israel in April 1993 because they were non-halakhic, *i.e.*, Christians.

⁵ Ellis Rivkin, one of the leading scholars of the late 60’s and 70’s to write on the Pharisaic movement and revolution, spoke consistently of the process of internalization and individualism as its hallmarks. See esp. Rivkin, “Meaning”, esp. 391; *idem*, “The Pharisaic Background of Christianity” in M. Zeik & M. Seigel (eds.), *Root and Branch: The Jewish / Christian Dialogue* (Williston Park,

The third, and increasingly most important, was a gradually evolving praxis – “Although we interpret [differently], we do not act differently”.¹ Throughout Second Temple times the four basic requirements for becoming a proselyte were *all* halakhic – acceptance of the Torah, circumcision for males, immersion and sacrifice;² from before the Maccabean revolt κοινοφαγία ranked with ἡ ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις παρανομία as the chief mark of covenant disloyalty,³ while the increasingly elaborate halakah attested in *Jubilees* (2:17-33; 50:6-13), the *Damascus Document* (10.14 – 11.18), and the Gospels (Mk 2:23 – 3:5, pars.), shows the growing importance of Sabbath observance as a test of covenant righteousness for Jews; *Jubilees* condemns both the sons of Israel who failed to circumcise their sons as “making themselves like the gentiles”, and those Jews who use a lunar rather than solar calendar to calculate the feast days for “forgetting the feasts of the covenant and walking in the feasts of the gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance” (15:33-34; 6:15);⁴ Paul can describe Jews at large with the metonymy ἡ περιτομή as opposed to the rest of humanity who are ἡ ἀκροβυστία (Ro 2:25-7; 3:30; 4:9-12; Ga 2:7-8), including himself in his pre-conversion days among those zealous for the law (Ga 1:13-14; Php 3:6);⁵ the Psalms of Solomon utterly condemn their opponents, probably Sadducees – “Their lawless actions surpassed the gentiles” (1:8; cf. 8:13); the Pharisees and Essenes express their separateness within Jewish circles primarily in their distinctive halakhic rulings – specifically regarding table fellowship.⁶ The Qumranians perhaps exceeded

NY: Roth Publishing, 1973), 48-49. Ruether too, despite virtually ignoring it in *Fratricide* (esp. ch. 5), conceded this shift in Pharisaic thought in R. Ruether, “The Pharisees in First Century Judaism”, *The Ecumenist* 11.1 (1972), esp. 3-4.

¹ *t. Yom* 1.8 – a Sadducees’ dictum. Schiffman, “Crossroads”, sees this factor as finally making Judaism not tolerate Christianity when it had tolerated all manner of aberrations hitherto.

² The last one was abandoned after the Temple destruction. See *Sifre Nu* 108.

³ Jos. A. 11.8.7. Mattathias exemplified a growing zeal for the law (1 Macc 2:19-27; Jos. A. 12.6.2) which the revolt itself epitomized (1 Macc 2:26,27,50,58; 2 Macc 4:2).

⁴ Cf. e.g., Jub 2:9; 6:32-35; 1 En 82:4-7,9; IQS 1.14-15; CD 3.14-15. Dunn, “Echoes”, 471, notes the relationship with the ἐνιαυτός of Ga 4:10.

⁵ Dunn, *Galatians*, 238ff. (cf. *idem*, “Echoes”, 473ff.) shows how Paul himself attacks such Jewish ‘zealots’ in Ga 4:21, though that Dunn prefers to call them “Christian-Jewish missionaries” (*Galatians*, 9 n. 2, 11; cf. “Echoes”, 475) rather than “Judaizers” is semantic quibbling.

⁶ See e.g., Schürer, *History* II², 396-397; A.F. Segal, *Rebecca’s Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 124-128; S.J.D. Cohen, *From Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 119, 129-132, 154-159, 162; A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1988), 215, 220-221; also Neusner’s several contributions. Dunn, “Echoes”, 460, suggests that Paul’s

everyone in their deliberately distinctive מעשי תורה (1QS 5.21,23; 6.18; 4QFlor = 4Q174 1.1-7): 4QMMT, מקצת מעשי התורה, is a list of some of these halakhic rulings within the context of a dispute between Qumran and the Jerusalem authorities,¹ while in CD 12.8-11 & 13.14-16 commerce with “the sons of the Pit” is almost as tightly controlled as that with gentiles.

Sanders has long effectively encapsulated the halakhic conformity that many Jews enjoined upon themselves as “covenantal nomism”.² The then classic appellative for “gentile”, רִשְׁעִי, was frequently used in “intra-Jewish factional disputes” by one side for the other, often including Sadducees and Pharisees (Ps 9:17; Tob 13:6; Jub 33:23-4; PsSol 2:1-2), the issue being a point of halakah raised to such intensity as to make its observance of fundamental concern.³ Second Temple Judaism as much as biblical Judaism was primarily a religion of action rather than belief.

The break between Judaism and Christianity

This elasticity of first century Jewish faith has massive ramifications. It is precisely because Dunn sees Matthew, John and Acts as all “composed within a period when the character of what we have to call “Judaism” (or Judaisms) was under dispute and its boundaries in process of being redrawn”, that he can argue that they “still see

reference to Cephas “separating himself” (Ga 2:12) in his table fellowship was part of this same tendency – “Cephas played the Pharisee”!

¹ For a preview of the letter, see L.H. Schiffman, “The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect”, *BA* 53 (1990), 64-73; on 4QMMTa (394), see E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, “An Unpublished Halakhic letter from Qumran. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology”, *BAT* (1984. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 400-407. 4QMMT a-d (394-399) have now been published in *DJD X* (1994). Also see L.H. Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period”, in G.J. Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSPSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 245-250; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 182-200. E.P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: TPI, 1990), 37 & n. 12, goes so far as to suggest that it was sent to a high priest.

² E.P. Sanders, *Paul*, 75, 420, 544. Paul means this when he refers to ἔργα νόμου (e.g., Ga 2:16); see e.g., J. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1988; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 78, 82; G.W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 102-103, 114; Dunn, “Yet”; *idem*, “Echoes”, 466, which compares it to Qumran’s מעשי תורה.

³ Dunn, “Echoes”, 463 (cf. n. 13), which cites 1 Macc 1:34; 2:44,48; 1 En 5:4-7; 82:4-5; 1QH 2.8-12; 1QpHab 5.4-5; PsSol 4:8; 13:6-12. For רִשְׁעִי see BDB s.v.

themselves as within the older walls of the Judaism of Jesus' time".¹ This is surely why the post-70 rabbinic successors to the Pharisees began to exert a wider control, until at the end of the century the rabbinic council at Yavneh, under the leadership first of Yohanan ben Zakkai and then Gamaliel II, began to rebuild the nation round the Torah and define Judaism more carefully in the face of other claimants of the covenant heritage, including Christianity.²

This was not simply because of Christians. Indeed, that the targums on key messianic scriptures such as Is 53 fail to mention Christianity need not merely be the result of a conspiracy of silence but may reflect the fact that Christian heresies were not always significant enough to warrant mention. Of greater significance for a period at least was the long and bitter struggle between the Pharisaic Houses of Shammai and Hillel.³ After 70 CE the former lost much of its influence until Gamaliel II declared that while the dicta of both houses were "like the words of the living God", those of Shammai were invalid.⁴ The fact is, during this extremely delicate period of Jewish solidification, the repressive Gamaliel felt it necessary as *Nasi* to brook opposition from *no-one*, even contemporary sages.⁵

Neither was **בְּרַכַּת הַמִּנִּים** the only liturgical means chosen to identify **מִנִּים**. Later rabbinic sources state that the Decalogue was dropped from the liturgy, despite having been recited daily in the Temple, in order to forestall a claim from them – probably including Christians though not necessarily exclusively – that Moses received no commandments on Mt. Sinai except the Ten.⁶ A bid to exclude

¹ Dunn, "Question", 210.

² As well as Alon, *Jews*, and Schäfer, *Studien*, see J. Neusner, "The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jamnia) from AD 70 to 100", *ANRW* II.19.2 (1979), 3-42.

³ On one occasion the former resorted to force and murder (*b. Šabb* 17a, *t. Šabb* 1.16-23; *y. Šabb* 1.7 [3c]). See S. Mendelsohn, "Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai", *JewEnc* 3, 115-6; Sh. Safrai, "Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai", *EncJud* 4, col. 737-741.

⁴ *b. 'Erub* 13b // *y. Ber* 1.7 (3b). See "Gamaliel, Rabban (II)", *EncJud* 7, col. 296.

⁵ He once excommunicated his own brother-in-law (*b. B. Mes* 59b).

⁶ *b. Ber* 12a; *y. Ber* 1.8 (3c); *cf. m. Tamid* 5.1; See J. Mann, "Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service", in J.J. Petuchowski (ed.), *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy* (New York: Ktav, 1970), 379-448, esp. 393; Jocz, *People*, 47-49; Barrett, *John*, 49f.; R.N. Grant, "The Decalogue in Early Christianity", *HTR* 40 (1947), 1-17; Townsend, "John", 86. *Cf. Ac* 7, according to which Moses received *λόγια ζῶντα* on Mt. Sinai before the golden-calf incident (vv. 38-41), but the result of his return to the mountain was an idolatrous cult (vv. 42f.).

Sadducees as **סַדּוּקֵי** appears in the second of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*: “God is the One who raises the dead.”¹

Nevertheless, it was the very forging of Christianity from *within* first century Jewish faith² that, typical of accredited sociological patterns, ensured that the eventual rivalry would be so sibling, the break so bitter.³ This was extenuated since ‘both sides’ appealed to the same symbols for their legitimacy, most notably, the Jewish scriptures.⁴ With so many “Judaisms” out of which there developed so many “Christianities”, there were a whole host of “Partings”, perhaps one for each Christian concern. That alone ensures that this complex issue,⁵ despite the renewed attention, will never receive a definitive answer.⁶ Even so, Dunn’s “pooling of specialist interests” in the hope of gaining “fresh clarity”⁷ has not been without reward.

First, it is no longer possible to defend a simple antithesis between ‘rabbinic’ Judaism and ‘orthodox’ Christianity. The significance of Jewish Christians at least up to bar Kokhba, often marginalized, is immense. Rowland’s careful analysis of apocalyptic and mystical material, and Chester’s text-by-text survey of eschatology and messianic hope, show that these topics sketch more the common heritage of Jews and Christians than trace separating paths. Indeed, so Chester, “[t]he ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ traditions

¹ *b. Sanh* 90b refers to the Sadducees as **סַדּוּקֵי**, commenting on *m. Sanh* 10.1 which voices the rabbis’ contempt for this group who, aside from denying the resurrection, also happened to reject Pharisaic oral law (see *Mk* 12:18, pars.; *Jos. B.* 2.165; *A.* 18.16; *'Avot R. Nat.*, tex a, 5 // tex b, 10). The relatively early *y. Ber* 5.4; [9c] (*bar.*) states that this benediction was used to identify **סַדּוּקֵי**.

² Rylaarsdam, “Relationships”, cogently suggests that Christianity, like other Jewish sects, developed out of the “eschatologically-oriented” Davidic covenant which, going back to scripture itself, was in constant tension with the more open-ended, “socio-religious”, Israelite covenant, out of which rabbinic Judaism developed.

³ *Cf.* Coser, *Functions*, prop. 6: “The closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict.” *Cf.* J.Z. Smith, “Difference”, 5: “For a Scotsman to opt for either Scottish or English ... is a more politically striking decision than to have chosen to speak either French or Chinese. The radically “other” is merely “other”; the proximate “other” is problematic, and hence, of supreme interest.”

⁴ Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (rev. ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), uses African witchcraft practices to show that “definable relationships exist between a group’s social position and its symbol system”. This is seen in John’s use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, which though symbolic reflects a social reality. Segal, “Ruler”, also shows how John gives ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων a negative connotation, the opposite to that given it in rabbinic literature, because of the need for contrast with sociologically similar groups.

⁵ Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 5, compares the separating of Christianity from Judaism to the separating of Siamese twins.

⁶ None of the twelve contributors to Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, attempts to definitively answer the “implicitly modern” question (Alexander, “Perspective”, 1) of “when and to what extent we can speak of the parting of the ways”, but tackles a related topic. None who answer “when” agree.

⁷ Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 363.

and texts may be divided as much within themselves as against each other.”¹ Lichtenberger similarly demonstrates the degree to which baptismal movements crossed the Jewish-Christian ‘divide’.²

Second, the “parting” came later than is often supposed. Alexander puts it much later than even 135 because of the evidence in rabbinic tradition, itself only in gradual ascendancy, of continuing interaction between rabbis and *Jewish Christian* מניי. ³ Goodman concurs. Despite the evidence for a parting at the close of the first century – Judeo-Greek writings from before this time preserved only by Christians (any written after preserved by no-one); Nerva’s *fiscus Judaicus* reforms exposing the need for non-Jewish (*i.e.*, Christian) identifiers; the increasingly religious distinction between Jew and Christian in Roman texts after c. 96 – the Yavnean assembly was only the beginning of a long process. ⁴ Birdsall highlights the exceptionally long-standing gnostic, anti-Pauline, Jewish Christianity resident in Syria, reflected in the Pseudo-Clementines. ⁵ Indeed, with the LXX “beanspruchte von den Christen” and the Synagogue continuing to read the scriptures in Hebrew, Aquila may well have been a targumic attempt by the rabbis to woo Greek-speaking Jews, in which case any serious parting cannot be put before the early second century.⁶

Third, and most important, christology is a key issue. Stuhlmacher is wrong to put the definitive break as early as Paul – even in the early second century the debate about Christ vs. Torah was “still a debate about relatives ... rather than complete and

¹ C. Rowland, “The Parting of the Ways: the Evidence of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Mystical Material”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 214-237; Chester, “Eschatology”, 304.

² H. Lichtenberger, “Synkretische Züge in jüdischen und judenchristlichen Taufbewegungen”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 85-98. Cf. the notion that such “Jewish-Christian baptismal movements functioned more as retarding factors” (Dunn [ed.], *Jews*, 364) on the various partings.

³ Alexander, “Perspective”. He argues that it only became final “with the triumph of Rabbinic Judaism” (24).

⁴ Goodman, “Diaspora”.

⁵ J.N. Birdsall, “Problems of the Clementine Literature”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 348-361.

⁶ See M. Hengel, “Die Septuaginta als von den Christen beanspruchte Schriften-sammlung bei Justin und den Vätern vor Origines”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 39-84, and Dunn’s summary (Dunn [ed.], *Jews*, 364, cf. 367): the parting “was very ‘bitty’, long drawn out and influenced by a range of social, geographical, and political as well as theological factors”; there was no “clear or single ‘trajectory’” for either side, nor necessarily an “ever widening gap”; and while 70-135 was “of particular importance” (368), a still-developing Yavnean-centred Judaism ensured that a broad, ambiguous “Jewish-Christian middle ground ... retained vitality long beyond this period”.

mutually exclusive opposites”.¹ He is right, however, to maintain the point so tenaciously won by Ruether, that the “Christusbild”, for sure rooted in Jesus and fundamentally developed by the “Paulus-Schule”, was the ultimate cause of the parting. “Der von ihnen beschrittene Weg kann nur um den Preis des Evangeliums und des christlichen Glaubens rückgängig gemacht werden.”²

Yet we must be careful. With christology so central, hindsight is bound to see seeds, often well germinated, of the parting throughout the New Testament: not just in Paul and John, but in Matthew and the historical Jesus.³ Indeed, it may well have been inevitable in the christological developments of a crucified Messiah made between 30-45.⁴ But it is not as if the ascendancy of rabbinism and the exclusion of Christianity were a given *at the time*. Hence the increasing unacceptability of post-70 christologies, including John’s (*viz.* Christ’s pre-existence and deity), to an emerging rabbinic Judaism, would have appeared to the contestants as part of the internal Jewish debate. This is surely why Christians, John included, not only held on to both a Jewish Jesus and earliest Christianity, but insisted on using “Jewish categories”.⁵

Much of early christology is perfectly compatible with a Jewish setting. Many Jewish Christians had their own Jewish nationalism, with Rome as the enemy, while the Christian hope of Jesus’ second coming shared the militaristic hopes of popular Jewish messianism.⁶ Rowland shows how closely the language used of Christ in Revelation parallels the Metatron speculation of 3 Enoch, suggesting an issue still alive within Judaism, especially that side of it involved in the “two powers heresy”. The fact is, a messianic claim was not even punishable, let alone blasphemous. It simply

¹ Dunn, “Question”, 211. Passages like Col 1:15-20 and Eph 2 suggest a “new concept of the community of God’s people” (365), but no more than the Dead Sea Scrolls do.

² P. Stuhlmacher, “Das Christbild der Paulus-Schule – eine Skizze”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 159-175. Ruether’s unrepentance in “Problems” even then was radical. The point had been made for centuries by Jews (*e.g.*, F.E. Talmage [ed.], *Disputation and Dialogue* [New York: Ktav, 1975], esp. Pt. II & bib.) but not by Christians until the 1970’s (*cf.* McGarry, *Christology*, for a review of official and unofficial statements). Christian interest remained evident in periodicals like *B*, *CC*, *etc.*

³ G.N. Stanton, “Matthew’s Christology and the Parting of the Ways”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 99-116. *Cf.* the summary on Stuhlmacher’s essay, Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 365.

⁴ Apparently this was Hengel’s conviction. See Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 368.

⁵ *Contra* Ruether, “Problems”, 236, that John develops a ‘Chalcedonian-like’ Sonship.

⁶ Horbury *apud* Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 367. Chester, “Eschatology”, esp. 252ff., notes messianic nationalism as a recurring factor in the *Shemoneh ’Esreh* and the 66-70 & 132-135 revolts.

required verification, whether historical – an executed Simon bar Kokhba (and Akiba) was soon forgotten – apocalyptic, or both. Either way Israel would be redeemed from her overlords, evil, sin and suffering would be banished, and the kingdom of God would be ushered in.

This did not happen in 30 CE. But despite Ruether's scandal of a crucified Messiah, echoed in the disciples' own rejection of Jesus,¹ the subsequent internalized christology alone was not enough to cause the parting. What Rivkin says about the structural congruency of Paul's notion of Christ with that of the salvific Torah exemplified in the contemporary Pharisaic revolution, we can say of John's: "Each was believed by its devotees to be the creation of God the Father. Each promises to deliver from sin and each offers eternal life and resurrection for the believing individual. Each preaches that Reality is within, not without. Each denies to *externality* the power to refute the certainties of an internalized faith. And each acknowledges that the messiah will come – or come again. But, until that unknown and perhaps unknowable day, salvation is at hand"²

Jewish literature has never been replete with vilifications of Jesus, and there is no *real* evidence to suggest that Jews have been offended by him *per se* at all. A much later Maimonides could accept him as part of the *praeparatio messianica* (Mishnah Torah), while a modern Lapidé can accept his resurrection "as a historical fact", even that he is the Messiah if he returns to do what Messiahs do.³

The christological debate, never so important within so praxic a setting, remained internal to the Jewish faith. Even regarding Jn 8:44 Ruether concedes that "the *unbelieving* Jewish brothers" are children of the Devil.⁴ Jews would not persecute gentiles who adopted Jewish ideas along with faith in Jesus, Jews who

¹ Cf. Buck, "Sentiments", 177: "the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah became the object of ridicule ... when a sect continued to believe in him in spite of the fact that Jesus had been put to death as a criminal".

² Rivkin, "Meaning", 401; cf. *idem*, "Pharisaic", 48-49. Baum similarly, while mentioning Rylaarsdam (Ruether, *Fratricide*, 10-11), fails to see his full relevance. Yet Rylaarsdam, "Relationships", esp. 251, puts Christianity's "historicizing of the eschatological" perfectly within a Jewish setting, *viz.*, the reversing of the priority of the Israelite and Davidic covenants.

³ Lapidé, *Resurrection*, 123.

⁴ Ruether, "Problems", 238, italics mine.

taught gentiles to believe in Jesus apart from the Torah, even Jews who kept the commandments through faith in Jesus Messiah (“the idea ... is absurd” ¹). Thus according to Hegesippus, James, the Lord’s brother, kept the favour of the Jews until he died because he remained faithful to the Torah. ² “But if it were even suspected that a Jew was teaching other Jews to abandon their Judaism, *i.e.*, to throw off the yoke of the Torah, that would be quite another matter.” ³ That Jews, including the pre-converted Paul, persecuted Christians at all ⁴ was because Christians like Stephen did precisely that (*cf.* Ac 21:20-26). ⁵ The *practical* cause of the parting was halakah. ⁶

Yet Ruether is right that the marginalizing of halakah was the inevitable corollary of christology: while the divinity claim for Jesus arose to express the Christian’s soteriological dependency on him, this dependency was grounded in a recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, not *vice versa*. ⁷ As later Jewish messianisms like Sabbatianism show, the messianic “covenant” had radical antinomian potential. ⁸ Torah was the expression of the covenant with God now, but no-one was sure what would happen after the Messiah came. Some, notably those with non-apocalyptic messianic expectations, could not imagine anything higher than the most faithful keeping of it. Yet there remained the possibility that it would be superseded or internalized. Even the Qumranians, though certain that they possessed the definitive

¹ Gaston, “Paul”, 65.

² Eus. *H.E.* II, xxiii.

³ Gaston, “Paul”, 66.

⁴ There may well have been “some sort of trajectory” from Paul’s persecution of the Church, through Ac 26:11, Ga 4:29, Jn 9:22, to Justin’s references to Jewish cursing of and general reaction to Christians; and the rise of Jewish nationalism “was bound to result in Jewish attempts to marginalize Christians” (Dunn [ed.], *Jews*, 367). But the impression Wilde, *Treatment*, gives, that Jewish persecutions of Christians were sustained over several generations, is ill-founded – some of his texts are not relevant while others refer to the Apostolic Age.

⁵ Meagher, “Twig”, 19-20: “It pleased Christians ... to ascribe their sufferings to persecution on account of their acknowledgement of Jesus Christ [but] I do not think that they put their finger quite upon the Jewish pulse. They were persecuted for abusing the Torah.” *Cf. op. cit.*, 21, where he describes Jesus as an “incidental consideration”.

⁶ Dunn (esp. *Jesus*, ch. 3; *Partings*, ch. 6) traces the effects of halakhic non-conformity (esp. in table fellowship) from the disputes between Jesus and his fellow Jews (Mk 2:16; Mt 11:19 // Lk 7:34) to the final parting after the Temple destruction.

⁷ *Contra* Monika Hellwig, “From the Jesus of Story to the Christ of Dogma”, in A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, 118-136, esp. 122. By isolating “Jewish-Christian anti-Judaism” Hare too (“Rejection”, 30ff.) intends to prove against Ruether that halakah not christology caused the parting. He misses the point. Christology was the cause of this halakhic non-conformity.

⁸ See esp. G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 49-77.

interpretation of how to keep it, said nothing of what would happen once the Messiahs came. Thus Jews who believed that Jesus was the Messiah could deem it no longer necessary to observe halakah. And when they put this into practice their unbelieving Jewish counterparts would soon begin to deem their messianic faith invalid.

While there can be little doubt that *Barnabas* and Justin Martyr reflect the *fait accompli* side of the parting process, as Horbury shows they do so only just – the outlook is one of anti-Judaism, but formed by Jewish culture and influenced by Jewish public opinion, the bitterness in *Barnabas* especially implying a danger of relapse into Judaism.¹ And as far as Dunn is concerned *none* of the New Testament writers present a situation as far gone as theirs.² Thus McHugh, in highlighting the dramatic character of the Fourth Gospel together with the schematic, formulaic, nature of its christology to suggest a more intellectual debate over the community’s own identity, the debate with Judaism now past, occasions a “lively debate”.³

Bearing in mind all the above, we will argue that John has no doubt that he himself, his community and his Gospel are all Jewish. The local synagogue is part of the process headed by the up-and-coming Pharisees in which halakah is becoming their primary means of self-definition, the prime mover of this being the loss of the Temple. But for John, with the Messiah and the new age now here, any Jew would have to be blind not to see Jesus as the Temple replacement. From the perspective of the Yavnean inheritors of the Pharisaic legacy, *i.e.*, the modern perspective, John’s community stands outside Judaism. But for the first century participants in the struggle for the Jewish ‘high ground’ the outcome is far from clear. This is why the synagogue leadership has been so intent on expelling John’s community, while John remains so intent on convincing still wavering synagogue members that Jesus is Messiah.

It really is not possible to argue that John puts any great store by halakhic observance – because he does not. Gaston and Gager struggle with their argument that

¹ W. Horbury, “Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr”, in Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 315-345.

² Dunn, “Question”, presents Matthew, Acts and John as all written ‘pre-parting’; *cf. idem* (ed.), *Jews*, 367f.; and on Paul, *idem*, *Partings*, 140ff.

³ Certainly Jn 9:22; 16:2; 19:15 suggest “something more urgent”. See McHugh, “Life”, and Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 365.

while Paul will not have Torah imposed on his gentile converts, he does not counsel Jewish converts to abandon it but merely expects them to add the belief that Jesus is the Christ to their faith – fundamentally because Paul himself abandons it. For sure, his motivation is to identify with his gentile converts: but what about other Jews working with such converts? those wanting to follow his example? and those who insist? ¹ Paul (like other Church leaders) had constantly to curb antinomian excesses and bring overly enthusiastic groups back to earth by prescribing substitute forms of law. But he *knew* that it was unnecessary for gentiles to keep Torah because Jesus is salvation; and that it was not enough for Jews to keep it because *only* Jesus is salvation.

A later Ephesian community would find it sociologically impossible to backtrack from this. Not that halakah is the issue for John. Nowhere does he hint that it should be abandoned or that he has abandoned it: McHugh's notion that John presents his riposte to the Synoptists' "Kingdom", *i.e.*, "life", as found in Jesus *excluding* Torah, ² exists only in McHugh's imagination. Yet John's salvifically self-contained christology implicitly renders halakhic observance obsolete as much as Paul's does. As Ruether agrees, only the practicalities of gentile mission would bring this out, a context that we will argue largely does not apply to John. But especially with the Temple gone the local synagogue is already feeling the difference between a messianic and non-messianic Jewish faith. Indeed, perhaps it was John's community that more than anything was forcing halakhic observance to the forefront of the Pharisees' agenda.

¹ Ruether, "Problems", 241: "as a non-Torah-keeper with gentiles and a Torah-keeper with Jews, [Paul] had already reduced Torah-keeping to a meaningless conformity to obsolete religious sensibilities".

² McHugh, "Life", 125. Meagher's contention ("Twig", 21), that rejection from the synagogue for acknowledging Jesus is John's "shorthand" for "a radical reinterpretation of Torah in the name of Jesus", is equally groundless.

Terminology

A vital corollary of a truer conception of first century Jewish faith is that the popular, post-Holocaust, notion that all forms of Jewish criticism are antisemitic, is false and dangerous. Greater precision is required. So Klasson, “negative assessment of the contribution of Judaism to a given historical debate should not be automatically termed ‘anti-Semitism’. Not every prophet of the Old Testament or writer of the New who criticizes the Israelite people is to be called anti-Semitic”, only those who “criticize by broadside condemnation”.¹ Fundamentally, there is a distinction between antisemitism and anti-Judaism: the former connotes racial enmity,² the latter religious.³

Quirks exist within antisemitism: Gilman documents the phenomenon of *Jewish* antisemitism,⁴ while not all antisemites hate all Jews – Eichmann spoke at his trial of personal kindness he had extended to prisoners as a private person.⁵ Yet it falls into three main categories: modern racial, ancient pagan and Christian. Similarly within anti-Judaism: a Jew can be anti-Judaic, while of course so can non-Christians.⁶ Yet the Christian variety, unique because of the relationship Christianity has with Judaism, falls into two main categories: internal polemic and external criticism.

Antisemitism

The late Hannah Arendt is the foremost proponent of the popular view, that modern antisemitism, racial and anti-Christian, is unique: “Antisemitism, a secular

¹ Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 7; cf. Gager, *Origins*, 7f.

² Gager, *Origins*, 17 (italics mine): antisemitism is “a fundamental and systematic hostility toward Jews”. Klasson cites Tt 1:12 as “the kind of prejudice ... inherent” in it.

³ Gaston, “Paul”, 50. He notes that someone can be anti-Judaic without being antisemitic. Dunn, “Question”, 180, is right that the term ‘anti-Jewish’ is too all-embracing to be of any real use. His criticism of ‘anti-Judaism’ – “it implies that “Judaism” is a clear-cut entity” – however, is a red herring. The term’s usefulness lies in its distinguishing of religious from racial enmity – Dunn’s real criticism is of those who use the term when they really mean ‘intra-Jewish polemic’.

⁴ S.L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1986). All Gilman’s examples hail from modern times.

⁵ Dunn, “Question”, 179, also notes that some non-Jews deem themselves Semites.

⁶ Cf. Gager, *Origins*, 118: “... there is an important similarity of function between Christian and pagan polemic against Judaism. Both were bent on making Judaism seem unattractive”

nineteenth-century ideology ... and religious Jew-hatred, inspired by the mutual hostile antagonism of two conflicting creeds, are obviously not the same ... The notion of an unbroken continuity of persecutions, expulsions, and massacres from the end of the Roman Empire ... down to our time ... is ... fallacious ... Historically, the hiatus between the late Middle Ages and the modern age with respect to Jewish affairs is even more marked than the rift between Roman antiquity and the Middle Ages.”¹

To an extent she is wrong. While not the ‘scissors and paste’ history of times past, hers remains an artificial schematizing of smooth transition:² historical periods are the figment of the historian who wants to ‘story’, the misuse of dialectic. She is also misguided. None of this bears any relation to the issue of causality between modern racial antisemitism and Christianity.³ Yet there *are* trends in history – those living during the Renaissance recognized that they were shaping history in a specific way: and to the extent that modern antisemitism exhibits events and a philosophy hitherto unseen in world history she is correct. Modern racial antisemitism is unique in that it alone can be, and is, based on a purely racist ideologue.⁴

The distinction between it and ancient pagan antisemitism is clear. Not that of Ruether – “The pagan might alternatively dislike or be curious about the Jew ... but he has no particular desire to destroy him”⁵ – the ancient world could at least *comprehend* genocide of the Jewish race, as the stories of Pharaoh’s and Herod’s attempted infanticide, and Haman’s plot against Mordecai’s people show. Rather, that of motivation: ancient pagan antisemitism derived from “the special social

¹ Hannah Arendt, *Antisemitism: The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966²), vii, *cf.* 9. E. Rivkin, *The Shaping of Jewish History* (New York: Scribner’s, 1971), offers a similar view.

² See E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965), 3; Gager, *Origins*, 267. Ruether, *Fratricide*, 215, notes that especially for the Jew, for whom the “Middle Ages” extends virtually into this century, “the imagined discontinuity between mediaeval anti-Judaism and Nazism narrows to uncomfortable proximity”.

³ Her motivation is clear: Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking, 1963), 297, “the charge against Christianity ... cannot be proven, and if it could be proven, it would be horrible”; Rivkin too uses the chasm between mediaeval and modern Jewish history to negate the role of Christian anti-Judaism within modern antisemitism.

⁴ *Cf.* Dunn, “Question”, 179f. See the excellent paper, A.T. Davies, “On Religious Myths and their Secular Translation. Some Historical Reflections”, in *idem* (ed.), *Foundations*, 188-207.

⁵ Ruether, “Problems”, 247.

consequences of the Jewish religious law”.¹ Ancient references to the Jews as a “race” (γένος, ἔθνος, φύλον) do not embody the peculiarly modern concept, neither was the Jew associated with a particular occupation, socio-economic strata, moral defect, or danger to the empire. The ignorance and subterfuge of the modern mind has foisted upon the ancient mind what the latter could never have conceived by itself.

The variety within ancient Jewish life and faith demands the same of ancient antisemitism. Klasson takes Sevenster to task for not clearly distinguishing between “uneasiness that outsiders felt toward Jews because they were different or successful, puzzlement that outsiders felt toward Jewish religion, hatred that came out of special circumstances, fear of the Jews among outsiders in part as a result of compulsory circumcisions or ... Jewish attempts to destroy totally such people as did not allow the Jews exclusive possession of a land that they felt was theirs by Divine right”.²

That antisemitism predated Christianity also means that Christianity cannot be made responsible for every instance of it in the ancient world. Ruether has a case that, far from Christian antisemitism being traceable to pagan origins, “[h]istorically, the relationship is somewhat the reverse”,³ yet it remains: *some* antisemitic notions existed independent of Christian influence. Indeed, Alexandria shows that they could exert considerable influence on Christianity centuries later.⁴ Nevertheless, Meagher’s apologetic, that Christianity used its anti-Jewish theology to cover up the antisemitism it had imbibed from gentile converts, typically overestimates ancient pagan antisemitism and its effect on Christianity; misunderstands it as being of the same

¹ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 24. Leipoldt, *Antisemitismus*, was the first to articulate the distinction. It is often not applied. Sevenster, *Roots*, 56, concedes that “there is not a single indication to be found in ancient literature that antisemitism in the ancient world used the theory of race as a weapon of attack”, yet still misuses Philo *L.A.* 159-161 to imply that it was widespread and Hitler-like (11-13).

² Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 8.

³ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 28.

⁴ This is not directly relevant to us. The Fourth Gospel’s provenance is almost certainly Ephesus. This is the only adequate explanation for the traditional claim which appeals to little evidence – Demetrius and Gaius of 3 Jn being in Ephesus (Ac 19:24; Ro 16:23). Moreover, Paul separates the Christians from the Jews here (*cf.* ἀποσυνάγωγος), and John’s baptism is here (Ac 19 – perhaps John’s polemic use of ὁ κόσμος is echoed in those proclaiming μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων). See Barrett, *Gospel*, 129.

genre as Christian antisemitism; and wrongly assumes that the gentiles attracted to Christianity were the same ones that were repelled by Judaism.¹

Simon in *Verus Israel* pioneered the distinction, developed by Lovsky and others, between ‘anti-Jewish polemic’ and ‘Christian anti-Semitism’. The former is an ideological conflict in which Christianity defends its originality and legitimacy over against Judaism, the latter is a reaction against the Jewish refusal of that defence, an increasing hostility toward Jews in general until in the fourth century it became the ideological justification for anti-Jewish legislation and the destruction of synagogues. While admitting that this antisemitism drew on pagan sources, he rightly recognized its religious and theological basis as rendering it distinct from that too.

The ancient world was no more demarcatory than the modern world, and ancient pagan and early Christian antisemitism undoubtedly exhibited parallels. The former provided an ingredient for the distilling of the latter and gave it an extra edge when Christianity became the state religion, the distinction blurred all the more by the Church’s having become primarily non-Jewish and disassociated ethnically from the Jewish community. Thus Ruether’s argument that while a “certain repulsion against circumcision among the Greeks may add fuel to the negative interpretation of this rite by the Church Fathers ... the main source ... is Paul’s view that circumcision is not a sign of election”² may get things the wrong way round. Those Christians with a pagan dislike of circumcision either had to change their mind or defend it: the action of Hellenized Jews back in the second century BCE and the definition of ideology as defence of practice, suggest that with the former impossible they opted for the latter. The principle is sure: the motives the Church gave for its anti-Judaism need not always have been the real motives – those of pagan antisemitism.

Ruether, Isaac and Simon are correct, however, that despite occasional borrowings the two are fundamentally different. The one arose from a sense of social

¹ Meagher, “Twig”. Idinopulos & Ward, “Christology?”, 200f., offer a similar rationale. This is a return to Leipoldt’s suggestion in *Antisemitismus*, summarized in *idem*, “Antisemitismus”, esp. 470, that pagan antisemitism grew to such an extent that Christianity could not keep itself untainted by it. See further, 50-82. On the last point, cf. Gager, *Origins*, 31.

² Ruether, *Fratricide*, 29.

‘otherness’, the other from sectarian hostility against a rival creed fast achieving normative status. The Christian could never vilify the Jew for the same reason as the pagan: he had a similar biblical outlook to the Jew, especially toward the pagan world in need of salvation, and in the early years was often the same ethnically. Indeed, he and the Jew shared a fundamental antipathy toward pagan culture and were subject to the same pagan criticism. The sibling rivalry, exacerbated by the continued existence of a Judaism “lively and proselytizing”,¹ made his vilifying reach an intensity that Juvenal’s or Tacitus’s rarely possessed. Cicero could look with disdain at Jewish (and Christian) *superstitio* and claims of Jews to an exclusive right over the revelations of deity, but unlike Chrysostom he never thought to brand them as demonic.

Christianity claimed cultural superiority not as “true Hellenism” but as “true Israel”, the old redundant and forsaken by God. Ruether is right: “Between a pagan who objects to Jews because they are funny-smelling orientals who refuse to assimilate into Greek ways and absurdly regard their God as the only true one, and the Christian who rejects the Jews as the apostate Israel who has refused to recognize her messiah, there is a gulf that is more than rhetoric.”² Christian opposition to the Jews was not “benignly theological” until it inculcated pagan views.³ It had a bitter root of its own.

Until the mid-second century both pagan antisemitism and Jewish persecution of Christians were at times far more acrimonious than Christian antisemitism. But neither had its vitriolic possibilities – בְּרִצְתָּ הַמְּנִים was not genocidal! Those aspects of pagan antisemitism it could take over it gave a new savagery, enshrining them in an ideology that produced thirty-, sixty-, hundred-fold. The Jew’s ability to question the very foundations of the Christian claim made him a mortal danger and genuine alternative to a gentitized Christianity that had no space for him.

Yet that Jews, unlike all other groups, were allowed to exist as a distinct religious grouping under Christian state dominance shows the religious rather than

¹ *Op. cit.*, 123.

² *Idem*, “Problems”, 233. Indeed, to present itself as true Israel Christianity borrowed those very facets of Judaism that appealed to the educated pagan – its antiquity, written scriptures, high moral standing and monotheism.

³ *Cf. idem, Fratricide*, 23.

racial orientation of Christian antisemitism: Jews are to be converted into sons of God, not killed. In this respect it differs too from modern racial antisemitism. The two types of anti-Jewish rhetoric though frequently mixed together, especially with Hitler's arrival, were not spun from the same yarn but related "as a complex system of diverse and even antagonistic forces that operated side by side"¹ Even so, Hellwig misses the point when she presents 'Christian anti-Judaism' as more correct than 'Christian antisemitism' as an appellation for all Christian anti-Jewish rhetoric.² Certainly such rhetoric has a religious origin, but it is not all aimed against religion: it has a nasty habit of turning on those people who keep that religion.

Anti-Judaism

A genuinely Jewish form of self-criticism, without which Jewish faith would have quickly degenerated to a soulless religion, was hallowed tradition in Israel.³ Such intra-Jewish critique was characteristic of the biblical prophets and later sectarian and reformist movements within Judaism. Its basic assumption is that God has not and will not finally abandon Israel for her sin, but will open up a way of reconciliation, if only for a remnant (*cf.* Eze 23, the classical Old Testament example). It was a popular theme that Israel has always resisted and persecuted God's prophets, not just in pseudepigraphal literature and rabbinic haggadah,⁴ but in the scriptures (*e.g.*, 2 Chr 24:19; 36:15f.; *cf.* Ac 7:52⁵). Indeed, the Chronicler portrays the destruction of the first Temple as punishment for it. The proponent of this internal critique stood within the Abrahamic covenant and called Israel to become more faithful to the covenant's

¹ Tal, *Christians*, 226. Thus the Christian theological *Judenfeinde* like Adolf Stöcker firmly repudiated the new racial forms, while Dietrich Bonhoeffer remained intransigently opposed to racist ideas as they were incorporated into social legislation, especially the Aryan Paragraph (248-249).

² Hellwig, "Jesus", 133 n. 2.

³ See Baum, *Anti-Semitic?*, 69-74.

⁴ *Lives of the Prophets* reports the martyrdoms of five of the literary prophets, all at Jewish hands, and where possible gives the location of the grave, no doubt much sought by pilgrims.

⁵ This is an exaggeration, but L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews 4* (Philadelphia: Jew. Publ. Soc. Amer., 1947), 295, cites a haggadah in which Jeremiah declares: "O Lord, I cannot go as a prophet to Israel, for when lived there a prophet whom Israel did not desire to kill?" Chilton, *Galilean*, 133-137, notes that Jesus and the Isaiah Targum share a thematic emphasis on the refusal of God's people to listen to the prophets (*cf.* Mt 5:12 [= Lk 6:23] and *Tg. Is* 28:11).

expression in the Torah (however it was interpreted) as this was the basis for the fulfilment of the messianic promise.¹

In what made him distinctive – his teaching on God’s kingdom and his activity in the Temple – Jesus operated within this prophetic tradition.² Dunn is happy that on the subject of the Temple Jesus stands “*well within the diversity of second Temple Judaism*”,³ while Ruether notes, “Selective modification of observance of the Law on such principles as “the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath” would have infuriated rigorists, but it had nothing to do with abrogation of the Law. It was the sort of ethical deepening of the tradition in which the rabbis in general were engaged in his day.”⁴ Synoptic references to the Jewish leaders – the scribes, pharisees and high priest – as his enemies may well be later insertions, but it is wrong to say that Jesus never specified his opponents:⁵ he *did* castigate some of the priestly and proto-rabbinic leaders of his day for their lack of spirituality and their non-response and opposition. Yet this “secondary development”⁶ was still well within the bounds of Jewish self-critique and had no relation to christology – at least not in Ruether’s sense.

Dunn’s silent negative to his question – can the historical Jesus’ “implicit critique of the cult in regard to purity issues” be considered “any more severe in its ramifications than the critique of Temple and priesthood made by the *Psalms of Solomon* or the Qumran covenanters? Or the earlier prophetic critique as the prophets pressed for a proper balance and priority in Israelite spirituality?”, is fully justified.⁷

¹ For a good overview of this prophetic critique, see Mary C. Callaway, “A Hammer that Breaks Rocks in Pieces: Prophetic Critique in the Hebrew Bible”, in Evans & Hagner (eds.), *Anti-Semitism*, 21-38; also Evans, “Faith”, 3-10.

² This point is made by B. Chilton, “Jesus and the Question of Anti-Semitism”, in Evans & Hagner (eds.), *Anti-Semitism*, 39-52.

³ Dunn, *Partings*, 56.

⁴ Ruether, “Problems”, 235. Cf. Hare, “Rejection”, 29: “... the Jesus movement, like that of John the Baptist before it, was from the beginning a conversionist sect within Judaism.”

⁵ *Contra* R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Eng. tr., J. Marsh; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 52f. They are named in the earliest Markan material (e.g., 2:23ff.; 3:22f.).

⁶ Hare, “Rejection”, 29.

⁷ Dunn, *Partings*, 55. Chilton, *Galilean*, compares Jesus’ actions, especially his final ones in Jerusalem, with the activities of early rabbis such as Hillel and Simeon ben Gamaliel; Vermes, *Jesus*, compares him to the charismatic figures, Honi the Circle Drawer and Hanina ben Dosa; cf. O. Michel, *Prophet und Märtyrer* (BFCT 37.2; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1932), 14: “Jesu Messianität ist prophetisch. Sie erhebt sich auf prophetischer Grundlage, sie lebt von prophetischen Gesetzen”; G. Friedrich, *TDNT* 6 (1968), 841. J.A. Sanders, “From Isa 61 to Luke 4”, in Neusner (ed.), *Christianity* 1, 75-106 (repr. in Evans & J.A. Sanders, *Luke*, 46-69), sees the quotation of Is 61 in Lk 4:18ff., especially in light of

After Jesus' death, his *haburah*, convinced of his resurrection, could proclaim him as Messiah. Yet far from being the sword dividing bone from marrow as it is often assumed, this went hand in hand with the post-resurrection community's imminent eschatological expectations. Its earliest Jewish members could have never proclaimed Jesus as such unless they believed that he would return to do what Messiahs do.¹

'Judaizers' are proof of the greyness of the line of demarcation. Tacitus, Juvenal and Josephus note the pagan variety,² while the New Testament itself is the best witness for the Christian variety. Gaston, Gager and E.P. Sanders are surely right at least some of the time when they present Paul's 'anti-Judaic' language (*e.g.*, 2 Cor; Ga; Php 3:2-3) as only directed at Christians, not always Jewish, encouraging Paul's converts to observe Jewish laws as part of their Christian living. It certainly seems the case that the principal opposition to the missionaries in Galatia were Jewish Christians teaching that the gentile converts should be circumcised.³ Popular Christianity often saw no dichotomy between observing halakah and Jesus' Messiah-/Lord-ship.

It is difficult to know what to call this earliest Christian critique. Gager rightly considers Hare's appellation, 'Prophetic Anti-Judaism', misleading in that it implies a negative attitude toward Judaism although intended to describe an internal debate in which the central symbols themselves are not in dispute. He substitutes the phrase *intra-Jewish polemic*.⁴ Ruether too prefers not to term the kind of attitude that still sees life and salvation in Judaism as anti-Judaic, but would "regard the development as more dialectical ... The difference between prophetic self-critique and anti-Judaism lies in the relation of the critic to the covenant and the Torah of Israel".⁵ The principle is

11QMelch, as a piece of "prophetic criticism" going back to Jesus. So does Evans (& Chilton), "Jesus", 321-327, also noting 4Q521; *cf.* J.A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), ch. 8.

¹ Even later, professing Jesus to be the Messiah was made incompatible with synagogue worship simply to help filter out those not observing halakah.

² Josephus's most famous account is of the cities which, during the Roman Wars, know that they are to kill the Jews but cannot decide whether or not this includes the Judaizers, of whom there must have been sufficient numbers to have made this a significant dilemma.

³ E.P. Sanders, "Paul", 83.

⁴ Gager, *Origins*, 9; *cf.* Hare, "Rejection", 29. Dunn, "Question", 180f., makes a similar criticism: "How can prophetic critique of priest or people be described as an example of "anti-Judaism"?" Gager's substitution has been widely accepted, *e.g.*, Dunn, "Echoes".

⁵ Ruether, "Problems", 235.

clear: there is a fundamental difference between criticizing the Jewish faith from the *inside* and criticizing it from the *outside*. The former is necessarily constructive, while the latter *may* be destructive, aimed at Judaism *per se*.

This difference makes Hare divide Christian anti-Judaism into three types: Prophetic, Jewish Christian and Gentilizing. The middle type, emerging for the first time after Jesus' death and resurrection, he applies to that anti-Judaism in which Jesus fulfils and thereby negates the old covenant. ¹ Faithful gentiles now stand alongside faithful Jews as the new Israel and "Israel manifests its apostasy ... by refusing to acknowledge the crucial importance for salvation history of the crucified and risen Jesus". This type, however, still retains "the basic assumption of prophetic anti-Judaism that repentance was still possible because God had *not* rejected his people". Thus Jewish-Christian missionaries evangelized among their own people, despite suffering persecution for doing so, ² until the synagogue authorities, social ostracism and בְּרִפְתָּ הַמְּנִיִּים made it impossible. ³

The third type, so called since it can be manifested by both gentiles (as in *Barnabas*) and Jews / proselytes who have renounced their Jewish faith, is distinct in that not only does its proponent stand outside the Jewish faith, calling upon it to close up shop, it considers Israel's apostasy final and terminal – God has irrevocably rejected his people. "It finds scriptural support in those prophetic texts that seem to speak of Israel as incurably obdurate ...", ⁴ emphasizes the newness of the "new" Israel, the oldness of the "old", and the gentile character of Christianity. Hare describes a real phenomenon, but his terminology is suspect. This more describes the transition, subtle as it is, from anti-Judaism to Christian antisemitism – the Jewish *race* is now vilified.

Ruether largely accepts these distinctions (as gradations of early Christian anti-Jewish feeling rather than anti-Judaism), since she accepts the basic one between internal and external criticism. "At the point where the Church regarded the covenant

¹ Hare, "Rejection", 29-30.

² Cf. his earlier work, Hare, *Theme*, 146f.

³ Dunn, "Question", 181, is right to suggest that this middle type too should "be described as a form of "intra-Jewish" debate".

⁴ Hare, "Rejection", 32.

with Abraham as superseded by a New Covenant in Jesus ... the Church became anti-Judaic.”¹ Yet Hare is wrong to argue that “anti-Judaic midrash *preceded* messianic midrash”:² *intra-Jewish polemic* preceded messianic midrash, and was transformed by the latter, *via* halakhic non-observance, into anti-Judaic midrash.

The longevity of anti-Judaism, ensured, ironically, by the widespread Judaizing within the church,³ coupled again with the variety within Jewish life and faith, gave it many forms. Hare hints at further demarcations within at least the gentilizing type, but others are more explicit. Richardson refers to societal, historical, orthopractic and theological anti-Judaism, the third evident in 1 Corinthians, the fourth in Matthew, John and Barnabas – “the most depressing kind of anti-Judaism because it presumes to find a theological rationale for antagonism to Judaism”⁴ – while Granskou deems John’s anti-Judaism “theological and symbolic rather than historical or concrete”.⁵

Only now, with the new religion standing *outside* the Jewish faith, could its polemic find an antisemitic edge. Its being progressively gentilized, together with the influence of whatever baggage its gentile converts brought with them, for sure provided a catalyst. But ultimately one piece of logic mattered: Judaism’s rejection was due to a fundamental flaw in its adherents.

Ramifications for New Testament study

With anti-Judaism *religiously* oriented while antisemitism *racially* oriented, Christian anti-Jewish rhetoric finds its heartbeat in the former.⁶ With anti-Judaism

¹ Ruether, “Problems”, 235-236. Apart from his one substitution Gager accepts them too.

² Hare, “Rejection”, 29.

³ See Gager, *Origins*, 118.

⁴ P. Richardson, “On the Absence of “Anti-Judaism” in 1 Corinthians”, in Richardson & Granskou (eds.), *Anti-Judaism I*, 59-74, here 59 n. 1.

⁵ Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 209. Either way Ruether, *Fratricide*, 259, is wrong to make Christianity responsible “for the translation of theological anti-Judaism into social anti-Judaism”. As already observed, ideology (theological) is a defence of practice (social).

⁶ Dunn, “Question”, 180, notes that it is because of this that most recent discussions in this area use the terms ‘anti-Judaism’ or ‘anti-Jewish’ rather than ‘antisemitism’. Cf. Richardson & Granskou (eds.), *Anti-Judaism I*; S.G. Wilson (ed.), *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity; Vol 2: Separation and Polemic* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 2; Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986); Beck, *Mature*; Flannery, “Anti-Judaism”.

external to the Jewish faith while intra-Jewish polemic internal, it finds its origins in the latter. Thus Hare is essentially right in suggesting an internal → external → racial model. Again, then, the fundamental question becomes, *Where in this “parting” process do the various New Testament writings come?*

Paul’s teaching gentiles to forget Jewish observances (Ac 21:21 - exaggerated but based on fact) is not the only instance of halakhic non-observance, so is Peter’s eating with gentiles (Ga 2:12).¹ Hardly racial, where they come within the internal → external development determines whether their polemic is intra-Jewish or anti-Judaic. As an instance of the New Testament’s frequent “Jewish-Christian anti-Judaism”, Hare cites Peter’s optimism concerning Jewish evangelism in the mid-50’s, “*theologically grounded* in the intensely held conviction that the God whose eschatological messenger had been refused by Israel had nonetheless *not* abandoned his people”.²

As for the Synoptics, while Gager considers it possible to locate points even in Q, Matthew’s special tradition and Luke’s special sources “at which the Christian critique ceases to be intra-Jewish polemic and becomes Jewish Christian or even gentilizing anti-Judaism”,³ Hare shows that many passages in Mark traditionally seen as anti-Judaic are in fact anything but. Mark (4:11f.) removes the prophetic critique in Is 6; introduces the parable of the talents with an allusion to Is 5:1-7 LXX “in which is contained one of the most powerful expressions of prophetic anti-Judaism to be found anywhere in Jewish literature, yet castigates not Israel but only its religious leaders for their failure to respond to the prophets and Jesus”;⁴ and in alluding (7:1-23) to the “anti-Judaic” Is 29:13 refers only to the “hypocrites” – the Pharisees and scribes.

Much of the polemic in Luke-Acts too is Jewish. This includes the frequent allusion to the theme that Israel always mistreated God’s prophets (Lk 6:23) and the portrayal of the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem as punishment for this (*cf.* Lk 11:50f. with 21:22-4). Moreover, even in the Passion Luke softens the “Jewish-Christian anti-Judaism” (Lk 23:13; Ac 2:36) by introducing three motifs: Jews express

¹ Cf. G. Dix, *Jew and Greek: A Study in the Primitive Church* (London: Dacre, 1953), 43.

² Hare, “Rejection”, 30, italics his.

³ Gager, *Origins*, 136, *cf.* 136ff.

⁴ Hare, “Rejection”, 33f.

sorrow (*e.g.*, Lk 23:27,48), absent in Mark and Matthew; they act in ignorance (*e.g.*, Ac 3:17); and the crucifixion is stressed as predetermined by God (*e.g.*, Ac 3:18; 4:27). He does this, Hare reasons, to make it easier for Jews to accept the gospel! ¹

Hare in fact argues that the gentilizing anti-Judaism, so central to subsequent Christian writers, only occurs, albeit frequently, in the New Testament in Matthew. Przybylski denies even this, arguing that “Matthean anti-Judaism ... would have to be viewed in terms of a limited internal Jewish dispute”. Only when Matthew was taken out of its Jewish context could it be interpreted as antisemitic, resting on a “misreading” of it “by Gentile Christians who were out of touch with Jewish Christian life and thought”. ² Most recently, for this same reason Evans has argued that the appellations “anti-Semitic” and “anti-Judaic” are anachronistic for *all* the New Testament writers. “To say that early Christianity opposed Judaism is to say that there was a clearly defined Judaism of the first century and that early Christians saw themselves as outside of and separate from it. Both assumptions are wrong ... Theirs was the hermeneutic of prophetic criticism.” ³

The issue facing the Fourth Gospel is clear. Is its polemic internal, external or, as often suggested, racial? The Gospel’s contextual matrix is the key: does it stand within the Jewish community or without? Are Jews fellow citizens or foreign people? ⁴

¹ *Contra* E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 535: Israel is offered the gospel in Luke so that it is without excuse, leaving Paul free to go to the gentiles. Hare notes that Luke presents the mission to Israel as at least a partial success (*e.g.*, Ac 13:43), producing schism within the Jewish community (Ac 28:24f.).

² Przybylski, “Setting”, 198. Przybylski, like others, uses Coser’s sociological conflict theory to turn Matthean anti-Judaism into evidence for the very closeness of the Matthean and local synagogue community. A.J. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1994) is the latest in a recent rash of presentations of Matthew’s Gospel as a Jewish ‘in-house’ affair.

³ Evans, “Faith”, 12, 11. In truth this is only wholeheartedly argued for in Evans & Hagner (eds.), *Antisemitism*, by one contributor, again for Matthew – S. McKnight, “A Loyal Critic: Matthew’s Polemic with Judaism in Theological Perspective”, 55-79.

⁴ The Jewish scholar Samuel Sandmel, who argues against any connection between pagan and Christian antisemitism, is far more sure than most Christian scholars are that most New Testament writers, especially John, feel no need to divorce their faith from its Jewish origins, and hence far less sure that antisemitism exists in the New Testament. See his *Antisemitism?*, esp. 5, 168.

Ib: SETTING THE CONTEXT

Jews and “Others” in the first century CE

One major preliminary question remains: What was the ‘background count’ of Jewish relations with others in the first century CE? ¹ So one of two questions Klasson considers vitally important: “Was anti-Semitism a universal phenomenon, or did it start with Christianity?” ² He makes the choice too stark, but the issue is clear: aside from Christian considerations, what should we *expect* of first century CE relations between non-Jewish communities and the local synagogue?

The evidence for bad relations

While scholarship is far from unanimous concerning its extent, ³ all are agreed that antisemitism existed before Christianity. ⁴ It is not always easy to pronounce on earlier Hellenistic ethnographers. The most well-known, Hecataeus of Abdera (end of 4th C. BCE), in all likelihood was benign toward Jews, deeming Moses’ legislation “a political and religious utopia”. ⁵ Yet he seems the first to complain, albeit endearingly, of the peculiarities of Jewish culture, ἀπάνθρωπόν τινα καὶ μισόξενον βίον, ⁶ and so provides “the starting point for unmistakably anti-Semitic statements”. ⁷ By the time Diodorus of Sicily (1st C. BCE) quotes him his words are malignant. This tendency is

¹ On ancient Jew-pagan relations, see Gager, *Origins*, 35-112, one of the few scholars to research the interaction of philosophical (and “popular”) pagan religion with Judaism; and the impressive tome, Feldman, *Jew*.

² Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 5. Dunn’s complete non-interest in this issue (“Question”, 179f., n. 15) is surprising – it *is* significant for the issue of antisemitism in the New Testament.

³ Gager and Gaston consider themselves to be part of the trend away from assuming a generally antisemitic ancient world. In reality, however, there has never been a situation of general unanimity. Sevenster, *Roots*, for instance, by looking at race, social status, strangeness and politics, argued that antisemitism was much more pervasive than did H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), *History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1976).

⁴ Until Stern’s *Authors*, Reinach’s *Textes* was the best collection of pre-Christian Greek and Roman writings on Jews and their faith. Reinach’s Jewish material has also been supplemented by Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus*, a collection of more recently discovered letters from Egypt.

⁵ Gager, *Origins*, 40. Cf. Stern, *Author I*, 28-34; Gager, *Moses*, 26-37.

⁶ Hecataeus *apud* Diodorus, *Historica*, 40.3.4; cf. 34 – 35.1.2-3 (from Poseidonius?).

⁷ Gager, *Origins*, 40, cf. Feldman, *Jew*, 46-47.

exemplified by the way non-polemic pagan versions of the exodus, Hecataeus's a prime example, are later appropriated to depict the original Jews as polluted Egyptian exiles.

The first unambiguous witnesses to antisemitism are an Elephantine papyrus (c. 410 BCE), citing the destruction of an altar / temple of Jahweh in Elephantine, and Manetho (c. 300 BCE).¹ A Greco-Egyptian priest of high standing in Ptolemaic Egypt, Manetho seems aware of antisemitic legends since Josephus attributes texts to him that contain a hostile version of the exodus, itself a compilation.² Mnaseas of Patera (c. 200 BCE) refers to Jews in the Jerusalem Temple worshipping a deity with the golden head or form of an ass.³ There was also the animosity in Palestine under Seleucid control, marked by the Maccabean revolt (c. 168-140? BCE) and Antiochus IV Epiphanes: Diodorus of Sicily has advisors of Antiochus VII Sidetes exhorting the king τὸ γένος ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων for their μισάνθρωπα καὶ παράνομα ἔθνη.⁴ The only other 'official' early antisemitic action was the expulsion of Jews from Rome in 139 BCE following an edict of the praetor Cornelius Hispanus.⁵

Antisemitism first began to exert a broader influence in Egypt. Hitherto here it had not passed "beyond the limits of the literary",⁶ and exercised little influence outside priestly circles. Yet with the riots of 38-41 CE – "the war against the Jews" (so Claudius) – starting in Alexandria it engulfed the whole country.⁷ Lampo and Isodorus, as leaders of the Alexandrian gymnasium, were the primary opponents of Jewish bids at citizenship, while Lampo and Dionysius offered to intercede with Caligula for Flaccus, the Roman governor, in return for a change of policy on the issue. Flaccus gave all three the task of implementing the obtained changes, while perhaps with his

¹ See Leipoldt, *Antisemitismus; idem*, "Antisemitismus".

² See Stern, *Authors* I, 62-86; Feldman, *Jew*, 143-145; Gager, *Moses*, 113-118.

³ This rumour is attested by writers from Mnaseas and Posidonius to Plutarch and Tacitus. See Reinach, *Textes*, 50, 58, 121, 131, 139, 305; Sevenster, *Roots*, 8-9.

⁴ Diodorus, *Historica*, 34.1.1-5. See Stern, *Authors* I, 181-184. Antiochus rejects the advice.

⁵ This was reported by two epitomators of Valerius Maximus, Julius Paris (4th C. CE?) and Nepotianus (5th C. CE?). See Reinach, *Textes*, 258f. There is also the book of *Esther*, written no later than the 2nd C. BCE, and the subsequent *Additions to Esther* show how popular this paranoid account of Jewish history was.

⁶ Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* I, 25. Aristeas claims in his letter to Ptolemy, however (37), διορθούμενοι καὶ εἴ τι κακῶς ἐπράχθη διὰ τὰς τῶν ὀχλῶν ὀρμὰς [supp. τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις].

⁷ See Philo's extensive eyewitness account, *Flacc.* (e.g., 20; cf. *Legat.*), and *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs*, one of the most inciting anti-Jewish polemics of the period.

blessing local political θιάσοι, συνόδοι or κλίνας (Philo), apparently with Isodorus as their spokesman, able to muster them whenever necessary, took the lead role in an antisemitic campaign.¹ Only after two or three months was order restored.²

Apart from Lysimachus (dates unknown),³ the direct antisemitic sentiments of the period come from those involved in this outburst, Chaeremon and Apion.⁴ The former was one of Nero's teachers and an ἱερογραμματεὺς, the latter achieved citizenship in Alexandria, came to occupy an important academic post there, probably as head of the great library, and lived out his years as an influential literary figure in Rome under Tiberius and Claudius. Both Greco-Egyptian and part of the delegation to Claudius, they are best known for their histories of Egypt which give antisemitic accounts of the exodus.⁵ Their concern with Jewish civic status in Alexandria, status they themselves had to earn, explains their interest in the ignominy of Jewish origins.

After this, "relations between Jews and pagans in Alexandria and Egypt were punctuated by a series of bloody conflicts".⁶ In 66 rioting between Greeks and Jews again broke out until, exasperated, the Roman prefect sent in two legions who, aided by the Alexandrian populace, taught the Jews a μεγάλης συμφορᾶς.⁷ Egypt felt little of the 66-73 Jewish war, but after its collapse the influx of Jewish messianic revolutionaries, Josephus's σικάρου, both here and in Cyrene and Cyprus, fomented new revolt.

That of 115-117, spreading from Alexandria to the countryside, was the most violent: the great synagogue was destroyed, while the σικάρου destroyed several pagan

¹ Philo, *Flacc.* 135, 137. On Flaccus's policy, see *Flacc.* 53, 59, 73ff.

² Flaccus was arrested and returned to Rome for trial, while Claudius (Caligula had been murdered in 41), having heard the rival Jewish and Greek delegations, chose largely in the Jews' favour. See Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* II, 36-55, 153 (ll. 92f.); cf. *Jos. A.* 12.120. Claudius eventually had Lampo and Isodorus executed for opposing Julius Agrippa I, king of northern Galilee.

³ His antisemitic version of the exodus (*Jos. Ap.* 1.305-311) is independent of Chaeremon's.

⁴ Philo does not mention them. There were other antisemites, such as Helicon, an advisor in Caligula's household. See Philo, *Legat.* 166-178, 203-206 (our only source), who calls him an Egyptian.

⁵ On Chaeremon's, similar to Manetho's given in *Jos. Ap.* 1.230-251, see *Ap.* 1.288-292. On Apion's, which "manifests the implacable hostility that filled the air in the late 30's and early 40's of the first century C.E." (Gager, *Origins*, 45), see *Ap.* 2.33-95 *passim*. Apion, unlike his predecessors, may have had access to the Jewish scriptures (*Ap.* 2.25; cf. Feldman, *Jew*, 534 n. 22; Gager, *Origins*, 46), but both rely on traditional mis-information.

⁶ Gager, *Origins*, 51. This lies behind the exaggeration that κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλλεξανδρείαν αἰεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις since Alexander's time (*Jos. B.* 2.487).

⁷ *Jos. B.* 2.487-498 (our only source). 50,000 dead (497) too seems an exaggeration.

temples and, so Dio Cassius (exaggerating), killed 220,000 people in Cyrene, 240,000 in Cyprus. The Roman suppression of the revolt “amounted to the almost total extermination of the Egyptian Jews”.¹ Only the *Acts of Alexandrian Martyrs* reports further outbursts of antisemitism in Egypt. Yet at the end of the third century it was reawakened *via* the Church: “As pagan Alexandrians began to embrace Christianity, they brought with them the residue of traditional Alexandrian anti-Semitism.”²

While the Egyptian literary pogroms against Judaism were the most invective, most infamous were those of Roman authors. Cicero’s jibes against the Jewish people as *nationibus natis servituti*, their religion a *barbara superstitio*, are representative not of his era but of an antisemitic potential. Under Domitian and Trajan more than a few Roman authors are antisemitic: Quintilian, Pliny the Elder, Martial and, most notorious, Tacitus and Juvenal, *literati* familiar with one another who made Judaism and Moses “the quintessence of misanthropy and rebellion”.³

In Book 5 of his *Histories*, Tacitus includes his extremely antisemitic excursus on Jewish history and customs as a preface to his account of the 66-73 war, which itself accuses the Jews of harbouring a bitter hatred for all men and rails against their separatism. The last of the traditional satirists, having experienced the 66-73 war and the uprisings of 115-117, Juvenal’s *Satires*, published between 100 and 127 and covering the period from the Flavians, equally pass way beyond playful banter. Applebaum is right that Tacitus offers a rationale for the antisemitism of conservative senatorial groups in Rome, but Lewy and Gager make the essential point, that Tacitus and Juvenal are reacting primarily to Judaism’s popularity in Rome.⁴

Jews were often a thorn in the Roman Empire’s side. Beside the problems in Egypt, Palestinian Jews revolted when Quirinius attempted a census, when Pontius

¹ Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* I, 92. On the revolt, see Applebaum, *Jews*, 201-344.

² Gager, *Origins*, 54.

³ *Op. cit.*, 65. Cf. Meagher’s one-sided portrayal (“Twig”, 6): “The roster of ancient writers who expressed anti-Jewish feeling reads like a syllabus for a second-semester course in classics: Cicero, Tacitus, Martial, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Dio Cassius, Marcus Aurelius, Apuleius, Ovid, Petronius, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Quintilian, Seneca, Suetonius.”

⁴ Applebaum, *Jews*, 248; H. Lewy, “Tacitus on the Origin and Manners of the Jews” (in Hebrew), *Z* 8 (1943), 17-26; Gager, *Origins*, 64f.: “that [Tacitus] can refer to the “founder of the Jewish superstition” without mentioning Moses by name shows the extent to which the issue of Judaism was alive in Rome at that time”.

Pilate introduced military standards in Jerusalem, after Caligula's deliberate attempted outrage, still more fiercely under Vespasian (only put down by Titus), and again with Bar Kokhba when Hadrian banned circumcision and other Jewish observances.¹ It was because of this that in 70 Vespasian ravaged Jerusalem, destroying the Temple and imposing the *fiscus Judaicus*, while Hadrian's draconian measures after 135 are all too familiar. It is not surprising then, that Maximus's expulsion of Jews from Rome was not the only antisemitic action promulgated by an Emperor. The same action was taken by Tiberius in 19 CE² and Claudius in 41/49,³ while Domitian severely punished Jewish converts, widening the *fiscus Judaicus* in 90 to include Judaizers.⁴ In short, "Roman exasperation with and abuse of the Jews is not to be dismissed as trivial";⁵ nor can it all be put down to political expediency – Philo, albeit exclusively, reports that Sejanus under Tiberius wished τὸ ἔθνος αναρπάσαι.⁶

Antioch is one of "many other cities where anti-Semitism found expression, more or less violently, in word and deed".⁷ Caesarea in Palestine, built between 22-10/9 BCE by Herod, had apparently known Jew-pagan animosity right from its beginnings. But during the 50's, as a result of Jewish efforts to change their status, the situation grew ugly. Despite Roman efforts to end the hostilities, tension continued down to the events of 66-73, by the end of which the Jewish community – originally constituting about half of the population – had virtually disappeared, not to be revived until early in the third century.⁸

This evidence is fragmentary – aside from Mnaseas's reference and the nebulous Poseidonius (c. 100 BCE), there is no information on pagan views of Judaism in Palestine before the Roman occupation; it is partial – as Chaeremon, Apion and maybe

¹ *Historia Augusta, Antoninus Pius*, 5.4f. For standard histories, see Juster, *Juifs*, 182-201; Sevenster, *Roots*, *passim*.

² *Jos. A.* 18.65-84; Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.85.4; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 36.

³ Suetonius provides the only real evidence (*Claudius* 25.4: *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit*), and his reference to Chrestus indicates a level of confusion.

⁴ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 12.2. See Smallwood, *Jews*, 376-385.

⁵ Meagher, "Twig", 22.

⁶ Philo, *Legat.* 159-161. Philo puts this down to the Jews' own loyalty to the Emperor.

⁷ Sevenster, *Roots*, 190; *cf.* Feldman, *Jew*, 66, 99, 121.

⁸ *Jos. B.* 2.285-292. See L. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 11f., 29f. (esp. n. 184), 44f.; Feldman, *Jew*, 26.

Lysimachus bear witness; ¹ and often wrongly assessed – the classical status of some of the pagan antisemitic writers has given their work an unwarranted inviolability within the European mind – desperate for a scapegoat for its own antisemitism – despite their obvious vested interest in Jewish affairs. ² Yet in providing part of the context of the Greco-Roman world in which John’s community lived, it must not be ignored.

The causes

It essentially had five causes. First, Jewish isolationism. The Jews were considered a people apart. Josephus notes that the primary reason why Greek historians never bother much with Jews is τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους παραδεδομένην, εὐσέβειαν ἔργον ἀναγκαιότατον. ³ Greek ethnographic references to the “strangeness” (Sevenster) of Jewish customs began innocuously, but as time went on this was the exception. ⁴ Sabbath observance, abstention from pork, and, above all, circumcision came in for particular ridicule among Roman authors, circumcision, throughout the first century CE synonymous with Judaism, ⁵ an obvious source for cheap erotic gags among satirists. ⁶

Consequent accusations of superstition, atheism or impiety were often the result of ignorance, ⁷ not alleviated by Mnaseas’s now popular rumour or the potentially unusual dabblings of some Jews, not least the Essenes, in such things as exorcism (*cf.* Mt 12:27), divination (*cf.* Ac 8:9) and angel-worship. ⁸ Much was a result of resentment at Rome’s policy of protecting Jewish customs. Yet to a culture that had fostered a new dream of a universal πολιτεία dwelling in the shelter of the *pax*

¹ *Cf.* Gager, *Origins*, 51, on Josephus’s assessment of the success of the σικάρου.

² See Meagher, “Twig”, 3, though he insists that the ancient world was broadly antisemitic.

³ *Jos. Ap.* 1.60; *cf.* 57-62.

⁴ *E.g.*, Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 28.69. Cicero perhaps echoes his teacher, Apollonius Molon.

⁵ Horace, *Satires*, I.9, l.30, uses the apparently vernacular *curtis Iudaeis*, while Persius, *Satires*, 5, l.184, simply refers to the *recutitaque sabbata*; *cf.* Petronius, Fragment 37. See Stern, *Authors I*, 325, 444. Also *cf.* *Jdth* 14:10; *1 Macc* 1:15; *Jub* 15:33f.

⁶ *Esp.* Petronius, *Satyricon*, 68.8, 102.13f.; Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.30, 7.30; Juvenal, *Satires*, *passim*. See Stern, *Authors I*, 523-529.

⁷ Petronius, Fragment 37, assumes that Jews did not eat pork because they worshipped the pig. *Cf.* Plutarch, *Dinner Conversations*, 4.4 – 5.3; Philo, *Legat.* 361.

⁸ Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.542-547 (in Reinach, *Textes*, 292-293 – *cf.* the material on Theophrastus); *Jos. B.* 2.142, 159; *A.* 13.311. Pseudepigraphal and rabbinic writings manifest Jewish preoccupation especially with angels over a long period of time.

romana, this perceived “pious *apartheid*”, in truth part of the Jewish bid at self-definition and self-affirmation, ¹ was the cardinal sin, “a benighted misanthropy that made true fulfillment impossible”. ²

Despite Christian assumptions to the contrary, presumed from Ac 6:1 ever since the Reformation, many first century Jews, Pharisees and Essenes included, joined in the prevailing Hellenistic culture. Yet for some, first evidenced in the war defending Ἰουδαϊσμός against Ἑλληνισμός – at least that exemplified by the antisemitic outrages of Antiochus IV Epiphanes – and recounted in 1 and 2 Maccabees, this was the great confronting culture, an instant identifier of the outsider. ³ Goldstein takes the lack of reference to Jason’s reforms in contemporary Jewish writings as evidence that “most pious Jews then believed that his Hellenizing innovations were not serious violations of the Torah”. ⁴ But the fact remains that Josephus’s account (A. 12.241; *cf.* 258-264), hardly as tendentious as Goldstein makes out, continues a negativizing trajectory, and unlike 1 and 2 Maccabees (esp. 4:7-9; 11:24) isolates the following of the *Greek* (as opposed to merely gentile) way of life.

Later halakot reflect this ‘freezing out’ of the pagan: R. Meir concedes that a gentile can circumcise a Jew but only if other Jews are with him, “for the [gentiles] are suspect of bloodshed” (*t. ’Abod. Zar* 3.12); R. Judah the Patriarch contradicts R. Meir by stating that a Samaritan should circumcise before a gentile, and to him is attributed the first deduction from scripture (Gn 17:9-10) that a gentile cannot perform circumcision (*b. ’Abod. Zar* 27a). Similar discussions are made on the validity of ritual objects and copies of scripture produced by gentiles. Such halakot present themselves as the bulwarks against idolatry and abhorrent gentile ways: so in one midrash of the

¹ See Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, esp. 282. It was as much a part of the universalist tendency within Second Temple Jewish faith as it was part of the particularist tendency. *Cf.* Moore, *Judaism* I, 19ff.; Smith, *Parties*, 142ff.

² Meagher, “Twig”, 5. Simon, *Verus*, 202, “the basic cause of Greco-Roman anti-Semitism lay in Jewish separatism”, however, goes too far. *Cf.* Parkes, *Foundations*, vi, who makes isolationism “the main reason why [Jews] annoyed the ancient world”; Sevenster, *Roots*, 144; Feldman, *Jew*, who devotes a whole chapter (5) to it.

³ Goldstein, “Acceptance”, concedes this when he rebuts Hengel, *Judaism*. *Cf.* Paul’s juxtaposing of Ἰουδαῖος and Ἕλληνα (*cf.* Mk 7:26).

⁴ Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 75-81, here 81.

late first – early second century CE, **וְגִי כְדוֹשׁ** is interpreted as “holy and sacred”, Israel separated from the nations of the world and from their abominations.¹

Urbach is right that many Jewish misgivings about pagans were “immediate reactions to specific circumstances without any practical implications”.² Indeed, they *all* had their genesis in specific circumstances – that is how normative attitudes begin. But this changes nothing. Antisemitic outbursts, especially those in Palestine, frequently owed as much to Jewish isolationism as they did to the Jewish socio-economic and political privileges singled out by Gager and Ruether.

Second, Jewish religious affirmation. This was at times both cause and effect of Jewish claims to superiority. At the start of this century Bentwich and Stearns documented Jewish literature going back to the time of Manetho that exalted Jewish history, culture and general demeanour, especially at the expense of the Egyptians, both in ancient and modern settings.³ This could do nothing but polarize Jewish and pagan camps, however minimally, and while it annoyed few others than “Egyptian native intellectuals”,⁴ it certainly helped foment their antisemitism (Ruether overlooks this): after all, Philo’s proclamations that the Torah had anticipated the whole gamut of modern wisdom would hardly have met with their rapturous applause.

Yet at heart it amounted to the fact that increasingly, the irreducible distinction between Jew and pagan was Torah. Consequent halakot, with their “double-faced ethics” (Max Weber), exemplify the friction this could produce, especially in an urban mix of Jew and pagan: Philo defends the biblical prohibition on charging interest on loans to Jews only,⁵ while *m. Makš* 2.8 states that a Jew need not return lost property if most of the inhabitants of a nearby city are gentile. Most significant was the common strain of Jewish thought which held that only by obeying Torah can anyone have a part

¹ *Bahodesh* 2. See Lauterbach II, 205.

² Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 294-295. He singles out *b. B. Bat* 10b.

³ W.N. Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers* (Chicago: Chicago Univ., 1908); N. Bentwich, *Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Jew. Publ. Soc. Amer., 1919). In Eupolemus, Moses invents the alphabet, which is eventually transmitted to the Greeks *via* the Phoenicians (*Fragments*, 29-41); in Artepanus, Moses is identical with Musaeus and Hermes, and the Jews are the teachers of the Pharaohs and the originators of important Egyptian learning (*Fragments*, 42-55); and in Aristobulos and others, the whole of Greek philosophy derives from the teachings of Moses (*Fragments*, 77-91).

⁴ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 24.

⁵ Philo, *Spec.* 2.73; *cf. m. B. Mes* 5.6 and *Sifre Dt* 263 (on 23:21).

in the age to come (e.g., Bar 4:1).¹ Many Jewish passages contain the notion, certainly as old as that of righteous gentiles, that God offered the Torah to all the nations of the world but that it was accepted only by Israel (e.g., *Ex Rab.* 5.9).² That this was frequently put down to the unconditional electing power of a sovereign God rather than to any merit on Israel's part did nothing to soften the blow.

This exclusivism is underlined in those scriptures that equate Torah with Wisdom (Sirach is the first, e.g., 17:1,7,11-14,17), since in this way תּוֹרָה הָאֵלֹהִים is given to the world (*Sifre* 86b; *T. Levi* 14:4; cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.195), yet, finding no resting place, settles in Israel (Sir 24:8,23; cf. Bultmann's wisdom-myth). Thus the expression of God's saving grace for Jews becomes the standard for non-covenant gentiles: and in apocalyptic writings – Old Testament, talmudic, midrashic, and especially Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal – and targums it is as likely that gentiles are all destroyed for not obeying it as it is that they are all saved by being incorporated into Israel.³ Indeed, the first century Christian schism at Galatia is part of the internal Jewish debate over what Israel's unique relation with God meant for gentiles.⁴

Within Pharisaic Judaism, the House of Shammai expressed this application of the law most severely. Not simply in the personal animosity to gentiles attributed to Shammai and Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, but in that it was less open to compromise on matters of the law concerning proselytes, more zealous for the law in general and more pessimistic concerning gentiles. In contrast to Ananias's leniency when King Izates converted, Eliezer later insisted on circumcision and the whole law. Especially

¹ Cf. those passages that contrast Torah as medicine of both life and death (Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* III, 130f., 498f.).

² Moore, *Judaism* I, 227, notes that as the teaching of the schools of Ishmael and Akiba it was prior to both, and reasons (277) that it arose to absolve God of condemning the gentiles for not keeping a law they had not heard of. Cf. Ps.-Philo, *LAB* 11.2. It is notably those midrashim concerned with such a theodicy that also question the assumption that some gentiles keep the Noachian laws (cf. R. Johanan in *b'Abod Zar* 2a-b, recalling R. Simeon b. Eleazar [end of 2nd C. CE]; *pMaas* 1.2; 48d).

³ In the targums especially, Adam and his descendants are to keep all the commandments and are punished for not doing so: Gn 2:15 (*Neof.*), 3:15 (*Ps.-J.*), 3:22 (*Pal.*). See J.P. Schultz, "Two Views of the Patriarchs: Noachides and pre-Sinai Israelites", in *Texts and Responses* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 43-59. Cf. the "Torah of death" in 4 Ezr 7:20-4, etc.

⁴ Dunn, *Galatians*, 190ff. (cf. 9ff.; *idem*, "Echoes", 473ff., esp. 476) sees this debate in Ga 3:19ff. W.D. Davies, "From Schweitzer to Scholem: Reflections on Sabbatai Svi", *JBL* 95 (1976), 529-558, has long shown that the relationship of Israel to the gentile world was *the* theological problem of Judaism in the first century CE.

significant were the nationalistic Eighteen Measures it forced through at the beginning of the 66-73 war. ¹ That none of this rankled the pagan is hard to believe.

Third, Jewish aggression. It is difficult to know how seriously first century CE pagans took instances in scripture of Jewish violence against neighbouring countries or communities, but those aware of them, as some certainly were, could not have been enamoured to Jewish life by them. Nor is it too clear how seriously Jews took them, but some enforced circumcisions, most infamous that on the Idumeans in 128 BCE, ² may have taken their lead from scriptural antecedents. ³ Such instances, though rare, ⁴ were also known to the first century pagan world – Strabo reports that Aristobulos τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους [supp. τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις] ὤκειώσατο, δεσμῶ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομῇ ⁵ – and certainly detrimental to Jew-pagan relations. ⁶

Other acts of Jewish aggression, as much the *effect* as the cause of antisemitism, also took their toll. Leipoldt overstates things when he suggests that antisemitism grew so quickly because of “the Jewish revolts against Nero, Trajan, and Hadrian”, ⁷ but it is no coincidence that many of the antisemitic Roman authors first emerge only after the 66-73 war. Gager makes the revolts, especially that of 66-73, “a second factor that further contributed to the dislike of Judaism in conservative Roman circles”. ⁸

¹ See M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (AGSU 1; Leiden, Köhn: Brill, 1961), 204-211. Gaston, “Paul”, 61ff., is one of a number (inc. J.T. Townsend, K. Haacker, H. Hübner and W.D. Davies) to argue that Paul was a Shammaite (cf. Php 3:6; Ga 1:14; Ac 22:3f.), and reasons that Paul’s radical change of heart was a result of his seeing the impossibilities this stance presented to most gentiles.

² Jos. A. 13.257; cf. 1 Macc 2:45.

³ The Hasidim may have sought biblical support from Gn 41:55 where, so *Gn Rab.* 90, Joseph forcibly circumcised the Egyptians. M. Smith, “Rome and Maccabean Conversions: Notes on 1 Macc 8”, in E. Bammel (ed.), *Donum Gentilicum; NT Studies in Honour of David Daube* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 1-7, however, cogently argues that Hyrcanus himself was imitating Rome.

⁴ If only in the interests of genuine conversions, most Jews were against it. See V. Aptowitz, *Partepolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudepigraphen Schrifttum* (Vienna: Kohut Foundation, 1927), 46-47, 222-223 (he cites PsSol 12 & 13 as such a protest); Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 13. Jews who rejected Hyrcanus’s action called the Idumeans ἡμιἰουδαῖοι (Jos. B. 4.270-282; A. 14.403).

⁵ See Stern, *Authors I*, 271.

⁶ V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York: Atheneum, 1975²), 247, states that it aroused fierce hostility from Greeks “to the Jews as a whole ... and the echoes of this hostility can still be heard in the harsh censures of some scholars”. Cf. Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 15, who advises: “study the after-effects of the act of Hyrcanus and observe in particular how seldom circumcision is discussed in a negative way by non-Jewish writers before the Maccabean revolt”.

⁷ Leipoldt, “Antisemitismus”, col. 470. It was for precisely this reason, however, that Titus, for instance, dare not marry the Jewess Berenice (Suetonius, *Titus*, 7).

⁸ Gager, *Origins*, 62. The troubles in Alexandria between 37-41 are not directly referred to by Roman authors, but it is too much to believe that Apion, Helicon and others left no mark.

In Egypt specifically, the Alexandrian Jews greeted the news of Caligula's death by reopening violent hostility. ¹ If their leaders also "rejected Alexandrian citizenship as undesirable, abhorred the pagan cults, and were not reluctant to take arms to defend their cause", ² the downward effect this would have had on Jewish relations with the citizens of Alexandria is all too apparent. Neither was the occasionally attested fear of the vindictive cruelty of the Jews to their captives, especially in Alexandria, always without good cause. ³ The effect of the σικάρου, who added a strong religious element to the Jewish aggression, was also real. It was their assaults on religious sites, including temples, which gave rise to the widespread use of the phrase ἀνοοῖοι Ἰουδαῖοι after the Trajanic revolt (2nd C. CE). ⁴

Fourth, politics. Mnaseas, formulating his slur on the Jerusalem Temple during the struggle between the Jews and Idumeans, was simply writing typical propaganda about his country's enemy; in the Greek πόλις, Caesarea, it was Jewish discontent with their status as a πολιτεύμα that sparked the hostilities; Juvenal was reacting to the increasingly cosmopolitan character of Rome, castigating the Jewish faith as foreign (*barbara*) and anti-Roman (*superstitio*). ⁵

Egypt again provides the most obvious example. The complexities of Egyptian politics and racial distributions had long prepared the way for antisemitic outbursts, in Alexandria especially since the native, non-citizen, Egyptians were subject to the minority Greek Ptolemies, in whose internal dynastic struggles Jewish settlers and mercenaries had centuries before become involved. ⁶ When the Jews switched

¹ Jos. A. 19.278. On the identity of these Jews, see Gager, *Origins*, 50f.

² Gager, *Origins*, 51.

³ See Sevenster's texts bearing on the strife in North Africa in the reign of Trajan (*Roots*, 16-29, 163-164), as well as other relatively recently discovered papyri.

⁴ See two fragments of *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs* in Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus II*, 82-84, 87-99 (nos. 157, 158). One speech protests the prefect's decision to settle the impious Alexandrian Jews in a new location οὐ οὐ παραβόλως ἔσχον ἀναπίπτειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τὴν εὐπρ[ο]σώννημον ἡμῶν πόλιν.

⁵ Juv. *Sat.* 3.60-63: *non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecum urbem; quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei? iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes, et linguam et mores ...* (cf. his railing against *mores peregrini* in *Satire* 6); *Sat.* 3.12-14: *Numa constituebat amicae, nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur Iudaeis, quorum cophinus faenumque supellex* (cf. 3.295f., 6.542-547).

⁶ See *CAH VII.1* (1984²), 119ff., esp. on Ptolemy Philometer (181-145 BCE). Leopoldt, *Antisemitismus*, notes that the Egyptians destroyed the Elephantine Temple because of Jewish friendliness toward the Persians, whom the Egyptians saw as a threat to their independence.

allegiance to Rome, Augustus officially confirmed all their rights and privileges, as in Antioch and other Hellenistic cities: the ability to organize themselves as a distinct entity around their own cult; distinct legal status; exemption from the local civic cult; and freedom from taxes imposed on the native population. The non-assimilated middleman, they and their military advisors became the butt for the resentment of the entire Greek population against their overlords. ¹ When Alexandrian Jews tried to exempt themselves from Augustus's new *λαογραφία* and their being officially 'lumped together' with native Egyptians by redoubling their efforts to obtain citizenship, enrolling in the gymnasium, the fuse was well and truly lit. ²

Flaccus was probably never antisemitic. Rather, his fear that the new emperor, Caligula, would retaliate for his open support of the emperor's rivals played him into the hands of Dionysius, Lampo and the antisemitic lobby. The political clubs were susceptible to the attitudes of Apion and others, but their antisemitism too was rooted in anti-Romanism – their passion was aroused against Herod's grandson, Julius Agrippa I, as he went *via* Alexandria to his new kingdom, not so much by his role as defender of the Jewish cause as by his being a favourite of the emperor. Dionysius, Lampo and Isodorus too were primarily motivated by their anti-Romanism: "the Jews were not [their] direct targets but rather the immediate victims". ³ Right up to the final demise of Egyptian Jewry, even the most violent antisemitic actions ⁴ remained rooted in a politically motivated animosity toward Rome itself. ⁵

Fifth, and paradoxically far and away the most significant, Jewish popularity. Judaizing especially was rife in Roman society. ⁶ So Julius Paris, Hispanus expelled the

¹ See Ruether, *Fratricide*, 24.

² Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* I, 48f.; Smallwood, *Jews*, 234. Claudius's letter and the rhetoric of Apion and company show that the issue of citizenship was highest on the real agenda.

³ Gager, *Origins*, 49. Cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 128, and *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs* (Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* II, 74-78, 82-84 [nos. 156b, 157]).

⁴ *Jos. B.* 2.498: in 66 CE, while the Roman troops stopped massacring the Jews as soon as the signal was given, τὸ δημοτικὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δι' ὑπερβολὴν μίσους δυσανάκλητον ἦν καὶ μόλις ἀπεσπᾶτο τῶν σωμάτων.

⁵ The anti-Roman thrust of *Acts* is clear from the fact that it was still being copied in the third century when Judaism was no longer a meaningful force in Egypt.

⁶ Noted by Leipoldt in *Antisemitismus*, and the basis for Gager's whole argument in *Origins* and Feldman's in *Jew* (xi: "How can we explain why the Jews in antiquity – so bitterly hated, as so many scholars have insisted – succeeded in winning so many adherents ...?": see esp. chs. 9 & 10).

Jews from Rome *qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant*, while so Nepotianus, *qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant*.¹ Josephus's reason for Tiberius's expelling of the Jews from Rome – the husband of Fulvia, an aristocratic Roman convert to Judaism, tells the emperor of a plot by four Jews to defraud his wife of her wealth – while hardly adequate² echoes Dio Cassius who puts it down to the fact that many Jews had come to Rome καὶ συχνούς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων.³ All this is perfectly plausible: in a mid-first century CE fragment Seneca complains, *Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo conualuit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit: uicti uictoribus leges dederunt*.⁴

The late *Suda* lexicon describes the late first century BCE Caecilius of Calacte as τήν δόξαν Ἰουδαίος.⁵ Near the end of the first century CE, particularly under Domitian, with Roman Judaizing at its height the 'anti-Judaizing' lobby within Roman society become especially virulent. Dio Cassius notes that Domitian's charge against Flavius, Flavia and Glabrio – ἀθεότητος – ὕφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν.⁶ Undoubtedly such charges were partly political, but the point remains: Roman officialdom felt Roman society to be deeply threatened by the marked acceptance of the Jewish religion by the senatorial aristocracy.⁷

The antisemitism of Roman authors was a similar reaction, marked by their general xenophobic preserving of the "old ways". Even more than the increase of foreigners in Rome, it was Jewish popularity, in the heart of the Empire, that stirred Juvenal. In his harshest, fourteenth Satire (96-106), as a paradigm of the corruption of Roman youth by their degenerate elders he cites the father who observes Sabbath and abstains from pork, while the son fully converts to Judaism, even being circumcised.

¹ See Smallwood, *Jews*, 129f.; Stern, *Authors I*, 358-360.

² See Smallwood, *Jews*, 201-210.

³ Dio Cassius, *History*, 57.18.5a. Josephus himself cites the factor of Jewish proselytism, while Tacitus (*Annals*, 2.85.15) refers to four thousand *ea superstitione infecta*, i.e., Judaism, adding that others could avoid expulsion *nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent*.

⁴ This is preserved by Augustine in *City of God*, 6.11.

⁵ Plutarch (*Life of Cicero*, 7.5) probably confuses the two Caecilii when he implies that the Roman quaestor, Quintus Caecilius Niger, was Jewish. Cf. Gager, *Origins*, 60; *idem*, *Moses*, 57 n. 94.

⁶ Dio, *History*, 67.14.1-3, so the epitome of Xiphilinus.

⁷ Cf. the later reactions of Christian leaders to Judaizing among the faithful.

The evidence for good relations

This final paradox makes it untenable that Jews generally “were singled out for disdain” and “received a bad press”.¹ Charges against Jews tended to be made by an influential intelligentsia, later bolstered by an increasingly antisemitic Christian leadership. Yet history’s pro-semitic “losers” (Gager) were no less voluminous.²

Proselytising to Judaism in the ancient world was legendary. In the late first century BCE Horace says of the “big band” of poets in Rome, *ac veluti te Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam*.³ Josephus observes, ... πλήθεισιν ἤδη πολὺς ζήλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, οὐδ’ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδ’ ἠτισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρος, οὐδὲ ἐν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τό τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ἔθος διαπεφοίτηκεν ... ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν, οὕτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβάδικεν.⁴ Philo’s hyperbole that ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην embraced the Jewish way of life in the first one hundred and fifty years of the Roman Empire⁵ is not wholly without foundation – seven epitaphs from the Jewish catacombs in Rome mention proselytes.⁶ Either way, for all his good intentions Meeks is wrong when he presents “the living Judaism that survived [the Temple destruction] ... [as] a rural and small-town phenomenon”.⁷

In three of his philosophical exhortations Epictetus speaks of Jews, Syrians and Egyptians as the chief recipients of religious loyalty in the Greco-Roman world of the late first – early second century, in one presenting Jewish converts as exemplars for converts to Stoicism.⁸ Applebaum and Stern note the sympathy for Judaism common

¹ Meagher, “Twig”, 4, 6. Meagher himself sees “virtually no sign of [antisemitism] surrounding the extensive Jewish presence in the Babylonian area” and “evidences of considerable Jewish proselytization and of the affectation of Jewish customs by non-converts” (n. 3).

² Wider access to the sources (Sevenster had no Stern to work with, only Reinach) and a recognition of the traditional view as being part of the Christian and modern secular polemic have made this clear. See Charlesworth, *Jesus*, 45ff.; Feldman, *Jew*, esp. 123-125.

³ Horace, *Satires*, 1.4.142f.; see Stern, *Authors I*, 323 & nn.

⁴ Jos. Ap. 2.282, 284.

⁵ Philo, *Mos.* 2.20. Cf. 2.17-23.

⁶ Leon, *Jews*, 253-256. For other references to proselytes on inscriptions, see J.B. Frey (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptorum Judaicarum* (2 vols., Rome: PIB, 1936, new ed. of I by B. Lifshitz, NY, 1975).

⁷ Meeks, “Breaking”, 115.

⁸ Epictetus, *Discourses*, 2.9.19-20; also 1.11.12 & 1.22.4. Juvenal and Martial lament the successes of Jewish proselytism during Domitian’s reign. See Gager, *Origins*, 76ff.

among the senatorial aristocracy throughout the first century CE,¹ while so prolific were conversions to Judaism that at one time there was much debate, recently reopened, as to whether Jewish missionaries operated in this period.² Even Meagher notes “one major pattern of evidence” that points to the indefatigability of the appeal of Jewish life and thought: from all strata of society, “Judaism continued to attract Roman proselytes in substantial numbers”.³

The classic example of Jewish conversion is that of Helena of Abiadene and her son, King Izates (c. 30 CE).⁴ Their conversion was no casual affair: it involved instruction in and acceptance of the Torah, and after converting Helena went to Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice.⁵ There is also the oft-quoted story about the Roman officers who visit R. Gamaliel for extensive instruction, at the end of which they have nothing but praise for the Torah excepting a typical piece of “double-faced” halakah.⁶ This is all the more remarkable since there was little worldly incentive: even with the occasional privileges Roman law gave Jews, Meagher knows “of no ancient text that accuses a gentile of proselytising to Judaism for motives of worldly advancement”.⁷

Yet more pervasive in this period were Judaizers – gentiles joining the synagogue and partially observing Torah without fully converting.⁸ What evidence there is suggests that they existed not only in Rome but in most other cities and towns of the Empire – Antioch certainly had a large Jewish population of long standing with a tradition of Judaizing long before Christianity arrived.⁹ They were most prolific in the

¹ Esp. Stern, “Sympathy”.

² E.g., Simon, *Verus*, 316-355, 482-488. The most recent advocate for this is Feldman, *Jew*, 289-305. It is rejected, rightly, by S. McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion* (Oxford: OUP, 1994) – which makes so many conversions all the more striking.

³ Meagher, “Twig”, 7.

⁴ See Jos. A. 20.2.4, 17-48 (esp. 34-38).

⁵ Jos. A. 20.49, which Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 132-133, suggests was a conversion sacrifice. He adds (137) that by Tannaitic times forced conversions were a thing of the past.

⁶ *Sifre Dt*, Piska 344 (Hammer, 356); *b. B. Qam* 38a. On this account and its significance for Yavnean Judaism, see Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 283f.

⁷ Meagher, “Twig”, 8.

⁸ The terminology is open to debate. Gaston, “Paul”, 55f., is sure of a class of such ‘God-fearers’, though in fact the term is limited largely to Acts where it serves Luke’s own theological purposes; Gager, *Origins*, 87 n. 55, strikes a balance – gentile sympathizers are not necessarily god-fearers. Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 137, refers simply to “semi-proselytes or God-fearers”.

⁹ Jos. B. 7.45. Gager, *Origins*, 101, describes the Cornelius of Ac 10 as “a Roman soldier, a Judaizer, and a Christian”.

early centuries of the Roman Empire, and played an important role in the development of Christianity. While it is unlikely that Augustus himself observed the Sabbath,¹ the various reports suggest that the conversions to Judaism leading to Tiberius's expulsions were accompanied by Judaizing; Josephus calls Nero's wife, Poppaea Sabina, a Jewish σεβομένη;² he and Philo refer as much to Judaizing as to full conversion; and Domitian vigorously attacked Roman Judaizers.³

There was also a tremendous amount of regard for Judaism generally. Josephus notes that Hecataeus had nothing but admiration for the Jews of Judea who have secured the privilege of not having to tolerate pagan altars and shrines on their soil,⁴ and in his *Contra Apionem* many Hellenistic ethnographers, some known only by name, appreciate Jewish history and culture.⁵ In short, throughout the Greco-Roman world, “down to Posidonius [c. 50 BCE] ... the earliest Greek witnesses, for all their variety, present a relatively uniform picture; they portray the Jews as a people of philosophers”.⁶ Thus contrary to the fallacious assumption that Cicero's diatribes are representative of the Roman *literati* of both then and later, Cicero's contemporary, Varro (c. 50 BCE), praises the Jewish cult for its prohibition of images and seeks to fit the Jewish deity into the Roman pantheon by identifying its god with Jupiter.⁷ Even in Egypt, the earliest expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment were a blip in otherwise

¹ Suetonius's suggestion (*Augustus* 76.2) that he fasted on the Sabbath must be taken as a groundless piece of gossip, though Gager, *Origins*, 75 (cf. Feldman, *Jew*, 49, 163), is more convinced.

² *Jos. B.* 20.8.11; 21.195; *V.* 3. Smallwood, *Jews*, 206 n. 15; 27 n. 78, argues that in referring to her as θεοσεβής Josephus simply means that she is pious.

³ While the proliferation of Judaizers was noted as early as Leopoldt, *Antisemitism*, Gager could still see them as awaiting rediscovery, and devotes a quarter of *Origins* to “Judaism and Judaizing among Gentiles”.

⁴ Hecataeus *apud Jos. Ap.* 1.193. For the reliability and relevance of his report see Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 74 n. 62. Hecataeus also speaks here of foreign tourists to Judea – τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀφικνουμένων (cf. Megasthenes *apud* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* I.15.72.5; *Jos. A.* 12.138-141; 2 Macc 2:12; 3:2). On pre-Maccabean economic contacts between Palestinian Jews and Greeks, see Tcherikover, *Civilization*, 431f. n. 73; Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus* I, nos. 2a & b; Smith, *Parties*, 57-81; Feldman, *Jew*, 11-14.

⁵ These include Hieronymus of Cardia, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Timachares and Agatharcides of Cnidus. Most significant is Alexander Polyhistor, whose *On the Jews*, preserved in *Eus. P. E.*, is an anthology of Jewish Hellenistic writings. See Stern, *Authors* I, 157-164.

⁶ Hengel, *Judaism* I, 255. See Stern, *Authors* I, on such notables as Theophrastus (c. 300 BCE), 8-17; Megasthenes (c. 300 BCE), 45-46; Clearchus of Soli (c. 300 BCE), 47-52; Hermippus of Smyrna (c. 200 BCE), 93-96; and Ocellus Lucanus (c. 200 BCE), 131-133.

⁷ Varro is but one of many pagans and Jews to use the technique of θεοκρασία – identifying various national deities as a single, universal god. See Stern, *Authors* I, 207-212.

good Jew-pagan relations, while the Maccabean legacy failed to depress “amazement at the founder of the Jewish religion and the original teaching of Moses”, which continued through the ensuing turbulence to Julian’s final stand against Christianity.¹

Unlike the *literati*, who represent the interests of a small group at a particular time and place, a number of heterogeneous, scattered and hence more representative Roman authors, all living during the period traditionally regarded as the nadir in Jew-pagan relations, too present a more positive view of Judaism as a divine philosophy, with Moses as its founder and spokesman. Diodorus of Sicily conflated his *Bibliotheca Historica* toward the end of the first century BCE, his references to the Jews’ Egyptian origins (1.31.2; 1.55.5; 1.94.1-2) noticeably lacking hostility, not least in material clearly of Egyptian origin.² Nicolaus of Damascus was an advisor to King Herod from c. 30 BCE, with the difficult task of presenting Herod to Greeks as a philhellene, to Romans as a loyal subject, and to Jews as a defender of the faith. His unparalleled knowledge of Jewish history and life, albeit not unbiased, reflected in his extensive writing, not least his *Historiae*, mirrors Diodorus’s.³

Pompeius Trogus, known only for his partially surviving *Historiae Philippicae*, written toward the end of the first century BCE, has a remarkable if confused account of Jewish history in the preface to Book 36, venerating Moses and the Jews: *quorum iustitia religione permixta incredibile quantum coaluere*.⁴ He too shows how traditions portraying the Jews as unsociable or even misanthropic could be handled in a non-hostile manner. Strabo of Amaseia’s *Historica Hypomnemata*, partially preserved by Josephus, features Jewish matters prominently, while his *Geographica*, which has survived in full, includes in section 16 a monograph on Jewish history and religion from the exodus to Pompey: antisemitic propaganda is absent from his

¹ See Hengel, *Judaism* I, 258.

² Stern, *Authors* I, 167-189; Gager, *Moses*, 26-28; *idem*, *Origins*, 68-69; Feldman, *Jew*, 238.

³ In his speech preserved by Josephus he successfully defends the civic rights of Ionian Jews before Marcus Agrippa, Jewish customs generally and the Sabbath in particular. See *Jos. A.* 12.125f.; and for the speech, *Jos. A.* 16.43. See Gager, *Origins*, 70; Feldman, *Jew*, 313.

⁴ *Phil. Hist.* 36.2.16 (*cf.* 36.2.6-10; 36.3.9). See Gager, *Origins*, 70-72; Feldman, *Jew*, esp. 182; Stern, *Authors* I, 332ff. Pompeius probably used a number of sources, but if he used just the one we are still left with an anonymous earlier writer who was sympathetic toward Jews.

conflated account of the exodus, while Moses ranks among the legendary lawgivers of antiquity, he and his followers uncannily reminiscent of contemporary *philosophiae*.¹

Gager uses Josephus's reference to these and others, including Timagenes,² to argue not just that Judaism made a significant impact on Roman aristocracy³ but that within the wider auspices of the Roman writers, some of the "greater Greek writers of the Augustan age", including Dionysius, all patronaged, must have known each other and been known by the highest Roman authorities. Thus "... it seems possible to speak of something approaching an "official" attitude of sympathy and respect for Judaism in the Augustan era".⁴

After the turn of the era, Longinus, his exact name and date unknown, wrote *De Sublimitate*, in which Moses (so well known he need not be mentioned by name), the founder of the Jewish religion, is at least Homer's equal in speaking of the gods. Underlining Moses's theological excellence, Longinus calls this οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἀνὴρ θεομοθέτης, and praises his notion of a god whose word alone was sufficient for the act of creation.⁵ Plutarch's interest in Judaism reflects the extent to which knowledge of Judaism had permeated aristocratic and intellectual circles of the late first and early second century. Not all his references to Judaism are complimentary,⁶ but most, based on unusually sound information, make this historian of religion the perfect counter-image to his contemporary Tacitus – all hint of criticism is gone.⁷

Some pagan observers were even attracted by the highly separatist Dead Sea community. The earliest certain reference, in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (c. 70 CE), has Pliny share with his source a sense of amazement at this *gens sola* that embodies the philosophical way of life as widely understood in popular philosophical

¹ See Stern, *Authors* I, 294-311, which presents his work as "philosophical" (266); Gager, *Moses*, 38-47; *idem*, *Origins*, 72-74; Feldman, *Jew*, 238-239.

² Jos. Ap. 2.84.

³ So Leon, *Jews*, 11ff.

⁴ Gager, *Origins*, 75.

⁵ Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 9.9. See Stern, *Authors* I, 361-365; Gager, *Moses*, 56-63; Feldman, *Jew*, 238-239. Despite Gager, *Origins*, 63; Feldman, *Jew*, 533 n. 21, Stern is right that the notion that either Longinus (like other prosemites) was a Hellenized Jew or the text is a Jewish or Christian interpolation rests on the assumption that the ancient world was largely antisemitic.

⁶ See his *De Superstitione*, 8 (169C) and *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis*, 38 (1051E).

⁷ E.g., *Quaestiones Convivales* (c. 115 CE), esp 4.5,6 (*contra* Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5); *De Iside et Osiride*, 31 (363C-D). See Stern, *Authors* I, 545-576; Gager, *Origins*, 78-80.

circles – the pursuit of asceticism. ¹ Noting a brief comment by Dio of Prusa (2nd C. CE), ² Gager is happy that the Essenes were generally viewed as an ideal community of philosophers, typical of an *interpretatio Pythagorica* applied to Judaism as far back as Hermippus (3rd C. BCE). ³

Jews were also widely respected by the populace, including Christians, for their involvement in more “vulgar” religious phenomena, the “divine arts”. ⁴ Moses figures prominently in this magical, alchemic, astrological dialogue, particularly voluminous in, of all places, Egypt. Gager goes as far as to suggest that here “the traditional lines between Jew and Gentile seem to have lost much of their meaning”, with many Jews readily adapting themselves to Egypt’s syncretistic environment. He even posits the existence of small, non-elite, syncretistic Jewish communities, isolated from the general dialogue, akin to the much earlier Jewish military colony at Elephantine. ⁵

The Maccabean struggle, marking the start of Rome’s official dealings with Judea, saw Antiochus V as early as 163 BCE restore to the Jews their laws and Temple (2 Macc 11:23-26). This exemplifies an implicit policy of many emperors from Julius Caesar and Augustus right up to the early fifth century CE: ⁶ in return for such things as maintaining internal order, not proselytising, and often not being granted citizenship, Jews were frequently allowed to live according to their ancestral customs, which could involve making annual donations to the Temple, settling most disputes internally, and freedom from civic obligations on the Sabbath. One of a number of first century BCE documents from Sardis that Josephus records is a decree from Lucius Antonius to the civic leaders of the city reaffirming the right of Jews σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσι. Another is a Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανῶν

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.73. See Stern, *Authors I*, 465ff., esp. 472; Feldman, *Jew*, 182, 225.

² Synesius of Cyrene, *Vita Dionis*, 3.2: Ἔτι καὶ τοὺς Ἑσσηνοὺς ἐπαινεῖ πον, πόλιν ὄλην εὐδαίμονα τὴν παρὰ τὸ νεκρὸν ὕδωρ ... κειμένην See Stern, *Authors I*, 538-540.

³ Hermippus *apud* Jos. *Ap.* 1.165; Jos. *A.* 15.371; Origen, *Celsus*, 1.15; Antonius Diogenes *apud* Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 11. *Cf.* Philo, *Prob.* 75-91.

⁴ Until later, most intellectuals were indifferent (*cf.* Trogus, *Histories*, 36.2.8; Apuleius, *Apologia*, 90; Lucian, *Alexander*, 32.13) while satirists were scornful (*cf.* Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.544-547).

⁵ Gager, *Origins*, 107-111, here, 108. While he is reticent to date the phenomenon, he considers it “unlikely that it burst on the scene again *ex nihilo* in the second century C.E.” (111)

⁶ See esp. Smallwood, *Jews, passim*.

renewing various Jewish privileges, including ἀφορισθῆναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν.¹

With the advent of Pompey, Judea had completed her demise into vassal-hood.² Yet when Caesar restored Hyrcanus in 47 BCE he personally granted him, and perhaps the Sanhedrin under his Presidency, powers of internal jurisdiction in matters of Jewish law.³ Similarly, after Judea was made a *provincia* in 6 CE, while the threat was real⁴ up to 70 CE Rome exercised no civil jurisdiction over Jews or pagans there.⁵ During the last decade of the Second Temple Jewish high priests were hired and fired at will by Roman governors, who generally controlled their actions (*cf.* Jn 19:15,21), but as part of the judiciary system Jewish governors were still an entity.

The juridical effect of the defeat in 70 CE is unclear. Roman law had a special law but free status for surrendered enemy aliens, *peregrini dediticii*, but different Jewish cities were probably treated as separate cases – while the inhabitants of cities that joined the revolt were reduced to slavery or even killed, the inhabitants of Sepphoris, which remained loyal, were unmolested.⁶ Some groups seem to have been accorded the status of *dediticius* temporarily, including 40,000 of the Jerusalem populace.⁷ Even in Egypt, while Rome was never as pro-semitic as the anti-Roman polemic in *Acts* suggests, it never became antisemitic either, and set limits to antisemitic words and actions where they might arise. Finally, while the earlier emperors were often surrounded by antisemitic advisors,⁸ they equally often had

¹ Jos. A. 14.235, 259-261. Both times he refers to a special area in some building if not to an actual synagogue. See Kraabel, “Paganism”, 16-18.

² *Cf.* the late *p. Sanh* 1.1 (18a). See Jackson, “Problem”, 159; Schürer, *History* I, 221-223.

³ See Smallwood, *Jews*, 39.

⁴ This may be inferred from Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 6.1.15; *In Verrum*, 2.3.6.

⁵ See Jackson, “Problem”, 160 & nn. 19-22. Josephus’s recitation of Titus’s reference to Roman privileges accorded to Judean Jews (*B.* 6.333-334), whatever his apologetic, cannot be based on a downright lie. Josephus also has Titus (*B.* 6.335) remind the Jews during the siege of Jerusalem that they had gained the money they are now using to attack the Romans with through such privileges, including exemption from military service, special laws, relaxation of taxes, Temple tax protected by Rome on its way to Jerusalem, and interdiction of mixed marriages.

⁶ See Jos. *B.* 3.29-32, 59 on Sepphoris (*cf.* Jos. *V.* 394, 411). Conversely, see Jos. *B.* 4.444-447 on Betabris and Caphartoba; 6.130 on Azotus and Jamnia; and 6.352 on Jerusalem.

⁷ Jos. *B.* 6.379, 386 (*cf.* 384-386). See Jackson, “Problem”, 160ff.

⁸ *E.g.*, Sejanus during Tiberius’s later years; Helicon under Caligula; the philosopher Seneca, Nero’s advisor from 54-66 (Stern, *Authors* I, 429-434); and the rhetor Quintillian whom Domitian appointed as tutor for the children of his niece, Flavia Domitilla (Stern, *Authors* I, 512-514).

Jewish friends and associates. Augustus himself knew Herod and several of his sons; ¹ Berenice, the sister of Agrippa II, was Titus's mistress from 67 to 79; ² Nero's wife may have been a Jewish sympathizer, even Judaizer; Julius Agrippa I was a close friend of the royal family in Rome; ³ and his son Julius Agrippa II was an equal friend and protégé of Claudius. ⁴ Strange, then, that Feldman's *Jew* should group Roman Government attitudes toward Jews under the heading "Official Anti-Jewish Bigotry".

This is only half the story. In the conversion of Helena of Abiadene and her son, Ananias held King Izates to be righteous without having to undergo circumcision. ⁵ Philo and Josephus were hardly rueful over the proliferation of Judaizers, while if G. Klein is correct there was an extensive catechism literature produced for God-fearers reflected in pseudo-Phocylides, the two-way catechism, and some of the Sibyllines and *Derech Eretz* literature. ⁶ In short, Jews generally were more than happy for pagans to imbibe their faith, adopt their practices, sympathize with their society, and ultimately convert.

Not all Second Temple Jewish literature was exclusivist. Much of it expressed a fundamental unity of mankind, pre-empted in the Priestly account of man made in God's image. Without diminishing the special status of Israel, R. Akiba stresses this latter fact (*m. 'Abot* 3.21), while in a story from his time (*Gn Rab.* 13.6) R. Joshua speaks of a day of rejoicing common to Jews and gentiles. Alongside the postulate, "All Israel has a share in the world to come" (*m. Sanh* 10.1), stands the corollary, again stated by R. Joshua, as a rebuff to R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, concerning the "righteous among the nations of the world who have a share in the world to come". ⁷ Thus *T. Naph* 8:3 can state that in the end times God will appear "to save the race of Israel, and to assemble the righteous from among the nations", while Moses can exhort

¹ See Leon, *Jews*, 14ff.

² See Smallwood, *Jews*, 385-388. *b. Git* 57a says that the son of Titus's sister, Onkelos, used necromancy to speak to Balaam, who warned him not to convert to Judaism.

³ See Smallwood, *Jews*, 181-200, for Agrippa's life in Rome.

⁴ See Leon, *Jews*, 27.

⁵ Cf. N.J. McEleney, "Conversion, Circumcision and the Law", *NTS* 20 (1974), 314-341.

⁶ G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propagandaliteratur* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1909).

⁷ *t. Sanh* 13.2; *cf. b. Roš Haš* 19a; *b. Ta'an* 17b.

the “Ruler of the World” to save Israel from the Amalekites, else “who then will read that book of the law which thou hast given to them?”¹

Thus space for gentiles *qua* gentiles is expressed in the very notion of Torah – they are included in God’s overall plan of salvation. Schiffman overstates things when he posits that “the institution [of the Torah] was specifically created to allow for those who had come to accept Judaism and its scriptures to enter the Jewish people formally” – its prime mover was the need for self-definition.² Yet he is not the first to do so. In a late first – early second century CE midrash, the fact that the Torah was given “in the wilderness publicly and openly in a place that is free to all” was so that “everyone wishing to accept it could come and accept it”.³

Two late second century sources see Lv 18:5 as referring to תּוֹרַת הַיְהוּדִים: “... even a Gentile who occupies himself with the Torah is like a high priest”.⁴ While according to *Sifre Dt* 28, which is earlier than the teaching of R. Johanan,⁵ “Whoever disavows idolatry acknowledges the whole Torah”, a dictum reflecting the state of widespread proselytism when not all aspiring converts were expected to embrace full Judaism. Even more significant since they offer evidence from daily life, certain halokot, for example *m. Šeqal* 7.6 which refers to gentile offerings, argued for the validity of rituals in which a gentile participated.⁶

It was specifically out of the relevance and need of Torah for “the righteous among the nations of the world” that the Noachian commands evolved. Maimonides is the first to state clearly that the nations can share in the Torah by keeping the seven commands given to the descendants of Noah and passed on through Moses, but the notion may go back as far as the second century BCE *Book of Jubilees* (7:20) which lists six prohibitions that must be observed by all. A precise legal definition of them

¹ *Amalek* 2; Lauterbach II, 158.

² Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 125. This is also true of Israel’s adopted practice of circumcision.

³ *Bahodesh* 1; Lauterbach II, 198.

⁴ *Sifre Ahare Mot pereq* 13.13.

⁵ Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 296, argues that his teaching is directed at Christians.

⁶ *Cf. b. Menah* 73b; *t. Šeqal* 3.11; *m. Ter* 3.9. Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 279, considers that any difference between the treatment of Jewish and non-Jewish dedications resulted from an awareness of the gentile’s lack of familiarity with the principles of the halakah and a desire to avoid offending the donor (*cf. b. ’Arak* 6a-b).

appears in an anonymous baraita (*t. 'Abod. Zar* 8.4; *b. Sanh* 56a) originating at least in the Yavneh period,¹ and they were first regularly discussed by the Tannaim of the mid-second century CE, the first to refer to gentiles as “children of Noah” (*m. Ned* 3.11). Yet while Gaston is wrong to see their sole purpose up to Maimonides as being to keep the land unpolluted – since the lack of Jewish jurisdiction over gentiles made them non-enforceable, they primarily demonstrate the Tannaim’s interest in the moral and religious standards of non-Jews – and while there remains considerable uncertainty over their precise nature, he makes a remarkable job of showing that they were a significant factor in the Greco-Roman world of the first century.²

From the earliest interactions there had developed a positive rapport between Diaspora Jews and pagans, especially Greeks. Not long into the second century BCE the Torah had already been translated into Greek specifically for the use of Diaspora Jewry (*Esther* was altered to fit the patterns of Greek romances),³ while pious Jews drew upon the myths of Greek literature,⁴ wrote Greek poetry⁵ and claimed that the philosophers, at least on their better days, had borrowed from the Torah.⁶ Throughout that century, despite the vagaries of Judean history, all the traits of Hellenism – including participation in the gymnasium and contacts with Greeks – were deemed to be permitted by God to Israelites living on gentile soil.⁷ There was no grumble, for example, that the synagogue of Delos, built in the second / early first century BCE, was situated near the gymnasium and stadium. Later, Philo would feel perfectly comfortable in an overtly Hellenistic environment,⁸ and remains the exemplar of how a pious Diaspora Jew could adopt and study Greek philosophy. It should be remembered

¹ See Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 276.

² Gaston, “Paul”, 57. He singles out their relevance to Paul’s theology.

³ For traces of Greek philosophy in the LXX, see Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 321 n. 56. Hengel, *Judaism* I, 115-152, finds traces of Greek philosophy in Qohelet and even Ben Sira.

⁴ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11”, *JBLe* 96 (1977), 383-405.

⁵ See the Orphic Hymn *apud* Ps.-Justin, *Cohortatio ad gentiles*, 15; Eus. *P. E.* 13.12; the epic *On Jerusalem* of Philo the poet *apud* Eus. *P. E.* 9.20, 24, 37; the Tragedy Ἐξαγωγή by Ezekiel *apud* Eus. *P. E.* 9.28.4; 29.16; and *Sib. Or.*, esp. Book 3.

⁶ E.g., Aristobulos *apud* Eus. *P. E.* 13.12.1.

⁷ See Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 72ff.

⁸ Philo, *Quod.* 26, 141; *Ebr.* 177; *Op.* 17; *Spec.* 2.230. Philo frequently uses metaphors taken from the gymnasium, e.g., Philo, *Mut.* 172; *Som.* 1.69.

too that the resentment of the gymnasiarchs and ephobic officials in Alexandria was due to Jewish involvement in the truly Hellenistic games.¹

Particularly in Sardis of Asia Minor and Corinth, Jews attained a remarkable level of harmony with the rest of the local populace. Beside the first century BCE documents from Sardis that Josephus records, later material from the synagogue there, an enormous edifice begun not before the third century CE, show it to be part of an even larger gymnasium complex. This reflects the Jewish community's long-standing material power and prestige and its affable relationship with Hellenism, a "self-confident Judaism" able to assimilate the pagan environment without fear of being swamped by it.² The inscription from a later "synagogue of the Hebrews" is physical evidence of a Jewish community in cosmopolitan Corinth too,³ vindicated by Philo, *Legat.*, which mentions Corinth as the location of a Jewish ἀποικία (281-282). Coupled with various New Testament passages, principally 1 Cor but also Ac 18, and the possibility that a pair of doors in the Jerusalem Temple made of Corinthian bronze were fashioned by Corinthian Jews, Richardson argues for a well-adjusted, confident, "relatively discrete community of Jews" here.⁴

A number of halakot deriving from the centuries following the turn of the era positively promoted such good relations. The "paths of peace" (*m. Git* 5.8) are a list of laws to be observed for the sake of peace with gentiles. Thus the poor among the gentiles are not to be stopped from gathering gleanings (לקת), the forgotten sheaf (שיכה) or פיעה, a social concern unparalleled in the pagan world, but should be given "prepared unsanctified grain for the sake of [their] gratitude" (*t. Pe'a* 3.1); and in a mixed town charity funds are collected from both Jews and gentiles, while the Jew

¹ Fuks & Tcherikover, *Corpus II*, 82-84, no. 157.

² Kraabel, "Paganism", 21, italics his (*cf.* 18ff.). Kraabel cogently argues that Melito of Sardis's antisemitic *Paschal Homily* was motivated by a desire to maintain the legitimacy of the small, recent Christian community over and against the large, established Jewish one. *Cf.* Gager, *Origins*, 99f. & nn.; S. Applebaum, "The Legal Status of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora", and *idem*, "The Organization of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora", in S. Safrai *et al.* (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century* (2 vols., Assen.: van Gorcum, 1974; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) I, 420-463, 464-503; Feldman, *Jew*, esp. 363-364.

³ In B.D. Meritt (ed.), *Corinth*, 8.1, "Greek Inscriptions 1869-1927" (Cambridge: Harvard, 1931), 78-79, no. 111. An earlier synagogue may well have occupied the same (unidentified) site.

⁴ Richardson, "Absence", 60-63, esp. 63.

“mourns the non-Jewish dead and consoles non-Jewish mourners and buries the non-Jewish dead, for the sake of the paths of peace”.¹ R. Johanan even prohibits the exchanging of a candlestick or lamp dedicated by a gentile to a synagogue before the name of the donor is forgotten, for fear of causing offence (*b. 'Arak* 6a-b). Admittedly, the notion of protecting the name of the Lord, or at least avoiding it being profaned, became a leading principle in such halakot (*t. B. Qam* 10.15²), to the extent of not charging interest on loans to gentiles either.³ But their positive effect on Jew-pagan relations is undiminished.⁴

These halakot reflect the situation in Palestine. Urbach uses them, particularly those concerning “the robbery of a gentile”, to argue that “Judaism did not become a self-enclosed movement at Yavneh. The reverse is true ... the sources clearly reflect a tendency toward a more open and equitable attitude to outsiders”.⁵ Nor was the Jewish response to Hellenism here all negative. Indeed, it is a main tenet of Goldstein’s “Acceptance” that Palestinian Jews often willingly assimilated many if not all six of the traits he associates with it.⁶

For most Jews some Greek practices and polite intercourse with Greeks remained compatible with Torah observance. In the *Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates* (c. 138 BCE) the high priest Eliezer and the Jewish elders who translated the Torah into Greek do not violate Jewish law but behave like perfect Greek *καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ*.⁷ The archaeological discoveries in a centre like Beth Shearim reveal the Jewish assimilation of Greek art and culture.⁸ And in contrast to ancient Roman literature, Jewish literature created no contemptuous term comparable to the Latin *pergraecari*,

¹ *t. Git* 5(3).4f.; *p. Git* 5.4 47c; *b. Git* 61a. In a 2nd century debate over funeral orations for non-Jews R. Judah defends the eulogy, “Alas, faithful man, who ate of his labour” (*b. Sem* 1.9 44a).

² Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 283f., puts it in the Yavneh period; *cf. b. Bek* 113a.

³ *p. B. Mes* 5.11 10d; *t. B. Mes* 6.18, in the name of R. Simeon. *Cf. b. Mak* 24a.

⁴ Such idealism was not the only motivation. R. Judah (*m. Makš* 2.7) concedes that Jews in certain cities may be simply more wont to abandon their children than gentiles are!

⁵ Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 283ff. *Cf.* the turnaround in Jew-pagan relations in Caesarea by the early third century CE. See Levine, *Caesarea*, esp. 63ff., 106; Gager, *Origins*, 100.

⁶ See Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 67.

⁷ Goldstein, *op. cit.*, 83, understands this work, which presents association with gentiles as compatible with Torah provided the laws of diet, ritual purity and abstinence from idolatry are strictly observed, as a reply to those Jews who wanted complete separation from Greeks.

⁸ See Feldman, *Jew*, 19-42, esp. 22.

*congraecare*¹ or the diminutive *Graeculus*.² Even the Qumran texts never mention the sin of imitating the Greeks. Indeed, in comparison to conservative Romanism,³ Judaism appears positively pro-Hellenic.

Talmudic and midrashic literature display a wide knowledge of the Greco-Roman world,⁴ while later sources inform us that members of Rabban Gamaliel's house were permitted to have their children taught Greek because of their close connection with the government authorities. R. Judah the Patriarch finally decreed that "in Eretz Israel there is no room for the Aramaic language, there is room only for the holy language and for Greek".⁵

As the oppressor, Rome would always be on the receiving end of Jewish messianic expectations. Yet Palestinian Jewry imbibed Roman culture too. Allowing for the legal ambiguities resulting in Palestine after 70 CE, Jackson cogently argues that without an official re-authorizing of the jurisdiction of Jewish courts in civil matters by Rome, this is just what happened.⁶ From this position, Jews actually began invoking the concurrent Roman jurisdiction. Nearly a century before the *constitutio Antoniniana* and within twenty years of the establishing of the province, Babatha, a Jewish woman, does this, with the full co-operation of the Roman administration at Petra.⁷ It is unclear how much of a precedent she set, but that R. Tarfon in the baraita in *b. Git* 88b opposes such practice shows that it was common

¹ Plautus, *Bacchides*, 4.4.101-102 (742-743); *Mostellaria*, 1.1.21 (22), 1.1.61 (64); Titinius *apud* Paulus Diaconus, 1.5 – two 2nd C. BCE Roman writers of comedy (cf. Horace, *Sat.* 2.2.11).

² E.g., Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 11-12,23; *Post reditum in Senatu*, 6.14; *In Pisonem*, 29.70; *De oratore*, 1.47,102; *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem*, 1.1.

³ Goldstein gives an excellent overview of this in "Acceptance", 69-70. Roman hostility to Greek culture, which can be explained from Coser's theory, allows us to see what Jewish anti-Hellenism there was more as a child of its time.

⁴ See M. Smith, *Parallels*, 9ff.; Lieberman, *Hellenism*; *idem*, *Greek*; *idem*, "Greek", 123-141; S. Krauss mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964²).

⁵ *b. B. Qam* 83a; *b. Sota* 49b. As part of the ongoing discussion as to whether studying Greek violated the command to be always studying Torah, many sided with R. Judah. See *p. Sota* 9.16 24b (cf. 24c; *b. Ber* 35b; *contra t. 'Abod. Zar* 1.20); *m. 'Abot* 3.18 (2nd C. CE); *m. Yad* 4.6; *p. Sanh* 10.1 28a. Either way, the technical rabbinic ban on the teaching of Greek and associated studies (it probably did not refer to Greek philosophy) was in fact never applied. See Urbach, "Self-Isolation", 285, cf. 287; Lieberman, *Greek* I, 20; *idem*, *Hellenism*, 104f.

⁶ Jackson, "Problem", 161-164.

⁷ On the archive, see Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* (London, New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 222-253.

enough to cause serious consternation. Jackson argues that those Jews who had a choice tended to use local law in commerce but, like Babatha, Roman law in wills and family relations.¹

It could only be a matter of time before the Roman (and Hellenistic) judicial system had an effect on Jewish halakah, Yavneh thereby imbibing the ultimate expression of Roman authority.² Of the six types of Roman law, the *edicta* and the *responsa prudentium* were most relevant to the rabbis. Jackson argues for the likelihood not just that the Mishnah *Seder Nezikin*'s arranging of laws into public and private reflects the former's influence, but that the whole principle of 'mishnah', restatement independent of the original and primary source, was prompted by it – the Roman magistrates were, in theory, merely giving effect to Roman statutory law, just as the Mishnah, in theory, merely restated the antecedent traditions of the Sinaitic legislation.³ He is also happy that both Roman and Hellenistic law influenced Jewish legal science – some of the **מִדְרָשׁוֹת** are indebted to Hellenistic rhetoric, while the lemmatic commentary of the early scholiasts to the Greek classics is a clear precedent to the major patterns of literary organization for 'midrash'. Even the development of explicit principles in tannaitic literature, which often designated them a *kelal*, "reflects the Hellenistic cultural milieu, with its penchant for the *kanon* and the *regula*".⁴

A conclusion

The relations between Jews and "Others" in the first century CE were far less negative than is often assumed, even in Alexandria, and more often than not downright

¹ Jackson, "Problem", 164, 166ff., 169. Cf. B. Lifschitz, "Etudes sur l'histoire de la province romaine de Syrie", *ANRW* II.8 (1977), 3-30. It seems that Jews insisted that non-Jews use Roman law too: see *t. B. Qam* 4.2; *p. B. Qam* 4.3 4b – which attributes the ruling to R. Hiyya.

² Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1975), 217ff., shows how the former acted as a "pressure" on the latter throughout the Tannaitic period.

³ Jackson, "Problem", 183, 186. More generally, the halakhic classification of the written and the oral Torah reflects the Greek distinction, famous from the *Antigone*, taken over by the Romans: see D. Daube, "The Civil Law of the Mishnah: The Arrangement of the Three Gates", *Tulane Law Review* 18 (1944), 359-366.

⁴ Jackson, "Problem", 191.

positive. It is a fundamental error to confuse the beginnings of self-definition that the new Judaism began to develop as the first century came to an end with an increasing inclination toward self-isolation. Rabbinic Judaism's *Entschränkung* (Harnack) was a necessary accompaniment to its genuine universalism, but that it never idealized self-isolation shows in that its recognition of humanity's basic unity remained foremost.¹ Indeed, that Jewish adoption of Roman and Hellenistic legal systems was at least in part subliminal indicates that the Jewish tendency to imbibe from the world it found itself in operated at the deepest level of its psyche.

Genuine pagan cognizance of Jewish self-affirmation was often not associated with antisemitic sentiment, but was part of "a prolonged debate within an increasingly anxious society over the status of Judaism as a religion of universal humanity".² Cicero, like many after him, was more intrigued than anything by Jewish circumcision, Sabbath-observance and abstention from pork. Roman satirists have been presumed to be antisemitic because scholars have failed to appreciate that it is their job to ridicule unusual behaviour. Complaints by an Apion or Tacitus, moreover, were often a pretext and always embedded in polemic, something many, Sevenster the most typical,³ have again failed to appreciate.

While instances of Jewish aggression were repercussive – the *Judaea capta* coins issued under Vespasian and Titus show how important Rome saw the previous wars, and the Bar Kokhba revolt left the deepest impressions upon Jewish relations with others – they must be seen in their proper light. The 66-73 war is not prominent in Roman writings at the end of the first century, such allusions as there are treating the Roman victory in strictly military terms.⁴ There was a similar Roman reaction to the revolt of 132-135, even after the events of 115-117.⁵

¹ This was recognized as far back as L. Baeck, *The Essence of Judaism* (1905, Eng. tr., New York: Schocken, 1970²), esp. 71-73. Cf. Hengel, *Judaism* I, 313; Urbach, "Self-Isolation", 275.

² Gager, *Origins*, 31.

³ Sevenster, *Roots*, esp. 89-144. Cf. W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (New York: Garden City, 1967), 96; Feldman, *Jew*, 153-170.

⁴ See Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 1.1-20; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 3.597-606; Martial, *Epigrams*, 2.2.1-6; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 2.1.17. Gager, *Origins*, 63, concludes that "the war simply did not generate anti-Semitism in the highest circles"; cf. Feldman, *Jew*, 99-100.

⁵ This is apparent from Dio's digression on the Jews in his *History*.

That antisemitism often had a political motivation (the most virulent, in Egypt, being anti-Roman) ¹ shows that its naked form was rare in the ancient world. Indeed, the effect upon Rome when Jews reverted to political accommodation toward her after 135 shows how the political landscape could just as well promote prosemitism. ²

Scholars have been known to re-set modern antisemitic notions, of Jews as a wealthy nation of finance-sapping miserly Shylocks, in an ancient milieu. ³ Even Feldman cannot resist noting the effect of unscrupulous Jewish business practices upon pagan neighbours. ⁴ Yet the wealth of Jews was entirely missing in ancient satires of them – if anything their poverty was noted. ⁵ Leipoldt's reference to Jos. V. 13.74-76 is "very odd ... surely an isolated incident", ⁶ while those Jews who did move from agriculture to business, even in partnership with Greeks (*cf.* 3 Macc 3:10), were the true assimilators of Hellenistic culture. That the height of the "economic boycott" on Jewish trade with pagans, particularly in Jerusalem, "through ritual prescriptions" came in 66 CE, when imports of foreign oil and other foodstuffs were banned from Jerusalem, ⁷ was merely a result of specifically Palestinian Jewish isolationism.

Epictetus's philosophical exhortations, in placing Judaism on a par with Egyptian and Syrian cults, confirm the picture painted by Roman writers throughout the first century CE and show just how fearful conservative Rome must have been at Judaism's popularity, and why some opposed it so severely. That this popularity was the chief cause of pagan antisemitism is incompatible with the idea that the ancient world was generally antisemitic. Rather, pagan antisemitism is the most accurate gauge of a far greater level of pagan prosemitism!

The sources remain fragmentary: the work of such writers as Polybius and Poseidonius have not survived; they remain ill-informed: before 135 CE there is no

¹ See Gager, *Origins*, esp. 40-54.

² Ruether, *Fratricide*, 27, takes this rapid return to good relations as witness that the norm in the Empire was "mutual cooperation that would respect Jewish religious distinctiveness".

³ *E.g.*, Marie-J. Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs* (Paris: Gabalda, 1909), 276.

⁴ Feldman, *Jew*, 107-113.

⁵ See Sevenster, *Roots*, 59, 88.

⁶ Klasson, "Anti-Judaism", 10. Leipoldt, "Antisemitismus", 472, cites it as "ein jüdisches Geschäft".

⁷ Hengel, *Judaism I*, 52-53, noting that the Hasidic and apocalyptic circles, including Ben Sira, join in condemning items which were only available from gentiles.

certainty that *any* pagan author could claim a firsthand knowledge of the Jewish scriptures; ¹ and limited: they derive almost exclusively from aristocratic circles on both sides. Yet the unearthing of more – not least the Dead Sea Scrolls and Nag Hammadi codices – has shown how misinformed and misinforming the “classical” survivors have been.

Much needs reassessing. The ban on Greek found its origins in the specific struggles of the *hasidim* against Hellenization, ² and was only reiterated when its being ignored became too obvious. ³ The Greek translation of Genesis ignored the technical cosmological terminology of Greek philosophy ⁴ not so much out of hostility as a fear of the charge of plagiarizing. Far from opposing Hellenism, Ben Sira’s non-mention of ‘Greek’ and ‘Greece’ is because for him “Hellenism was simply not an issue” – there were so few Greeks in Palestine. ⁵ In 2 Macc 4, the only usages introduced by Jason specifically referred to as contrary to the Torah are to do with the gymnasium, while it avoids the word ‘Greek’ since Antiochus IV is a benevolent Seleucid king whom God turns into the “rod of his anger” (v. 16f.). ⁶

The lack of (resident) Greeks in Palestine, far from the result of a specific ban – such a *coup* would hardly have been passed over – “probably was a consequence of the ban on pagan worship there” secured by the late fourth century BCE. ⁷ This also explains the slow progress of the Greek language in Judea when Diaspora Jews were fast adopting it as their sole vernacular. The events surrounding Antiochus IV and the success of the Hasmonean rebellion against him ensured that these characteristic Greek structures would never return, ⁸ yet the fact remains: the only Hellenistic trait

¹ Even Longinus may have known nothing beyond the line he quotes from Genesis.

² The ban itself is juxtaposed to the ban on rearing pigs (*b. Sota* 49b; *b. B. Qam* 82b; *b. Menah* 64b) – *cf.* 2 Macc 1:47; 6:22; 7:42, and the “abomination that causes desolations”.

³ During the fratricidal struggle of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II – note their Greek names (*b. Bek* 82b; although *p. Ber* 4.7b; *p. Ta’an* 4.68d do not mention the ban)! – and the *polemos* of Quietus (*m. Sota* 8.14). See Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 285f.

⁴ *Cf. Aristeas*, 121.

⁵ Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 73 (*cf.* 73-75). *Contra* Hengel, *Judaism* I, 131-153. If fear was his motivation, like other Jewish writers Ben Sira would surely direct his hostility at unnamed ‘gentiles’.

⁶ While 1 Macc 1:11f. openly condemns civic association with gentiles, it too nowhere singles out Greeks, and later refers explicitly only to the disguising of circumcision.

⁷ Goldstein, “Acceptance”, 74. See Philo, *Legat.* 200-202; *Jos. A.* 18.120-122.

⁸ See *Sifre Ahare Mot* pereg 13 (to *Lv* 18:3). This opposition remained firm right through to the completion of the Babylonian Talmud in the 5th C. CE.

the Torah strongly restricted *per se* was a permanent Greek presence in Palestine. ¹ Palestinian Jews consistently regarded the others as permitted.

Some scholarship has been inept. Sevenster defines the subject of Judaism in the ancient world as “anti-Semitism” by briefly glossing over non-conforming evidences in a final chapter, ignoring such rudimentary facts as the Jew’s privileges with Rome. ² Dix ignores the whole phenomenon of Christian Judaizers to argue that Christianity was progressively de-Judaized, and that “after A.D. 70 there are no more direct contacts with contemporary Judaism save hostile ones”. ³ Much of this ineptitude has been polemical: it gives Christianity theological legitimacy – Judaism could not have succeeded anyway – and makes it a mere perpetuator of the “classical” stance, absolving it of responsibility for modern events. ⁴

Yet scholarship has gradually come to terms with the limited nature of ancient pagan antisemitism. Simon, responding to Isaac’s criticism of *Verus Israel*, may criticize Isaac’s *l’antisemitisme* for portraying it as insignificant, yet concedes that it made an impact only after the fourth century CE and remained fundamentally different to Christian antisemitism. ⁵ Meagher’s making Judaism’s popularity a single counter to the four sets of evidence for antisemitism’s dominance in the ancient world is only a methodological error, which Gager exposes.

Judaism was a recurrent topic of positive conversation in pagan circles. Many authors, particularly those with a philosophical bent, deeply admired a number of its traits – including Sabbath observance, monotheism, the rejection of icons, and the figure of Moses – and remained intensely interested in the identity of the Jewish god (it was identified with almost every significant pagan deity, and with various Stoic and Platonic conceptions of the divine) and the issue of Jewish origins. Though most if not all later Christian apologetic was to all intents *adversus Judaeos*, ⁶ the ancient world’s

¹ See *e.g.*, Jos. A. 13.257f., 318, 397; V. 112f.

² See Klasson, “Anti-Judaism”, 12.

³ G. Dix, “The Ministry in the Early Church”, in K.E. Kirk (ed.), *The Apostolic Ministry* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1946), 228.

⁴ Lazare is a prime example. Gager, *Origins*, 7, notes that Jews (we can add Feldman, *Jew*, 107) have used ancient pagan antisemitism as an explanation for Judaism’s very survival.

⁵ Simon, *Verus, Post-Scriptum*.

⁶ Much escapes on the technicality that it is addressed to a pagan audience.

attraction to Judaism was so strong that even now this apologetic could not afford to abandon Christianity's Jewish links,¹ which gave it the claim to "antiquity" that the Greco-Roman world held in such high regard.²

The perverse relationship between Jewish proselytizing and antisemitism, the tension between Jewish universalism and exclusivism, Alexandrian resentment at Roman pro-Jewish policy, are all indicative of the vast spectrum of exchange there was between Jew and pagan in the first century CE. Yet it remains that this century was "not only the age of Apion, Chaeremon and Seneca, but ... a century marked by the unprecedented diffusion of Jewish ideas and customs among various classes of society"³ That both Jew and pagan consistently represented the Jewish faith as a *philosophia*⁴ shows how much they deemed it an integral part of the Greco-Roman world – and how ignorant they were of the Jew-gentile dichotomy we foist upon them.

It is in such a broadly pro-semitic century that John's community lived. This is significant. Preferring Ephesus to Alexandria as the community's home, the undeniable conclusion is that in all its wranglings with the synagogue there was no real pagan antisemitic or anti-Judaic model for it to adopt, or even compare notes with. Any anti-Judaism or antisemitism the community produced would have to be entirely the product of its own experience together with any specifically Christian legacy it had access to. More, it is safe to assume that its non-Jewish converts, far from antisemitic, "were drawn from those already attracted in some fashion to Judaism".⁵

Finally, we can note early Christian pro-semitism. As Judaism's growing popularity "continued to exert itself even among the ranks of the faithful",⁶ there was a backlash. Christian leaders responded with increasing vitriol, especially in Asia Minor

¹ The astute Roman writer Celsus (c. 175) knows this only too well (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1.22; 2.4; 3.5; 5.33,35-41; 7.18) and Origen concedes it (2.2; 5.49; 7.18,20).

² See D.P. Efroymson, "The Patristic Connection", in A.T. Davies (ed.), *Foundations*, 98-117, esp. 108. E.g., Justin, *First Apology*, 30-63 (esp. 36, 46, 63); Tertullian, *Apologia*, 17-21.

³ Stern, *Authors* I, 362. Cf. Gager, *Origins*, 82: Alexandria and the not unrelated Tacitus aside, "[o]ne might even argue that the traditional view must be stood on its head".

⁴ See M. Smith, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century", in M. Davis (ed.), *Israel: Its Role in Civilization* (New York: Ayer Co., 1977²), 79f., who presents this as a genuine appellation used by pagans who were attracted to all forms of *philosophia*. Indeed, the diversity of pagan reaction to the Jewish religion merely reflects the diversity of reaction to the "atheisms" generally.

⁵ Gager, *Origins*, 112.

⁶ Simon, *Verus*, 274.

(cf. Ignatius, *Mag* 10:3; *Php* 6:1). Yet this was not always the case. Relations between the flourishing pagan, Jewish and Christian communities in first century Corinth (cf. third century Caesarea) were affable. ¹ Syriac Christianity generally, from Antioch in the West to Mesopotamia in the East, long retained features of a Jewish Christianity which seem to go back to its beginnings: in *The Homilies of Peter* and *The Epistle of Peter* in the Pseudo-Clementine writings, which reach back to the early second century in Greek-speaking areas of western Syria, “[n]ot only is there no trace of anti-Jewish polemic, but the validity of Jewish tradition is extended down to the author’s own time”. ² This highly influential pro-Jewish Syriac Christianity – which Gager identifies as a Matthean source ³ – saw no need to repudiate Judaism but rather deemed it a religion for all humanity.

What does this mean? That with the first century debate more between Jew and Jew than Christian and Jew, a late first century Jewish Christian community is no longer the impossibility it might at first appear. It remains for us to see whether John’s affair is such a creature.

¹ Richardson, “Absence”, 64, gives six pieces of evidence to suggest that the Christian community here had a considerable Jewish contingent, despite the lack of anti-Judaism in 1 Corinthians.

² Gager, *Origins*, 124. 1 Pe 1:3 (cf. 2:5) quotes Mt 5:18 – “what must have been the favourite testimony of Judaizers everywhere” (*ibid*) – as a denial that Peter had advocated a break with the Mosaic commandments.

³ Gager, *Origins*, 129.

II: JOHN'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Methodology

Given the obligatory reference to the mountain of Johannine study ¹ and the persistent wide range of genuinely scholarly opinion, ² we will presume upon many of the conclusions that have achieved a level of general consensus. Kysar summarized things in 1985: “The gospel emerged in somewhat the form we know it in all likelihood, but not necessarily, after 70, but no later than 90. It was written by an anonymous figure in the community who preserved the traditions of his group centred in a distant figure of the past known in the gospel as the beloved disciple.” ³

When this methodology is not applied, Johannine studies can become too far removed from reality. Martyn's hypothesis that בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנַיִם directly affected the Johannine community is worth our attention, but it is far from proven, which makes his reconstruction of the community's history from this benediction of limited value. R.E. Brown is also part of the comparatively recent switch from the peculiarity of the author as an explanation of the Gospel to that of the community. Yet his no fewer than five, interdependent, hypothetical, historical phases make up a thesis which *in toto* is inherently improbable. ⁴ Bultmann too bases his commentary on his own hypotheses of

¹ See W. Schmithals, “Johannesevangelium und Johannesbriefe: Forschungsgeschichte und Analyse”, *BZNW* 64 (1992), 166-168; G. van Belle, *Johannine Bibliography, 1966-1985: a Cumulative Bibliography on the Fourth Gospel* (BETL 82; Gembloux & Duculot: Leuven University, 1988); *TRu*: “Aus der Literatur zum Johannesevangelium”, J. Becker, 51 (1986), 1-78; 47 (1982), 279-301, 305-347; H. Thyen, 44 (1979), 97-134; 43 (1978), 328-359; 42 (1977), 211-270; 39 (1975), 1-69, 222-252, 289-330; B.M. Metzger, *Index to Periodical Literature on Christ and the Gospels* (NTTS 6; Leiden: Brill, 1966); E. Malatesta, *St. John's Gospel 1920-1965. A Cumulative and Classified Bibliography of Books and Periodical Literature on the Fourth Gospel* (AnBib 32; Rome: PBI, 1967).

² E.g., cf. Hengel, *Question*, with Casey, *Prophet*.

³ Kysar, “Evangelist”, 2439. Cf. S.S. Smalley, “Keeping up with recent studies: St. John's Gospel”, *ExpTim* 97.4 (1986), 102-108; X. Leon-Dufour, “Bulletin d'exegèse du Nouveau Testament. L'évangile de Jean”, *RevScRel* 73 (1985), 245-280; J. Zumstein, “Chronique Johannique”, *ETR* 59 (1984), 547-556; Kysar, *Evangelist*; W.F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation* (rev. C.K. Barrett; London: Epworth, 1955⁴). From now on, like Hanson, *Prophetic*, 1 n. 1, we refer to the author as “John”, with no reflection on his number or gender (M. Scott, *Sophia and the Johannine Jesus* [JSNTSup 71; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992], 239f., speculates that his Wisdom fixation makes him a she!), and his Gospel as the Gospel.

⁴ Cf. R.E. Brown, *Community*, 7. A more recent example is L. Schenke, “Der Dialog Jesu mit den Juden im Johannesevangelium, ein Rekonstruktionsversuch”, *NTS* 34 (1988), 573-603.

structure and literary development: thus he attributes the ‘sacramental’ passages to an Ecclesiastical Redactor and thereby argues that the Evangelist is anti-sacramental.¹ Carson suggests that in fact *many* assumptions of Johannine scholarship are ungrounded and result in theories far removed from anything capable of verification.²

This is not to undermine the necessity for non-conventional, pioneering, research: but it must remain the point of arrival, not departure. The Gospel must be allowed to speak for itself. In such a creditable effort, Culpepper in 1983 rejected his earlier attempts at a social view of the community in favour of a literary attempt, allowing the Gospel’s symbolism together with its misunderstanding and irony elements to act as “implicit commentary”.³

That Judaism and its scriptures directly influence the Gospel is nothing new. Nearly sixty years ago Dodd wrote: “Jewish terms and usages are sometimes explained in the Fourth Gospel, but knowledge of Judaism is assumed. We are hardly through the Prologue when we meet with priests, Levites and Pharisees, a reference to Elijah, and a quotation from Isaiah, all without any explanation. There are unexplained allusions to Rabbinic doctrines, and interpretations of the Old Testament ...”.⁴ Yet this was only part of his argument that *every* major influence in the Ancient Near East – including higher paganism and the ubiquitous gnosticism – influenced the Gospel.

He certainly provided a corrective to the literature that was then contrasting the Gospel as obscured by alien speculation with the Synoptics, and ensured that subsequent scholars would concede a whole range of Jewish influences on the Gospel: traditions surrounding Jesus; the Synoptics; Palestinian Judaism; Hellenistic Judaism;

¹ Bultmann, *John*, 234f. G. Richter, “Die Fleischwerdung des Logos im Johannesevangelium”, *NovT* 13 (1971), 81-126; 14 (1972), 257-276, similarly discounted all the incarnation passages (1:14; 6:51-8; 15 – 16) as secondary to support his argument that John is not interested in the incarnation, only in Jesus’ divinity.

² Carson, “Historical”. O. Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle* (Eng. tr. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), ch. 1 *passim*, had already pleaded for restraint in redactional theories of John. In this respect Barrett, *Gospel*, 19, refreshingly describes signs-source hypotheses as valuable in the points they raise but not useful as exegetical tools since they cannot be proven or denied: cf. F. Vouga, “The Johannine School: a Gnostic Tradition in Primitive Christianity?”, *Bib* 69.3 (1988), 371-385, here 381: “The *Semeia Quelle* probably never existed.”

³ Cf. Culpepper, *Anatomy*, esp. 149-202, with *idem*, *The Johannine School* (Missoula, Monty: Scholars, 1975). Stibbe, *Gospel* (cf. *idem*, *Storyteller*) is an up-to-date version of Culpepper, *Anatomy*; cf. C.R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

⁴ Dodd, “Background”, 334: cf. 335.

the Old Testament, *etc.* But he did not defend its Jewishness. Quite the opposite, taking its Hellenistic ideas as axiomatic to its readers rather than as positive doctrines, he presented it as a radically Christian document written to convert the educated pagan. *Our* conviction is that within the matrix of its community's experience, the Gospel is specifically Jewish and rooted in the Jewish scriptures.

Some have taken steps in this direction with unfortunate results. Focusing on Ex 2:23 – 12:51, R.H. Smith says of John's use of σημεῖον, "it is evident that the tradition of Moses' signs and wonders lies in the background",¹ cutting an all-purpose hermeneutic key on the observation that both John and the Exodus narrative make use of this word. He considers no other explanation, not least that it is pure coincidence – the word was hardly rare in the Greco-Roman world.² His conclusion is correct – that by contrasting Moses' signs with those of Jesus John portrays that what Moses did imperfectly Jesus recapitulated perfectly. His method is incorrect – he arranges John's seven 'signs' as inverted parallels to the seven 'signs' of Moses.³ There are too many missing and ill-fitting pieces in his jigsaw – not least, John has to leave out Moses' second to fourth signs (we are not told why these are the most "expendable"⁴) – and Smith does not begin to accommodate Jn 13 – 21.⁵

Roth's hypothesis, that the Gospel is "a selective and inverted narrative rewriting of 'The Law' and 'The Prophets' of the Hebrew Bible, climaxed in the portrayal of a new creation through the gift of the Spirit by the risen Jesus",⁶ again has some good conclusions – the Gospel certainly has a message for secret Christians still within the synagogue – yet a weak methodology. Noting the importance of 1:45; 5:39, *etc.*, Roth suggests that John's six festal references (2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 10:22;

¹ R.H. Smith, "Exodus", 334.

² See Barrett, *Gospel*, 26. Smith himself concedes ("Exodus", 334) that אֹתוֹת וּמוֹפְתִים (LXX, σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) or just אֹתוֹת never achieved technical status in Jewish literature.

³ Jn 2:1-11 // Ex 7:14-24 – he notes αἶμα σταφυλῆς οἴνον in Dt 32:14 & 1 Macc 6:34; Jn 4:46-54 // Ex 9:1-7 – "The Johannine story would parallel the account in Exodus more closely if it were not the official's son who was ill but his slave" (335 n. 14); Jn 5:2-9 // Ex 9:8-12; Jn 6:16-21 // Ex 9:13-35; Jn 6:1-15 // Ex 10:1-20; Jn 9:1-41 // Ex 10:21-9; Jn 11:1-40 // Ex 11:1 - 12:32.

⁴ R.H. Smith, "Exodus", 335. In this way Smith contravenes the third of his own four requirements for any extended typological exegesis of the Gospel (332).

⁵ Cf. the rebuttal of R.H. Smith in Hanson, *Prophetic*, 239.

⁶ Roth, "Coding", 7.

11:55) serve to indicate text units that relate to specific Jewish scriptures.¹ Some of his evidence is strained: ὄζειν appears in the New Testament only in Jn 11:39, in the Old Testament only in Ex 8:19; the only reference to weeping (κλαίειν) in Exodus is in 2:6, used of Moses, while in Jn 11:35 a different word for weeping (δακρύνειν) is used of Jesus while the standard κλαίειν of the mourners. John is presumably aware of these *minutae* but having incorporated them into his Gospel fails to convey them to his readers who, until Roth, remain ignorant of their subliminal message.²

Roth and Smith proceed down methodological cul-de-sacs. Their claims are based on the discovering of obscure ‘tags’, yet that these tags have remained unnoticed for two millennia is surely reasonable evidence that they simply do not exist.³

Some scholars have not gone far enough. Comparing the Gospel with Deutero-Isaiah, Griffiths simply states the obvious: each author “offers a re-statement of already familiar beliefs in a more explicit and articulated form than many of his predecessors ... Both exhibit a marked degree of originality in thought and of individuality in the presentation of their message.”⁴ Others are too partisan. For sure Gn 1 – 3 influences the Gospel, but to argue that when Jesus gives up the Spirit (19:30) “the Spirit of life is thus handed over to the Mother and the Son, ... Mary, the Mother, is, however, not re-created merely as an individual: the title Mother implies children, and it is through her that life is passed on. Her new Son already stands by her side”,⁵ is too much. John would be more explicit if he wished to give Jesus’ mother and beloved disciple such soteriologically significant roles as the new Adam and Eve.⁶

¹ Jn 1:19 – 4:54 // 1 Kgs 17 – 2 Kgs 13; Jn 5:1-47 // Deuteronomy; Jn 6:1-71 // Numbers; Jn 7:1 – 10:21 // Leviticus; Jn 10:22 – 11:54 // Exodus; Jn 11:55 – 20:29 // Genesis.

² Schuchard, *Scripture*, 19 n. 12: “Roth’s proposal ... lacks credibility”.

³ R.H. Smith criticizes J.J. Enz, “The Book of Exodus as a literary type for the Gospel of John”, *JBL* 76 (1957), 208-215, for being inconsistent when comparing the Gospel with Exodus, yet this is Enz’s saving grace: while noting parallels, some of which are admittedly less legitimate than others, he makes no extravagant hermeneutic discoveries. Cf. B.P.W. Stather-Hunt, *Some Johannine Problems* (London: Skeffington, 1958); H. Sahlin, *Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums* (AUU 4; Uppsala, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1950).

⁴ D.R. Griffiths, “Deutero-Isaiah and the Fourth Gospel: Some Points of Comparison”, *ExpTim* 65 (1953-4), 355-360, here 355.

⁵ Hoskyns, “Genesis”, 211.

⁶ The “significant” juxtaposing of γυνή to μήτηρ in 19:26 *etc.* (211) hardly qualifies.

Many a successful new theory follows on a string of failures and muddles, and all the above have played a part in the rediscovering of the Gospel's Jewishness. A more useful approach, however, has been that of Barrett. Not merely looking at specific texts, he assimilated a broader view of Jewish influence on the Gospel, concluding as far back as 1947, "... the whole body of the Old Testament formed a background, or framework, upon which the new revelation rested".¹ Glasson's seminal work opened up a vast range of Mosaic imagery in the Gospel, especially in its christology, and by showing that many rabbinic works contain material that is contemporaneous with it opened up a wealth of fresh evidence.² Reim's *Studien* cogently argued that many significant Johannine developments of the Christian tradition evince an Old Testament background. Yet perhaps most useful has been the work of Freed. By analysing the Gospel's Old Testament quotations, his genuinely scientific approach provided the stuff of research, and his findings carry a deserved air of authority. His methodology, which gives a truly measurable idea of how John uses and regards the Jewish scriptures, presents an unsurpassed point of departure.³

¹ Barrett, "Old Testament", 168.

² Glasson, *Moses*. Dodd had not shown that comparing rabbinic material – whose earliest and most important written source, the Mishnah, as Glasson cautions (11) is later than 200 CE – with the Gospel is legitimate.

³ Freed, *Quotations*. Cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*.

John's Old Testament quotations

1:23

This, part of John the Baptist's reply to certain Jews who ask him who he is, is the first explicit Old Testament quotation in the Gospel. The introductory formula, which as in 17:12 follows the quotation, appears only here in the New Testament. The quotation also occurs in the Synoptics (Mk 1:3; Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4; these are identical to each other save that Luke proceeds to quote Is 40:4-5) and is from Is 40:3.¹

The LXX precisely translates קוֹל קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר פְּנֵי יְהוָה יְרֵךְ יְהוָה save that while קוֹרֵא is usually taken as a periphrastic (βοῶσα), the LXX takes it, legitimately, as part of a construct, φωνή βοῶντος; it also puts ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ with the voice (like 1QS 8.13-16) rather than with what follows, and hence omits reference to עֲרֶבְהָהּ in the second half of the parallelism. Only the Synoptics follow the LXX exactly, but all four Gospels accept these alterations, which make the application to the Baptist more obvious. This may be why they follow the LXX, but more likely the LXX is their version anyway and they simply presume its veracity. Unlike John, the Synoptics include εὐθείας ... ἡμῶν, again following the LXX, which degrades מְסֻלָּה to mere τρίβους, except that they shorten τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν to αὐτοῦ.

John begins with an emphatic ἐγὼ but too is identical to the LXX for φωνή βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. His second line, however, reads εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, as close to the MT as the LXX is, rather than Ἐτοιμάσατε (Aq. Th. ἀποσκευάσατε; Sym. εὐτρεπίσατε) τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου.

Mark says that his quotation is from the prophet Isaiah, but in reality it is a conflate involving Ex 23:20 and Mal 3:1a, also probably taken from the LXX.² While Matthew and Luke follow Mark's rendering of Is 40:3 precisely, even his citing of Isaiah as the source, they incorporate this remainder elsewhere (Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27). It is fairly simple to create a possible scenario. Mark inherits the text from a Christian

¹ We cite the pointed MT and LXX B unless otherwise stated.

² See Appendix I: Old Testament quotations in the Synoptics.

testimonium (perhaps ‘error’ included, though the *testimonium* may give only a vague reference or none at all). Working from Mark or, less likely, the *testimonium*, Matthew and Luke are aware of the error and, unhappy to repeat it, separate out the non-Isaianic part.¹ Indeed, Luke actually checks the Isaiah reference, going on to quote the next two verses as well.

It is much more likely, however, that Matthew and Luke take Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a from Q – not so much because they are different to Mark (at the end they add ἔμπροσθέν σου) as that they are identical to each other, even down to the introductory formula. The above scenario could be adapted: Matthew and Luke take Is 40:3 from Mark or the *testimonium*, while following Q’s lead in keeping it separate from Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a (if Q quotes Is 40:3 at all). But now the need for the *testimonium* is purely to explain Mark. True, it seems unlikely that Mark is either unaware of his error or simply not bothered by it, since neither is the case for Matthew or Luke. Yet we may tentatively suggest that in fact there is no error, rather that here and in Mt 27:9b-10² we see evidence of a literary custom whereby only the most ‘famous’ of a number of sources making up a conflate is cited.

A much simpler, more likely, scenario now emerges. Mark works straight from the LXX to produce his conflate, and Matthew and Luke take Is 40:3 from him while preferring Q for Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a. They keep the non-Isaianic material separate not to rectify any error but in deference to Q, while Luke adds Is 40:4-5 purely as a result of his own predilections – indeed, since his rendering of these verses is fairly loose, short of working from a loose version he probably does not bother to look them up at all. Much of the impetus for the suggestion that John takes Is 40:3 from a *testimonium* derives from the assumption that the Synoptics do so – even though his version is unique and manifestly his own work and, as we shall see, there is little evidence that he is dependent on *testimonia* elsewhere. That assumption is no longer valid.

¹ They are arguably less likely to alter an ‘official’ version than an earlier Gospel version.

² See Appendix I: Old Testament quotations in the Synoptics.

Freed is right: “It is impossible to tell whether John used the Hebrew or Greek text.”¹ Certainly in the second line John may make his own translation of the Hebrew (פני) or use the LXX. It seems more likely, however, that he works from the LXX. This is his usual practice, and it explains why he too takes קול קורא as a construct pair, agrees with the LXX verbatim for the first line, and uses εὐθύνετε in the second line. While noncommittal over which version John uses, Barrett suggests that he may be recalling the use of εὐθύνειν with ὁδός in Ecclus (2:6; 37:15; 49:9),² or, which we and others prefer, is influenced by εὐθείας in the LXX of the second half of the parallelism, an accepted Jewish practice in line with the twenty-second of R. Eliezer b. Jose ha-Gelili’s מדרות.³ If this is the case, it is significant that he still sticks with the ὁδόν of the LXX’s first clause, closer to דֶּרֶךְ (and מִסְלָח) than the τρίβους of its second clause – he is at least aware of the Hebrew.

John adds ἐγὼ probably to highlight the fact that the Baptist really is the voice – and only the voice (Cullmann contrasts the use of φωνή here with λόγος used of Jesus in the Prologue⁴) – of one crying in the wilderness. Typically, the Baptist is aware, happily aware, that the Son is superior to himself and must increase while he decreases (cf. Jn 1:30 and Brown’s reference to the Baptist polemic), yet his work is significant enough to have been prophesied in the Jewish scriptures. “John the Baptist, though a true witness, is not simply to be identified with some character in the eschatological movement of history; nor is his testimony an independent opinion of his own. It possesses the only authority that can be recognized within Judaism, the authority of Scripture.”⁵ Indeed, he functions for John precisely as the Jewish scriptures function (cf. 5:33,39,46).

Freed puts John’s use of εὐθύνετε, unique among early Christian quotations of Is 40:3, down to personal interest: “The change from ἐτοιμάζω to εὐθύνω is for moral and ethical emphasis and shows a kinship to the wisdom literature of the Heb. and Gr.

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 117. Even Schuchard, *Scripture*, 15, leaves John’s use of the “OG” [Old Greek] a “likelihood”.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 173.

³ So Reim, *Studien*, 5, and esp. Menken, “John 1,23”. See on 6:31.

⁴ Cullmann, *Christology*, 260.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 174.

O.T.”¹ This sapiential motivation may well lay behind John’s being influenced by εὐθείας, and is the more significant since in Jewish scripture making “straight paths” is the function of wisdom, who walks along such paths (Ps 118:5; Pr 4:25f.; 20:24).²

It is well known that it was the self-imposed task of the Essenes to prepare the way of the Lord, and that they used Is 40:3, albeit “as an injunction or authorization, whereas in the Gospels it is treated as a prediction”.³ The point applies to all four Gospels since all apply Is 40:3 to the Baptist (though arguably John stresses the point), but it is remarkable that a Jewish sectarian community living in the desert contemporaneously with the Baptist, also from the desert, apply the same Jewish scripture to the task God has called them to.

John’s affinities with the Synoptics and the Qumranians show him to be no maverick here. Dodd is right: his use of εὐθύνατε infers independence from the Synoptics rather than that he “may purposely interpret or supplement the Synoptic tradition”.⁴ Yet John’s use of Is 40:3 is not entirely homespun. From its application to the Baptist down to the opening construct-pair equivalent, he imbibes the text’s Jewish and Christian pedigree. Equally, he by no means feels limited by this pedigree to being a mere amanuensis. That, unlike the Synoptics and IQS 8.13-16, he omits the second line of the text suggests that he does not appreciate Hebrew parallelism – each line must have its own fulfilment – yet also shows this independence of spirit: true to his literary economy, the point has been made and does not need repeating.

In the Synoptics the Baptist sends his disciples to Jesus. John inverts this (1:19-28). Jews send priests to the Baptist, and *contra* the Synoptics (esp. Mk), when they question him he flatly denies that he is Elijah. In 1:23 John lets this peculiar distaste for an equating of the Baptist with Elijah shine out. John’s familiarity with

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 117. This is accepted by Schuchard, *Scripture*, 11-12.

² So Menken, “John 1,23”, esp. 195ff., John prefers εὐθύνατε because ἐτοιμάσατε suggests that Jesus and the Baptist overlap; Schuchard, *Scripture*, ‘improves’ this to “John’s conscious desire to highlight the Baptist’s identity as the quintessential disciple of and witness to Wisdom” (15).

³ C.F.D. Moule, “Fulfilment-Words in the New Testament: Use and Abuse”, *NTS* 14 (1968), 293-320, here 294. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Essays*, 34ff. E.g., IQS 8.13-16. Also see the recently published 4Q434/6 2 i 9 (*PAM* 43.528/13; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 239).

⁴ C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Fontana, 1965²), 40; Freed, *Quotations*, 117; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 1, “John’s citation ... bears numerous features indicative of a treatment of Christian tradition thoroughly independent of the Synoptics.”

general Christian tradition regarding the Baptist and Is 40:3 makes it safe to assume that he is aware that Mal 3:1 (& Ex 23:20) is also used of him – as the Synoptists and Q are.¹ But Mal 3:1 was also long established as referring to Elijah (*cf.* Mal 3:23-24; Mt 17:10-11). So John jettisons it altogether, removing any scriptural suggestion of a link between them. Unfettered by tradition, he tailors his text to suit his own needs.

2:17

This quotation is spoken by Jesus' disciples immediately following the Temple cleansing. The introductory formula is unique to John in the New Testament and typical of him. While no other New Testament writer uses γεγραμμένον and ἐστίν together in introductory formulas (though *cf.* Lk 4:17) or employs the motif of the disciples recalling Jesus' words, John often does both (2:22; 6:31,45; 10:34; 12:14,16).

Again the Old Testament text is clearly identifiable, Ps 69:10a (LXX 68:10). LXX A translates the Hebrew exactly, using an aorist, κατέφαγέην, for the Hebrew perfect, אֶכְלֵתִי (LXX B⁸ καταφάγεταί). It is followed exactly by John² save that he too renders אֶכְלֵתִי as καταφάγεταί. John may work from the Hebrew, taking אֶכְלֵתִי as a prophetic perfect. But this seems unlikely, not just because of his preference for the LXX generally, but because he follows the LXX virtually precisely. His text agrees with LXX B⁸ exactly, but it is the simplest hypothesis and surely the case that these Christian copyists have been influenced by the Gospel.

Freed sees the evidence that John works from the LXX, the verb originally past tense (κατέφαγέην), as very strong but “not conclusive”.³ He is too cautious. There is no reason why the LXX should use a future to translate a Hebrew perfect, while every reason why John should. John again adapts the LXX to suit his own needs.

¹ Although Q apparently keeps Mal 3:1 apart from Is 40:3, it still seems to equate them both with the mission of John the Baptist.

² The omission of the opening ὅτι (though P⁶⁶ 75 among others include it) is not significant. Schuchard's lengthy, “failed”, and unnecessary “investigation” for “additional information concerning John's *Vorlage*” need not leave him “uncertain” as to whether John “recalls a specific textual tradition” (*Scripture*, 22-31, here 31).

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 117. *Cf.* Schuchard, *Scripture*, 22: “The evidence is ambiguous”.

This adaptation is due to the Psalm's new role as prophecy to Jesus' messianic action in cleansing the Temple. Freed notes, "[t]he change ... was made necessary by the context which required a future to make the Old Testament passage appear as a prediction". The quotation's textual history, however, suggests that not everyone was happy with such a flexible use of scripture. While many important texts support the future reading (P^{66 75} Ⲙ B θ *pc* sah Orig), other, predominantly Western, texts support a past (ϕ it vg sin pesh boh Eus), where relevant, aorist reading.¹ This may possibly have been due originally "to the retroversion into Syriac, where naturally the Semitic perfect was resumed",² but it looks primarily like a shirking away from what appeared to be, especially in the Syriac-speaking world, a blatant violation of scripture.

Since Ps 69:10a is quoted by no other New Testament writer (Ps 69:10b in Ro 15:3), there is little to suggest that John takes it from a Christian *testimonium*. The text is part of a wider Christian pedigree, but it seems most probable that John's usage constitutes an innovation. The incident in which John sets it too has a wider history, but Freed's typical supposition, that John uses the Psalm "to supplement the Synoptic account", is unwarranted.³ John again adapts a Jewish scripture to his own situation, even though he is surely aware of its messianic significance in contemporary Jewish circles. Indeed, this undoubtedly provided the initial impetus to his own exegesis. John has no qualms that "the Psalm actually speaks of Jesus",⁴ nor indeed, that the "pre-existent Christ" actually speaks the Psalm.⁵

Barrett may be right that John, akin to the Psalmist, simply speaks of Jesus' self-consuming zeal. But in view of John's general emphasis on the *theologia crucis* which Barrett so rightly maintains, it seems unlikely that the crucifixion is not at the forefront of his mind, as most commentators, Schuchard included, concur. Not only do other New Testament writers apply the Psalm to Jesus' death, John himself quotes two

¹ This list of texts, given by Barrett, *Gospel*, 198, is a little misleading in that the Sinaitic and Peshitta Syriac could be using a prophetic perfect. Either way, Barrett too understates the case when he considers it "most probable" (198f.) that the correct reading in John is the future.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 199.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 117. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 20, is right: "the Synoptics offer little as an aid" in understanding John's whole pericope, let alone this quotation.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 198.

⁵ So Hanson, *Prophetic*, 43.

other verses from it (vv. 5, 22b), specifically in connection with the Passion, and must be aware that the usual setting for the Temple cleansing is at the Passion's inauguration.¹ The parallel is too close to miss. Moreover, it is eminently Jewish.²

Dodd notes, "... just as the Righteous Sufferer of the Psalm paid the price of [*sic*] his loyalty to the temple, so the action of Jesus in cleansing the temple will bring him to grief."³ Perhaps John is also making the point that just as Jesus' loyalty to the Temple resulted in the cruel misjudgement of the crucifixion, so the Johannine Christians are even now being cruelly misjudged as enemies of Judaism.

The ensuing discussion (2:18-22), with typical Johannine irony, will present Jesus as the replacement for the now lost Temple he had so sacrificially defended.⁴

6:31

This quotation, on the lips of the multitude and a cue for Jesus' bread of life discourse, is again unique to John in the New Testament. There is little to suggest that he takes it from a *testimonium*. The introductory formula occurs elsewhere in the New Testament in Jn 12:14 (again *cf.* Lk 4:17), John's preferring it to the otherwise common καθώς γέγραπται due partly no doubt to his predilection for periphrastics.

The quotation does not exactly agree with any Old Testament passage, but is close to Ex 16:4,15; Ne 9:15 (LXX 2 Esd 19:15); Ps 78:24 (LXX 77:24). The LXX provides an adequate translation of all four passages, especially Ps 78:24b.⁵ Ex 16:4 differs from John in word order, verb (John has δίδωμι for ἔω / מָטַר), person of subject (the LXX makes it explicit, ἐγὼ) and indirect object, number of object, tense, John omits ἰδοὺ / הִנֵּה and adds φαγεῖν; Ex 16:15 differs in sentence construction,

¹ See Benoit, *Passion*. This synopsis of the Passion material of all four Gospels shows John's familiarity with the accounts in the Synoptics whether or not he knows the Synoptics themselves.

² The albeit much later *Midrash on the Psalms* (c. 750 CE?) applies the Psalm to David, and sees his vindication in terms of resurrection (on Ps 119:17, in Braude II, 262f.). See further, 222-223.

³ Dodd, *Interpretation*, 301.

⁴ So R.J. McKelvey, *The New Temple* (Oxford: OUP, 1969), 78-79. This is generally accepted (see Schuchard, *Scripture*, 23-26), though in terms of an outmoded rather than extinct Temple cultus.

⁵ The plural ἄρτους is correct in Ex 16:4 since מַן is clearly intended as a collective.

person of subject (the MT and LXX make it explicit, יהוה / κύριος) and indirect object, and John adds ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Ne 9:15 differs in definiteness ('heaven' in the LXX and MT is anathrous), person of subject, John does not begin with καὶ (?) and uses φαγεῖν not εἰς σιτοδοτίαν αὐτῶν (לֶחֶם עֲבָדֶיךָ); Ps 78:24 differs in that John omits καὶ, ¹ and adds ἐκ τοῦ and φαγεῖν.

This leads some to deem his text a conflation of several or all of these. The latter alternative with little preamble is Goodwin's conclusion, which he uses as evidence for John's peccadillo for citing scripture from memory even when, as here, explicitly invoking its authority. ² Freed gives a considerably longer and more convincing argument, that the text is an admixture of the Hebrew and LXX of Ex 16:4 and Ps 78:24 while showing affinity to *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Ex 16:15. ³ Becker argues that it is a free allusion to all four passages plus Wsd 16:20. ⁴ Others deem it impossible to trace the quotation's source(s) at all.

While it is by no means atypical for John to give conflate quotations, others are uncomfortable at not positing a specific source, and opt for one of these four passages, often Ps 78:24, sometimes giving one or more of the others a secondary role (usually Ex 16:4/15). ⁵ Virtually every possible combination has been suggested, even that it is the peculiar product of a Johannine School. ⁶ Richter attempts to break the mould by proposing that the source is not Jewish scripture at all but a Jewish, anti-Christian haggadah, which presents Moses as the giver of the manna and which John uses as his point of departure. ⁷ This is not without its merits, but as Richter himself concedes, it only pushes the problem back – what scripture was the haggadah based

¹ Cod. R. also omits it from the LXX.

² Goodwin, "Sources?", esp. 67f.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 15.

⁴ J. Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (2 vols., ÖTK 4/1-2; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979/81), I, 204. Lagrange, *Evangile*, 175, had long noted the significance of Wsd 16:20. John's presenting of Jesus as the Bread that comes out of heaven certainly echoes the statement in Wsd 16:20, that the manna is ἀγγέλων τροφήν ... ἔτοιμον ἄρτον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. This statement seems to pre-empt the later belief that the manna existed eternally in heaven (*cf. b. Hag* 12b; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Ex 16:4).

⁵ Pancaro, *Law*, 457, 461 n. 29, for example, argues that Ps 78:24 is the likely source but does not exclude – in order of probability – Ne 9:15 and Ex 16:5.

⁶ Richter, "Zitate" (repr. in *idem, Studien*, 199-265), 197-208, lists most of the suggestions.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 208-231.

on, a scripture that John incorporates into his text? He concludes that it was a targumic, midrashic or free quotation from Ex 16:4/15.¹

Menken's concession that 'bread' being plural in Ex 16:4 LXX while singular in Jn 6:31 "could be due to the use, by the fourth evangelist, of the Hebrew text, or of a corrected Greek translation"² is not cogent. The cumulative evidence is heavily in favour of John using the LXX, while the Greek variants are manifestly due to influence from him (*cf.* LXX B⁸ Ps 69:10a).³ While some of the other differences between Ex 16:4/15 and Jn 6:31 are insignificant – it matters not that John ignores the ἰδοὺ / הִנֵּה of v. 4 – neither verse alone suffices as his source. But what if taken together? John could then be supplementing v. 4 with the singular ἄρτον of v. 15, as those scholars who opt for an Exodus source invariably suggest. Borgen, who has done more work on the background of Jn 6:31-58 than most, suggests this since the passage can then be seen as based on a homily in the haggadic tradition in which a main text from the Torah is followed by a subordinate one from the Prophets or Writings (here Jn 6:45), it (esp. Ex 16:15) best explains the exegesis involved in Jn 6:32-3,36, and provides a context in which "bread" and "murmuring" both occur.⁴ So does Reim, arguing from the Hebrew: the crowd give a wrong quotation – "Moses gave (לֵּךְ) the fathers bread from heaven" – which Jesus corrects in Jn 6:32 – "God gives (לֵּךְ) you the true bread from heaven".⁵ Menken's counter that "the introductory formula suggests that a specific O.T. text is quoted"⁶ is unfounded – John frequently appends introductory formulas to conflate quotations (*cf.* 7:37f.; 12:13,15; 19:36).

Some differences, however, remain unexplained – a certain amount of word order, and the person of the subject (explicit in LXX of both passages) and indirect object. It is somewhat anomalous for Reim to argue that Ex 16:4/15 is being

¹ *Op. cit.*, 248-250. Boismard *et al.*, *Synopse 3*, 196, argues that the source is a targum on Ex 16:4/15b in which לֵּךְ מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם from v. 4 is rendered, 'to make come down'.

² Menken, "Provenance", 42. The Greek variants are ms. 75 and Eus, which have forms of διδόναι, and F^b?, which has the singular ἄρτον.

³ *Op. cit.*, 42 n. 9, tentatively concedes the latter point.

⁴ See P. Borgen, "Observations on the Midrashic Character of John 6", *ZNW* 54 (1963), 232-240, esp. 239; *idem*, *Bread*, 38, 40-41, *cf.* 51-52, 65-66.

⁵ Reim, *Studien*, 12-15; see also 90, 96.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 42, *cf.* 40; similarly, Schuchard, *Scripture*, 34.

misquoted – especially since the 'misquotation' looks remarkably like Ps 78:24b! Besides, John nowhere implies this – Jesus might question the crowd's exegesis but not their accuracy. ¹ Borgen too has no warrant to suppose that John wants Jn 6:31-58 to fit into the homiletic pattern he suggests – not only are there plenty of other patterns it can be made to fit, ² such patterns were not as fixed as Borgen implies. ³ More significantly, the exegesis in Jn 6:32-33 is equally applicable to the Psalm, and the motif of murmuring is also found (albeit without literal likeness to Jn 6:41,43 – so Menken) in the Psalm (vv. 17-22, 32-43) and Ne 9:16-19.

Of the differences between Jn 6:31 and Ne 9:15, which Schlatter and Lightfoot favour as the source, John's omission of καὶ hardly matters and anyway is understandable since he would be quoting only one half of a parallelism (he has already done the same thing in 2:17 and will do so again in 19:37; cf. 6:45), and he may consider φαγεῖν a perfectly valid alternative to εἰς σιτοδοτίαν αὐτῶν ⁴ – as Menken notes, the expressions have a similar meaning and are at the same place in the sentence. Yet beside the fact that John quotes from Nehemiah nowhere else whereas from the Psalms frequently, it remains that he adds the article τοῦ and alters the person of the subject. It is for these reasons that other scholars who wish to cite a specific text often plump for Ps 78:24b. ⁵

Menken offers a redactional investigation of John's deviations from the Psalm, yet all three differences between the Psalm and Jn 6:31 can be easily explained. John omits καὶ since as with Ne 9:15 it becomes redundant as soon as the second half of

¹ Menken, "Provenance", 46, says as much, but then uses a similar defence for Ps 78:24.

² A. Finkel, *The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth* (AGSU 4; Leiden-Köln: Brill, 1974²), 149-155, 158-159, considers Jn 6:30-59 to be a 'proem homily', in which the text of the pericope (Ex 16) is linked with a proem text from the Writings (Ps 78:24), both texts then explained and the homily closed with words of comfort. Lindars, *John*, 250ff., presents the passage as a synagogue homily and the primary source as Ps 78:24. For a discussion of Borgen's and Finkel's propositions, see Richter, "Zitate", 232-240.

³ Menken's point ("Provenance", 43), that since the quotation is spoken by the crowd rather than by John it is not bound by any homiletic pattern, however, is not valid. The crowd, as with all the *dramatis personae* in the Gospel, serve John's wider message. G. Richter, "Zur Formgeschichte und literarischen Einheit von Joh 6:31-58", *ZNW* 60, (1969), 21-54, gives an exceptionally intricate rebuttal of Borgen's analysis, based on source-critical grounds.

⁴ Read by Cod. B. Ralphs prefers εἰς σιτοδείαν αὐτῶν but this is probably a later revision of the text in favour of the Hebrew כֶּמֶן.

⁵ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 34-38, continues this trend.

the parallelism is isolated. He may add ἐκ τοῦ, closer to the ἐκ / מן of Ex 16:4 and Ne 9:15 than the τοῦ (Hebrew construct) of Ps 78:24 (Ex 16:4 LXX also has τοῦ), due to secondary influence from one or both of these sources,¹ or, at least partly, the influence of Ps 77:26a LXX, Ἀπῆρε νότον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (MT **בַּשָּׁמַיִם**) only three lines away. Either way, it is entirely Johannine and may be nothing other than redaction – since Jesus does come down from heaven it is not enough to say that he, as the true manna, is ἄρτος οὐρανοῦ, rather, he is ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.²

As for John's adding φαγεῖν, the most significant difference, while it occurs (without reference to heaven) in Ex 16:15 it is somewhat inconsistent to have two 'secondary' influences from here and yet retain the Psalm's primacy. John in fact takes it from the end of Ps 77:24a LXX, the first line of the parallelism he chooses not to quote. Barrett is hardly unequivocal in his regard for this possibility,³ but then his only real explanation, that it may be accidental, is not the best. The twenty-second of the thirty-two **מִדְּוָת** compiled by R. Eliezer b. Jose ha-Gelili⁴ deemed such transferring of words from one half of a parallelism to the other perfectly legitimate. There is uncertainty over the date of the completed **מִדְּוָת**, but the twenty-second was in use by the second half of the 2nd century.⁵ It is only reasonable, then, that here as in 1:23 John applies an earlier oral version. His motivation is not difficult to find: it is to highlight Jesus' monologue in vv. 35ff. Besides, we are becoming accustomed to his reticence at quoting both lines of a parallelism. His thoroughgoing christological

¹ Even Menken ("Provenance", 44) – despite his erroneous statement over the introductory formula – concedes this point, opting for Ex 16:4.

² So Schnackenburg, *Johannesevangelium* I, 104; II, 54. Menken, "Provenance", 44, prefers this explanation, yet not necessarily exclusively.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 289: it is "perhaps in favour of the Psalm".

⁴ **דְּבַר שְׁחַבְרוּ מוֹכִיחַ עָלָיו**, "a sentence to which its parallel brings evidence". See W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur, I: Die bibelexegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten* (Leipzig, 1899; repr. Hildesheim: Darmstadt, 1965), 39-40; Strack & Stemberger, *Introduction*, 31.

⁵ R. Nathan uses it in *Mek. Kaspā* 2, to exegete Ex 23:1. See Strack & Stemberger, *Introduction*, 31. Similarly, in *idem, Einleitung* (1976⁷), 106: "Ps 38:2 ergänze **אֵל** vor **תִּיפְרְנִי**". On the texts and date of the **מִדְּוָת**, see *idem, Introduction*, 25ff. So J.W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Assen.: van Gorcum, 1954), 61, they date from between 130-160, supplementing and extending the thirteen rules of R. Ishmael even though "Ishmael and Eliezer b. Jose the Galilean did no more than continue to build upon the foundation laid by Hillel".

hermeneutic (*cf.* 1 Pe 1:10ff.) explains this handling: it merely makes explicit what the psalmist is actually saying.¹

With Ps 77:24b LXX John's at least primary source, everything falls into place. Only now is his translation of יָרָךְ as the singular ἄρτος explained, since the Psalm provides the only instance in the LXX where this happens (the usual translation is σῖτος). More significantly, only now is his inferred shift in subject from God to Moses possible, since only in the Psalm is God as subject merely referred to by means of a third person verbal form.² Hence Moses could be considered the subject of יָרָךְ / ἔδωκεν both in v. 24 and elsewhere in the Psalm (*cf.* vv. 15-16, 20, where God is said to have struck the rock in the desert whereas in Ex 17:1-7 and Nu 20:2-13 Moses does so). With the rising importance of the figure of Moses in Second Temple Judaism such transference was not only possible but likely. There is also the fact, understated by Freed, that of our four texts the words μάννα and ἄρτος, both in Jn 6:31, only occur together in Ps 77:24 LXX.³ John does not *have* to have any one scripture in mind, but the evidence suggests that he *does*. This is not necessarily to say, however, that he is not aware of other scriptures, including any or all of the other three cited here, Hebrew versions included, or the relevant targumic material, nor that they do not play a part in the forming of his version.⁴

John's setting for the quotation reveals his familiarity not only with Jewish scriptural motifs and imagery but also with contemporary Jewish exegeses of them.

¹ Paul does a similar thing when, assured that a person can live apart from works of the Law, he quotes Ps 143:2 as saying, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ (Ro 3:20; Ga 2:16).

² So Menken, "Provenance", 54f., who also offers a number of other Jewish parallels for the transferring of subject; also Schuchard, *Scripture*, 45-46.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 15. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 84, somewhat confusedly sees the "basic text [as] certainly Exodus 16" but that "John is probably paraphrasing" Ps 77:24 LXX, noting that John could take v. 22 of the Psalm as a parallel to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, and v. 29 as a "preshadowing" of the feeding of the 5,000 just narrated. G. Geiger, "Aufruf an Rückkehrende. Zum Sinn des Zitats von Ps 78:24b in Joh 6:31", *Bib* 65 (1984), 449-464, like Menken and Barrett, presents Ps 78:24 as the sole source, demonstrating that large parts of Jn 6 are based on the Psalm.

⁴ It is perhaps significant that Ne 9:20 brings together three Johannine terms, τὸ πνεῦμά σου ... ἔδωκας ... καὶ τὸ μάννα σου οὐκ ἀφυστέρησας ... καὶ ὕδωρ ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς. *Cf.* Barrett's conclusion ("Old Testament", 168). Many, however, including Freed, *Quotations*, 12ff., J.N. Aletti, "Le Discourse sur le Pain de Vie: Jean 6, Problèmes de Composition et Fonction des Citations de l'A.T.", *RevScRel* 62 (1974), 169-197, here, 180, 187-189, and R. Schnackenburg, "Zur Rede vom Brot aus dem Himmel: eine Beobachtung zu Joh 6:52", *BZ* 12 (1968), 248-252 – who sees reference to the whole exodus background – prefer a combination of Ex 16:4/15 and Ps 78:24.

Borgen has given much greater precision and significance to this area, pointing out “several midrashic features which are common to parts of Philo, John and the Palestinian midrash: the systematic paraphrase of words from Old Testament quotations and fragments from haggadic traditions, and the use of a widespread homiletic pattern”.¹ Borgen’s demonstration of the quotation’s Jewishness is invaluable, but he is too narrow when he gives John’s purpose in employing the midrashic method as simply being to counter docetism.² John uses it to present Jesus as ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, standing in stark contrast to Moses, the first redeemer, who is presented by the Jewish crowd as having providing the manna which their fathers ate in the wilderness and died.³

Attestation that Moses performed the miracle is not found anywhere before the end of the third century CE, and is certainly not entertained in Jewish scripture, including Ps 78:24b. Only with *b. Sota* 35a (*cf. Sifre* 339; *Petirat Mosheh*)⁴ is Rabbah (3rd – 4th C. CE) reported to have put in Caleb’s mouth, in an explanation of Nu 13:30, the words, “He [Moses] brought us out of Egypt, divided the Red Sea for us and fed us with manna.” Yet since this is what is being expressed by the crowd in Jn 6:31, this development of the Moses figure must have been extensive at the end of the first century CE, later suppressed by rabbinic Judaism, and finally re-emerging in the 3rd – 4th century.⁵ Philo, *Mos.* 1.155-157 (*cf. Sir* 45:2-3) shows that such early development of the Moses figure was perfectly possible.

There is more. While the word ‘manna’ does not appear in the Ex 16 account (מַן מַן in v. 15 is rendered in the LXX, τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο;), some of the passages where it does appear (Nu 11:6; Dt 8:3; Jos 5:12; Ne 9:20; Ps 78:24) show that the term was already being used as an expression for moral and spiritual teaching. This tendency to ‘spiritualize’ the manna was developed by Philo, who in a number of places allegorizes

¹ Borgen, *Bread*, 59. We remain unconvinced of the homiletic pattern.

² Martyn, *History*, 108-119, is not happy with Borgen here either.

³ So Menken, “Provenance”. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 85, is too hesitant: the standoff between Moses and Jesus, the pre-existent Logos, is clear – anything Moses can do Jesus can do better. *Contra* Dodd, *Interpretation*, 335, John does not apply here the association between bread and Torah.

⁴ All three texts are in Malina, *Manna*, 87-88. *Cf. b. Ta’an* 9a.

⁵ So Menken, “Provenance”, 47-48; Daube, “Structure”, 178 n. 2; Malina, *Manna*, 88 n. 3. *Cf. Teeple, Mosaic*, 68.

it.¹ The real development, however, was in its becoming a symbol of the new (messianic) age. So, for example, *Mek. Ex 16:25* (ע״ט, §5), “You will not find it [the manna] in this world but you will find it in the world to come.”² While the rabbinic statements to this effect are of course not early, this general parallelism between the period of the Exodus and the end times is at least as old as Deutero-Isaiah, hence the idea that in the end time the manna will again fall from heaven may date back to the end of the 1st century CE (*cf.* Re 2:17; 2 Bar 29:8³).

There is yet another twist to this development in that the last redeemer became paralleled with the first, Moses, because among other things he too will provide manna from heaven (*esp. Eccles. R. I.9*).⁴ The evidence, albeit marginally earlier in *Cant. R. 2,9,3* (R. Isaac b. Merion, c. 280 CE), is late.⁵ But Jn 6 (*esp. vv. 32-33*) again invites us to extrapolate. These eschatological associations with Moses too were extensive at the end of the first century CE, only to be suppressed until the 3rd – 4th century as a result of “Jewish opposition against the Christian deification of their Messiah, Jesus, whom the Christians saw as parallel to Moses, or – more generally – Jewish opposition to anything that looked like a ‘second God’”.⁶ Indeed, John’s Moses polemic – unlike the Christ, to whom he bore witness, Moses was only a man and had never seen the Father – reciprocates this sentiment. John, then, is familiar with this extensive Jewish development of Moses, especially in terms of the manna miracle – perhaps more than we are – and puts it to good use here in his christological treatise, encapsulating a wide range of Jewish imagery and scriptural exegesis.

However, while Martyn underplays the Moses imagery in John’s feeding of the 5,000, his basic thrust is good: “*The point of the sign is not the Moses-Messiah*

¹ Esp. Philo, *L.A.* 3.169-176, where τῆς ψυχῆς τροφή is λόγος θεοῦ.

² Lauterbach II, 119. *Cf.* Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar*; Schlatter, *Johannes*, 172f.

³ 2 Baruch may not be far from 100 CE: see D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM, 1964), 64. Also *cf. Sib. Or.* 7:148-149 & fragm. 3:46-49.

⁴ Freedman & Simon, VIII (Eng. tr. A. Cohen), 33.

⁵ Malina, *Manna*, 88 n. 3, adds others texts. A number of earlier Christian texts also contain the idea (*e.g.*, Irenaeus, *Fragm.* 19), but as Menken, “Provenance”, 47 n. 25 suggests, these presumably derive it from the Gospel.

⁶ Menken, “Provenance”, 48. For further support for the former, see Daube, “Structure”; Malina, *Manna*.

typology but rather God's gracious election.”¹ The issue in Jn 6:31 is far bigger than midrashic exegesis of Jewish scriptures, Mosaic, eschatological or otherwise: it concerns the role and identity of Jesus as the Christ. He, not Moses, is the messianic, eschatological figure who, like his Father, provides manna from heaven, by feeding the 5,000; he, the last redeemer, marks the inauguration of a new age; he himself becomes the bread that the Father provides.² McHugh summarizes the homily on 6:32 as, “my Father is at this moment giving you the true bread from heaven”.³ It is this and the sign that points to it (*cf.* 6:26) that the crowd fail to see. Jn 6 is full of these motifs, all taking their cue from this one quotation.⁴

6:45

Part of Jesus' self-defence against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι who are complaining about his claim to be the bread of life that came down from heaven, this quotation appears nowhere else in the New Testament (*cf.* 1 Jn 2:27). Again there is little evidence that John takes it from a Christian *testimonium*. The introductory formula, replete with another periphrastic (perfect), is also unique to the New Testament, and noticeably vague, as if John does not quite know his source. This was suggested by Barrett in the first edition of his commentary on John, but he subsequently recants: “... John's quotation comes from what appears to have been a Passover *haphtarah*, and must therefore have been known to him”.⁵ Barrett's change of mind is to be welcomed. As he notes, the alleged parallel, Mt 2:23, where an Old Testament quotation is introduced with a similarly vague διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, is no real parallel at all since

¹ Martyn, *History*, 115.

² See esp. the word-play on **ἵδι** as “What is it?” / “Who is he?”

³ McHugh, “Life”, 138.

⁴ Borgen, *Bread*, makes a refreshing change when, instead of fragmenting the chapter, he traces, with a convincing use of Jewish texts (inc. *Ex Rab.* 25:2,6; Philo, *Mos.* 1.201f., 2.267; *Mek. Ex* 16:4; *Petirat Mosheh*), the same exegetical pattern through all of it. *Cf.* Schuchard, *Scripture*, 38-45, on 6:28-59. *Contra* McHugh, “Life”, 138, however, 6:31-32 is not “the first example of the evangelist's “searching the Scriptures” to give a midrashic exposition of his faith in Jesus ...”. The work here on Jn 6:31 and Jn 7:37f. (94-102, 105-114) is largely reproduced in G. Balfour, “The Jewishness of John's Use of the Scriptures in John 6:31 and 7:37-38”, *TynBul* 46.2 (1995), 357-380.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 296.

the quotation in John unlike that one is clearly identifiable. Furthermore, other introductory formulas are equally vague where the writer undeniably has a specific text in mind – the imprecise διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων of He 2:6 introduces a quotation from Ps 8:4-6 and, closer to home, in Jn 10:34 that which is written ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν is in fact from Ps 82:6. ¹ Quite simply, there are times, Jn 6:45 included, when the onus is on the reader to know or find out the source should they want to.

All agree that the quotation is from Is 54:13a. ² John quotes only the first half of the verse, again in the interests of literary economy and because he has no use for what to him is a separate statement. The lack of significant differences between the MT and LXX make it “impossible to tell whether Jn used the Heb. or Gr. Text”. ³ But the fact that he uses διδασκτός here and nowhere else must make the LXX the more likely, though not necessarily to the Hebrew’s exclusion. ⁴ Either way, he makes two alterations. The first is of little importance: possibly in an attempt to emphasize Jesus’ eschatological significance, or perhaps just to make more sense, he supplies an ἔσονται. The second, substituting πάντες for τοὺς υἱοὺς σου / בְּנֵי־ךָ, is more telling.

Whether aware of it or not, John is closer to the Hebrew than the LXX is in that he makes τοὺς υἱοὺς σου, implied by πάντες, nominative rather than accusative (the object of θήσω in Is 54:12 LXX, for which John re-supplies ἔσονται). But this is hardly his motivation. Apart from the fact that he is not too concerned with scriptural accuracy elsewhere, if he were so here he would surely write οἱ υἱοὶ σου rather than abandon the clause altogether. His motivation is christological and polemical: the term υἱός is never applied to anyone other than Jesus in the Johannine corpus (or in Revelation); and it is not Jews inclusively (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, those to whom Jesus is talking, are excluded), or exclusively (believing non-Jews are included) who are taught of God and belong to him. John’s use of πάντες makes Jesus’ message open to all. But his emphasizing of it, noted by Freed, is because Jesus’ message concerns those

¹ Cf. the helpful discussions in Menken, “John 6,45”, 165-167; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 48-49.

² E.g., Freed, *Quotations*, 18; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 90; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 50.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 118. Cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 51-53, 57.

⁴ Reim’s argument (*Studien*, 16), that John cites only from the Hebrew, even though such a possibility is “conceivable” (Schuchard, *Scripture*, 57), is unconvincing.

who are directed to him – the alteration is “to show that Jesus’ message of “the bread of life” was not limited to the children of Zion”.¹ Again Jewish scripture is servant to John’s needs, not least his οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic.

Bearing in mind the Sinai context of 6:41-51, in v. 44 John may allude to Jr 31:2-3,5 (LXX Jr 38:2-3,6), repeating the motifs of remnant and God’s drawing (the LXX translates מִשְׁכַּתִּיךָ as ἐλκύσσω in vv. 2-3, the same verb John uses²), the last day, and resurrection (the LXX translates קִיּוּמִי as ἀνάστητε in v. 5, again the same verb John uses).³ Is 54:13 occurs in a glowing passage on the glory of the restored Jerusalem just like Jr 31:1-9, indeed, Is 54:15 LXX translates נִיר not as ‘attack’ but, understandably, as ‘to be a stranger’.⁴ Could it be, then, that John in fact deems the whole of Is 54 the perfect corroboration of his message?⁵

Other Old Testament texts also influence John’s quotation. The most obvious is Jr 31:31-34 with its reference to a law written on the heart. Barrett notes this text, albeit with little conviction, along with the aforementioned Jr 31:3, adding “a hint of Psalm 78” quoted in Jn 6:31 and hence Ex 16, giving an extra link with Passover.⁶ John also appears to be influenced by other Jewish writings, his vocabulary bearing affinities with *Tg. Jon* Is 54:13 and perhaps even *Tg. Jon* Jr 31:31ff.⁷ Most significantly, in PsSol 17:32 the sentiments of Is 54:13 are given a personal reference to the Messiah – καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος διδασκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ. John’s christological setting is different, that all who are taught by God will come to Jesus, but even this theme may be seen in the Psalm where the verse goes on to state as a parallel thought that in those days all whose king is the Lord Messiah⁸ will be holy.

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 20. The extra “impetus” in Schuchard, *Scripture*, 56, is weak.

² Noted by Barrett, *Gospel*, 296, among others, inc. Bernard, Brown, Lindars and Schlatter. *b. Qidd* 358-359 70b similarly quotes vv. 1-3 to defend Israel’s advantage over proselytes. Maneschg, *Erzählung*, 416, cogently argues that John alludes to Jr 38:3 LXX when he uses ἐλκύσω in 12:32.

³ This is only spotted by Hanson, *Prophetic*, 90.

⁴ Later Jewish interpretation follows the LXX: *Tg. Is* 54:15; *b. Yebam* 148-149 24b. See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 90f.

⁵ *Pesiq. Rab Kah* Piska 18.6 (321) applies Is 54:4f. to the messianic age. Menken, “6,45”, 171; Hanson, *Interpretation*, 160; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 52-53, use John’s awareness of the LXX as possible extra justification for his substituting πάντες.

⁶ Barrett, *Gospel*, 296.

⁷ See Freed, *Quotations*, 19. See Menken, “John 6,45”, *passim*; Richter, “Zitate”, 254-262, for other suggested influential texts.

⁸ The title for the expected apocalyptic king. All Greek and Syriac mss. have this reading.

John continues a long line of Jewish midrashic developments of important Jewish scriptures. Perhaps the influence of these other sources helps explain why he introduces the quotation as he does: his awareness if not direct use of them prompts him to keep to the imprecise ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. Either way, he is familiar with both Jewish scripture and subsequent Jewish exegesis of it, including Passover application.

7:37f.

The introductory formula and the quotation, spoken by Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles, are both unique in the New Testament. There is little evidence that John uses a *testimonium*. Lindars conveniently divides what Hanson describes as “probably the most thoroughly discussed three verses in the entire Gospel” into its three main areas of confusion.¹ The first is that of grammar. UBS⁴ places a stop after πινέτω and a comma after εἰς ἐμέ: with ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ a *nominativus pendens* resumed in αὐτοῦ,² the rivers of living water flow out of the believer and it is to this the Scripture refers. The alternative is to place a comma after πρὸς με and a stop after εἰς ἐμέ, giving a couplet resembling Hebrew parallelism in prose. The scripture is now ambiguous: it is either this couplet, or, more likely and as with the former reading, what follows, ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ referring to Christ or the believer or both.

Sometimes attention is drawn to the parallelism as if that makes the alternative punctuation more likely, but this view is problematic. It may suggest an Aramaic original (so Brown and Barrett),³ but this begs the question as to whether there ever was such an original – and judging by the unusual form of the scripture this seems unlikely. Moreover, not only is it at best imperfect and muddled – the invitation to drink is better connected with ἐάν τις διψᾷ than with ὁ πιστεύων⁴ – and thus hardly

¹ Lindars, *John*, 296ff.; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 99.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 326.

³ S.H. Hooke, “The Spirit Was Not Yet”, *NTS* 9 (1963), 372-380, posits a Hebrew original.

⁴ So Barrett, *Gospel*, 327; cf. Reim, *Studien*, esp. 70. It is surprising that Barrett then agrees with Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 365-369, that both renderings make Johannine sense. G.D. Kilpatrick, “The Punctuation of Jn 7:37-38”, *JTS* 11 (1960), 340-342, unconvincingly renders the alternative, “If any man thirst, let him who believes in me come and drink” (cf. Turner, *Insights*, 144f.), while one Coptic ms. connects πινέτω with ὁ πιστεύων: see K.H. Kuhn, “St. John 7:37-8”, *NTS* 4 (1957), 63-65.

intentional, it is becoming apparent that John dislikes using such parallelism anyway. Bultmann prefers the alternative punctuation because it is difficult to find an Old Testament text to satisfy the traditional punctuation,¹ but it is hard to see how in this respect his preference fares any better.

Everything points to the traditional punctuation. Textually it is stronger. The ancient authority for the alternative consists of some Western Fathers, the colometry of the old Latin mss. d and e, a single Coptic ms., and a vague allusion in the Epistle of the Martyrs of Vienne,² but the majority of Greek Fathers support this one, as does P⁶⁶ (c. 200 CE). Theologically it makes more sense; “as thirsty, a man is properly summoned to come and drink; as a believer, who has come and drunk, he can then be the subject of a statement”.³ And literarily the style is more Johannine.⁴ While Barrett accepts the traditional punctuation somewhat open-endedly, Lindars is right to be in no doubt.⁵

The second area of difficulty is that of the quotation’s source. If the punctuation issue is left open-ended this is exacerbated, since all three scriptural possibilities – the thirsty invited to come and drink;⁶ living water flowing from the belly of the believer; living water flowing from the belly of Christ – can be paralleled in a general sense in the Old Testament. Is 55:1 is but one of many texts to present God as a fountain of living water who supplies people’s needs. But with this issue resolved at least we can be sure of the quotation’s identity: referring to the believer,

¹ Bultmann, *John*, 303. He also notes the couplet’s rhythm. At the end of the 1950’s a number of scholars began to support the alternative punctuation following Pius XII’s encyclical *Haurietis Aquas*, inc.: Quirant, “Torrentes”; M.-E. Boismard, “Ventre”; *idem*, “Citations”; Power, “Living”; Feuillet, “Fleuves”. More recently B.H. Grigsby, “‘If any man thirsts’ ... Observations on the Rabbinic Background of John 7, 37-9”, *Bib* 67 (1986), 101-108, has supported it, based on a passage in the Tosefta, as has Hanson, *Prophetic*, 99ff. Dunn, *Partings*, 94, also assumes the couplet rendering, with “From his belly shall flow rivers of living water” as the scripture.

² Vague indeed: the martyr Sanctus is revived in his sufferings ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανόθεν πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Eus. *H. E.* 5, i, 22). Moreover, as Barrett, *Gospel*, 327, states, “the reference may be to 19:34, not to 7:38b”.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 327.

⁴ Quite apart from the parallelism issue, John is fond of *casus pendens*: Burney, *Aramaic*, 63-65, counts 27 in the Gospel.

⁵ So too Reim, *Studien*, 57-70, and others, inc. Kohler, Allison, Loisy, Hodges, Bauer, Balagué, Miguens, Fee and Robert.

⁶ As A.P. da Silva, “Giovanni 7, 37-9”, *S* 45.3 (1983), 575-592, suggests, making the source Is 55:1-3. Is 55:1-3 is certainly being alluded to here. See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 113.

ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος.¹ It is this ‘scripture’ that scholars tend to search for.

Most do not search very extensively. Barrett soon concedes that no one Old Testament text fits the quotation whatever reading is preferred and opts for an association of ideas. These include the rock struck by Moses (Ex 17:1-7; Nu 20:2-11), the prophecy of the stream flowing from the Temple (Eze 47:1-8), and several texts involving ‘living water’ and / or invitations for people to drink (e.g., Is 28:16;² 41:18; 43:20; 55:1f.).³ Freed too offers a large list of suggested influences, including “several from Qumran Scrolls” and some from Old Testament Wisdom literature,⁴ as does Goodwin, especially Wisdom texts.⁵ Since none of these passages are actually quoted and even together do not satisfactorily explain John’s quotation, however, all three scholars come to similar conclusions: “... though John uses the Old Testament, he uses it in a novel manner, collecting its sense rather than quoting”.⁶

There is no intrinsic problem with this idea, which in fact goes back to Westcott, and Barrett and Hanson are wrong to make one. It is not true that ἡ γραφή

¹ So J. Blenkinsopp, “John VII. 37-9; Another Note on a Notorious Crux”, *NTS* 6 (1959-60), 95-98. We prefer not to regard ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ as part of the quotation since John does not place the introductory formula in the middle of the quotation anywhere else. Either way it adds little to the meaning. For many, inc. Boismard, Costa, Schnackenburg and Hanson (in *Prophetic*, 113, he freely confesses), the necessity that Jesus is the one out of whom the water flows is a determining factor in their opting for the alternative punctuation, though all these cited accept v. 38 as the scripture.

² Reim, *Studien*, 70ff., first proposed this as the primary source, based on a tortuous logic that John’s ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ derives from ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ (LXX), referring to the struck rock.

³ Barrett, “Old Testament”, 156ff.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 21f.; so does Miguens, “Aqua”. Freed deems Pr 18:4 LXX the “chief passage” among the Wisdom texts. Bauer, “Cruces”, 84-85, too argues that Pr 18:4 is the source, John perhaps working from a Hebrew text. The association is certainly valid: the LXX introduces the notion that a person’s speech is their thought and the mention of a fountain of life; John would readily associate Jesus as the Logos in the believer; and Hanson, *Prophetic*, 61f., shows how Pr 18:4 LXX is already associated with the ὕδωρ ζῶν of Jn 4:10,14.

⁵ Goodwin, “Sources?”, 72; inc. Cant 4:15; 9:5; Eccles 15:3; 24:19-21; 51:24; OdSol 30:1-3a; 36:7. Lindars, *John*, 299f., too favours Wisdom allusions, while Hanson, *Prophetic*, 108 (cf. 110), notes, “... if αὐτοῦ applies to the believer the Wisdom literature, and especially Proverbs, is the place to look for the allusion”. Barrett, Freed and Goodwin also suggest Dt 8:11; Ps 114:8; Is 12:3; 43:3; 44:3; 58:11 (esp. favoured by Loisy and Cortés); Jr 2:13; 17:13; Jl 4:18; Zch 14:8. M.-E. Boismard suggests Ps 78:15-16 & Is 48:21-22 (Lagrange and Balagué also press for the Isaiah passage). P. Grelot, “‘ventre’”, sees influence from a targumic recension, probably based on Ps 8. Loisy, *Quatrième*, 271, adds Zch 12:10; Balagué, “Flumina”, adds Zch 13:1; Pr 4:23. Miguens, “Aqua”, favours Nu 21:16-18 above all others: this text, also alluded to in Jn 4, is certainly relevant.

⁶ Barrett, “Old Testament”, 156. Cf. Freed, *Quotations*, 118, adding, “It is a spontaneous quotation, perhaps from memory”.

in the Gospel “generally refers to a particular passage of scripture”¹ – it often refers to conflates and could refer to a whole range of scriptures (*cf.* 7:42). Indeed, Hoskyns suggests that this is not intended as a quotation at all but as a comment on a passage of scripture.² Yet we must be careful. Goodwin tentatively suggests that John is quoting something as scripture which in fact is not.³ This is radically different – even Hoskyns merely has John put in his own, Christian, words what an array of Old Testament texts state piecemeal. If Goodwin is suggesting a mistaken identity, he should be rejected. John’s familiarity with the Jewish scriptures makes him not susceptible to mistaking something for scripture which clearly is not.

Not that he must be working from *Jewish* scripture – in 17:12 he does not – only from what he accepts as scripture (Hooke is one of many to put forward Jn 4:14 as the source). Nor to deny Goodwin’s central point, that he is “capable of changing his sources beyond recognition”. Recourse to a *testimonium* could absolve John of all responsibility in this respect, but such conjecture is unnecessary – he has already adapted four quotations of Jewish scripture to suit his purposes! Yet Jewish thought frames the immediate context. Vv. 34-36 is not so different from the Midrash on Ps 10:1, “for three and a half years the Presence announced and had it proclaimed: ‘Seek the Lord while He may be found’” followed by the parable of the traveller by R. Hanina,⁴ while Hanson sees a resemblance between v. 36 and Is 55:5-6, especially LXX, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραήλ (*cf.* Jn 6:69).⁵

While some of if not all the above texts influence John’s quotation, most scholars collapse under the weight of evidence in their search for a source. The only serious attempt to identify a single Old Testament text has been that of Torrey, on the grounds that the Gospel’s written origins were as an Aramaic *Grundschrift*.⁶ He

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 326; *cf.* Hanson, *Prophetic*, 109.

² Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 320-323.

³ Goodwin, “Sources?”, 72. This goes beyond the suggestion of Reim, *Studien*, 57ff., that John may not know the scripture, and that of Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 166, seconded by Odeberg, *Fourth*, 284, and Goppelt, *Typos*, 185-186, that John quotes a now lost scripture.

⁴ Braude, I, 151.

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 98, “It seems probable that John has created the passage 7:32-36 largely out of a scriptural passage, Isaiah 55:5-6”.

⁶ Torrey, *Four*, 108-111. On this debate see esp. Schnackenburg, *John* I, 105-111.

argues that it was originally an Aramaic version of Zch 14:8, which prophesied that living water will flow out from Jerusalem, but that a mistake has taken place in the translation to Greek, גויה (*gawwah*), “the midst of her (Jerusalem)”, taken as גויה (*gawweh*), “the midst (belly) of him”. His argument is fundamentally flawed. First, that the scripture is a ‘badly written’ Greek translation of an Aramaic original is conjecture indeed. Second, to exalt Jerusalem in this manner would be anathema to any Gospel *Vorlage*, however early – even in 4:22f., the Gospel’s most overtly pro-Jewish text, the significance of Jerusalem as with all geographical locations is strenuously denied. Barrett writes, “neither in Aramaic nor in Greek was the gospel interested in water flowing out of Jerusalem, but in water flowing out of believers (or Christ)”.¹

It is unfortunate, however, that Zch 14:8 is invariably dismissed along with Torrey’s argument, since it holds a vital key. Its reference to living water flowing out of Jerusalem had been developed by contemporary Jewish thinking into an eschatological theme of rivers spreading out from the Temple, while Jerusalem itself was regarded, even pre-rabbinically, as the navel of the earth.² Bearing in mind the text’s links with Tabernacles, John clearly uses a stylized version of it in which he replaces Jerusalem with something else.

We are already into Lindar’s third area of difficulty: application. Out of whom do the rivers of living water flow – Jesus or the believer? Leaving to one side the fact that the traditional punctuation allows only for the latter, John is not averse to *double entendre* and neither idea is mutually exclusive. But what could he mean by the former? Perhaps Jesus replaces the Jerusalem of Zch 14:8 and the water flowing out of him is the water of the Spirit replacing the water of Torah. But John never uses this imagery elsewhere. Rather, Jesus *is* the living water, that water flowing out of the believer (e.g., 4:13f.).³ Thus it is the latter application that makes eminent Johannine sense. One might prefer Jesus as the new subject, but in a sense he still is, as the living water.

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 328-329.

² E.g., Jub 8:19 (Mt. Zion is the centre of the navel of the earth); Eze 38:12; *b. Sanh* 37a. Westcott, *John*, 69, had originally associated Zch 14:8 with Jn 4:10.

³ R.E. Brown’s protestations (*John* I, 326ff.; so too Costa) that unlike the well in Jn 4 the living water here is not for the benefit of the believer, is unfounded. There is no implication *per se* that the living water is to benefit the passer-by: it signifies the believer as indwelt by the Spirit.

Anyway, this *has* to be the correct application, since the ambiguity over punctuation could never have arisen if the waters were flowing out of Christ – then the alternative reading would be the only one possible.¹

With Jn 7:38 being a quotation primarily of Zch 14:8 – albeit with the help of some of, maybe all, the other suggested scriptures² – and part of John’s replacement motif (the prophecy transferred from Jerusalem to the believer),³ a wealth of Old Testament and Jewish, even Eastern (so Lindars) imagery opens up. Much of it centres on the seven or eight day Feast of Tabernacles, the setting of 7:38. Guilding’s connecting of the feast-related sectioning and narrative execution of the Gospel to a Palestinian triennial lectionary cycle, relates this, the most popular Jewish feast (as shown by the fact that it was simply known as ἡ ἑορτή⁴), brilliantly to Jn 7:37f.⁵ This is not the only passage she is concerned with – she also finds significance in the dwelling in huts (*cf.* 1:14, where the Logos ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν), in the rite of lamp-

¹ The belief that the traditional punctuation can accommodate αὐτοῦ as Christ (Loisy, *Quatrième*, 271; Kohler, “Fleuves”, 193; Allison, “Living”), despite Allison’s recourse to the messianic age, is untenable. Those who have αὐτοῦ refer to the believer include Quirant, “Torrentes”, 298; J.B. Cortés, “Yet Another Look at John 7:37-8”, *CBO* 29.1 (1967), 75-84; Hodges, “Rivers”, 239; Bauer, “Cruces”; Balagué, “Flumina”; Miguens, “Aqua”; G.D. Fee, “Once More – John 7:37-9”, *ExpTim* 89 (1977-78), 116-118; Robert, “Approche”; Barrett, *Gospel*, 326f.; Lindars, *John*, 299.

² The consensus of opinion, inc. Feuillet, Hooke, Costa, Grelot (he associates the rock with Nu 21:16-18), Olsson, *Structure*, 216 (he, like Miguens, puts Nu 21:16-18 in the place of the rock), Grigsby, Cothenet, “Témoignage”, 374, Hanson, *Prophetic*, 113f. (he adds Ps 40:9b), Brown, Barrett, Loisy, Sanders and Schlatter, suggests Zch 14:8, Eze 47:1(-11) and the riven rock (Nu 20:11). Grelot, “Jean VII, 38”, is the first to note the Tosefta passage linking Eze 47 with Zch 14:8. Feuillet, Costa, Grigsby, Kohler, Grelot, Balagué, Olsson, Lightfoot, Sanders, Barrett and Brown give Zch 14:8 pride of place. Many (inc. Boismard, Power, Hooke, Kohler, Olsson, Costa, Schnackenburg and Grigsby) also see a sacramental connection *via* 19:34. This only works if αὐτοῦ refers to Christ, and we consider it at best incidental – John certainly makes nothing of it.

³ M.-E. Boismard, “Ventre”, 542-544, suggests that ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ is a literal translation from the Aramaic (or Hebrew) of a targumic version actually spoken by Jesus: κοιλία represents the Aramaic ܩܘܝܠܝܐ (‘interior’, ‘belly’) that, with the preposition ܕܐܝܢܐ, Jesus only intended to mean, perfectly legitimately, ‘out of’. Grelot, “ventre”, 369; Power, “Living”, 8; Feuillet, “Fleuves”, 114; Schnackenburg, *John* III, 156, all accept this explanation; Miguens, “Aqua”, 384; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 108f., 111f., reject it. Hanson, *Interpretation*, 161; Freed, *Quotations*, 25; Robert; Bernard; Hoskyns, prefer recourse to Ps 40:9b, which the midrash on Ps 40:8-10 (Braude I, 435) and *b. Yeb* 77a apply to David, and see allusion to Ps 40:8-15 in 7:17-19.

⁴ *Cf.* Jos. A. 8.100: ἑορτή ἀγιοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη. *m. Sukk* 4.1ff., 5.1ff., give an account of the feast as it would have been observed in the first century. See H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: OUP, 1933), esp. 179-180; Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 774; Bonsirven, *Judaïsme*, 123-125.

⁵ Guilding, *Worship*, 104ff. Few, however, remain convinced of her reconstructed lectionary cycle to which John adheres. See M.D. Goulder, *The Evangelists’ Calendar* (London: SPCK, 1978), *e.g.*, 101f.; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 186.

lighting (*cf.* 8:12) ¹ and in the vintage festival (*cf.* 15:1 – 16:24). But it is the rite of water-drawing that concerns Jn 7:37f.

On each day the Feast lasted water drawn from the pool of Siloam was poured into a silver bowl beside the Altar of Holocaust in the Temple, where it would be used for daily libation at the Altar, whence it would flow away, symbolizing the day of the Lord when the promise of Eze 47:1-12 would be fulfilled (*m. Sukk* 4.9; *cf.* Zch 13:1; 14:8). While it is not mentioned in the Old Testament (unless in Zch 14:8!) or by Josephus, “there is no reason to doubt that [this ceremony] was carried out before the destruction of the Temple” – *m. Sukk* 4.9 (*cf.* Jos *A.* 13.372) suggests that it may go back to Alexander Jannaeus. ² The custom of beginning prayers for rain at the Feast also survived (*b. Ta’an* 1.1), and is best expressed in the second of the Eighteen Benedictions (‘the Power of Rain’), where God, mighty to save, gives life to the dead. ³

Zch 12 – 14 was a central passage in the Feast’s liturgy, ch. 14 being one of its prophetic *Haphtaroth* ⁴ and sometimes read out during it, probably because the Feast is mentioned, together with a reference to rain, in the eschatological setting of 14:16f. That water is the dominant feature in Jn 7:37f. and the context happens to be Tabernacles, then, is more than fortuitous. Christ as the living water has a wider Old Testament and Johannine background than the Feast alone, ⁵ but the Feast is the pivot on which 7:38 swings – all the above scholars recognize this, albeit not as unequivocally as one might wish. ⁶ It may even be that John’s ambiguity as to what is being quoted is not entirely unintentional: both verses comprise the fulfilment of

¹ Throughout the week the Court of the Women was kept lit, to symbolize that the day of the Lord would be a day without night (*cf.* Zch 14:7; Is 60:19-20). See *m. Sukk* 5.2-3.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 327. Josephus describes the feast in *A.* 3.4 // 10.244-247, but perhaps mentions nothing about the custom since he is merely relating what was stipulated as law by Moses.

³ See Evans, *Contemporaries*, 277, 279.

⁴ Abrahams, *Studies* I, 11f.; H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins* (London, Milford: OUP, 1920), 64-67.

⁵ Also see Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 365.

⁶ *Cf.* Barrett, *Gospel*, 327. Loisy, *Quatrième*, 271f., is wrong – John is surely interested in the details of Tabernacles. The typical view, as expressed by Hanson, *Prophetic*, 112, that “John wishes to present Jesus as the true source of life and Spirit as contrasted with the ritual worship of Judaism”, misses the point of John’s replacement christology: with the Temple cultus gone, John presents Jesus not as the answer *to* Judaism but as the answer *for* Judaism.

scripture, as the Feast makes clear. ¹ In 7:38 Jesus for the first time pleads with the people of Jerusalem to believe in him. “So, in public, in Jerusalem, Jesus offers to all who hear him rivers of life-giving water, flowing from the Temple, divinely promised for the end-time, the Day of the Lord. The words of Ps 36:9-10 come to mind”. ²

There is specific Old Testament Mosaic imagery shared between Jn 7:37f., the Feast and Zch 12 – 14: that of the smitten rock of Ex 17. ³ Glasson, who may give a better picture of this than anyone, argues that in fact all three look forward to the messianic era that would recapitulate the exodus event. ⁴ In reality first century Jews would associate the days of the exodus with the days of the Messiah anyway, and those who saw the water ceremony would think of the promised streams of the messianic age as well as the waters in the desert, the latter being a child of the former.

Thus it was a central characteristic of the Messiah that he would recapitulate Moses’s act in providing water too. *Ecclus R. I.9*, after citing the parallel between the former and the latter redeemer in that both cause manna to descend, adds that both bring up water. ⁵ In Old Testament and later Jewish writings the manna and the water from the rock are often linked together (*cf.* Ne 9:15; Ps 78:20; 105:40f.), and this link is accepted by the early Christians (*cf.* 1 Cor 10:3f. ⁶). Since Jn 6 presents Christ as the bread corresponding to the manna, therefore, it is “not surprising to find in chapter 7 the promise of living water, particularly in the context of the Feast of Tabernacles when the wilderness years were commemorated”. ⁷

That Jn 7:38 is fundamentally eschatological rather than retrospective ⁸ – in ch. 6 Jesus is the eschatological age’s promised manna, here in ch. 7 its promised water, and in ch. 8 its promised light ⁹ – shows how John uses both the Old Testament and

¹ *Cf.* Glasson, *Moses*, 49: “It was as though Jesus were claiming to be the fulfillment of what was foreshadowed in these two rites” of water and light.

² McHugh, “Life”, 141.

³ So *e.g.*, Grelot, “Jean VII.38”. Jn 8:12 similarly echoes the pillar of fire (Ex 13).

⁴ See Glasson, *Moses*, ch. 7, “The Living Water and the Rock”.

⁵ See Martyn, *History*, 98ff., who also notes the Moses imagery. *Cf.* Meeks, *Prophet-King*.

⁶ Haenchen, *John II*, 17, has no warrant to link this passage so much with Jn 7:37f. that here too Jesus, as the riven rock, must be the source of the water.

⁷ Glasson, *Moses*, 48.

⁸ Lightfoot, *John*, 182, similarly emphasizes the eschatological significance of Tabernacles.

⁹ This vindicates our application: Jesus not so much provides the water, he *is* the water.

contemporary Jewish imagery to support his realized eschatology. Jesus here and now is the Messiah, these days here and now are those of the messianic age. No longer “as the first redeemer was, so shall the latter redeemer be”, rather, “as the first redeemer was, so the latter redeemer is”.

This does not mark the extent of Jewish scripture and imagery in 7:38. With Jesus replacing the lost Temple cultus, John cannot miss the connection with the eschatological Temple of Eze 47:1-11; and the story of the riven rock with its Sinai and exodus associations is hardly below the surface.¹ Moreover, water had a wealth of associations (as well as those already cited, Is 49:10; Ps 42:3). Living, *i.e.*, fresh, flowing water (ὕδωρ ζῶν – *cf.* Jn 4:10,14²), is often used in the Old Testament (*e.g.*, Pr 10:11; 13:14; 16:22),³ especially as a general metaphor for God’s activity in quickening people to life (*e.g.*, Ps 36:10a; Jr 2:13; Eze 47:1ff. – esp. v. 9⁴), and it seems likely that John is aware of all these passages. In rabbinic literature while living water is not a frequent metaphor, water is, and becomes best associated with Torah, less commonly with the Holy Spirit. In 1 En (esp. 48:1; 49:1) it is associated with Wisdom.⁵ These metaphors, used in a similar fashion, are also found at Qumran: 1QH 8.16 speaks of a fountain of living water (מבוע מים חיים); in CD 3.16f., 6.4-11, הבאר היא התורה (6.4, of Nu 21:18,) while the staff is the “Interpreter of the Law”;⁶ in CD 19.34 water is equated with Torah; and in 1QS 4.20ff. it refers to the Holy Spirit. It is unnecessary to presume any direct influence of Qumran on John or other similar early Christian writings (*e.g.*, Re 22:17). It is better to see the parallels as further evidence of the pervasiveness of the general Jewish imagery.⁷ John, like Qumran

¹ It is surprising that Robert, “Approche”, rejects all reference to it.

² Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 103, notes John’s re-eschatologizing tendency, citing Revelation passages, esp. 7:17; 21:6; 22:1.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 61, speaks of an *embarras de richesse*.

⁴ Hodges, “Rivers”, suggests that ποταμοί in Jn 7:38 may actually be a rendering of the dual נְחָלִים in the MT.

⁵ See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 433-436.

⁶ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 110, is right: the Qumran connection together with John’s use of the Well Song in ch. 4 makes its use here, albeit secondary, “difficult to exclude”.

⁷ In certain respects Qumranian concepts involving water seem to veer away from John’s: while in CD water as Torah gives life, in 1QS 4.20-22 it simply cleanses, a theme lacking in the Gospel (though *cf.* Jn 13:2-10). See H. Braun, “Qumran und das Neue Testament”, *TRu* 28 (1962), 97-234 (repub., 2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1966), 192ff.

(and Philo), is well aware of this imagery and puts it to good effect. Jesus, the final expression of God's Torah and Wisdom, is that (living) water.

By its own admission Jn 7:39 is a later redaction – part of John's explanation of Jesus' words – and has no immediate bearing on v. 38. But it cannot be ignored. At an early enough point in the Gospel's development to be incorporated into it, it equates the Holy Spirit, standing in Jesus' place, with the streams of living water. The theme is perfectly Jewish: ¹ as with the more general theme that the Spirit imparts life (e.g., Gn 2:7; 6:3; Eze 37:1-14), perhaps most striking is *Gn R.* 70:8 where the water-drawing of Tabernacles is interpreted as drawing the Holy Spirit. That John uses such imagery is difficult to deny, especially since Zch 12 – 14 was involved in current Jewish eschatological developments of it. ² Neither is he alone – 1 Cor 12:13 shows the Christianizing of the same motif by another early Christian writer.

John's interest in and familiarity with Jewish scripture, current Jewish exegesis of it, as well as associated imagery and Tabernacles, are clear to see. He uses it all to present to his readers what he holds dearest, his christology. For them to grasp his message they too must be equally well-acquainted with these things.

7:42

This quotation is spoken by the crowd who, having heard Jesus speaking at the Feast of Tabernacles, discuss with each other whether or not he is the Christ since he comes from Galilee while the Christ will be of David's line and come from Bethlehem. ³ The introductory formula is again unique. The indirect quotation, ⁴ its

¹ See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 434ff.

² Even though the date of the complete *Genesis Rabbah* is second millennium, this motif dates back to Second Temple times. Cf. W. Russell, "Holy", esp. 233f., who explores John's systematic presentation of the Spirit from the perspective of Old Testament messianic expectations.

³ It is unfortunate that J.A.T. Robinson, "Did Jesus Have a Distinctive Use of Scripture?", in R.F. Berkey & S.A. Edwards (eds.), *Christological Perspectives* (H.K. McArthur Festschrift; New York: Pilgrim, 1982), 49-57, esp. 40-41, limits his attention to the Synoptics. Jn 7:42 shows that the "challenging use" of scripture is not unique to Jesus in the Gospels: John and the reader have an answer, but as given by οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι none is expected.

⁴ It is unlikely that the ὅτι is *recitative* since the quotation is so different from any known scripture, even if a particular one is in mind.

source obscure, probably occurs elsewhere in Mt 2:6 (*cf.* Lk 2:4,11). Whether or not John takes it from a *testimonium*, then, it has a specifically Christian history.

Most scholars, beside noting the influence of Mic 5:1, give a combination of the following as secondary sources or influences: 1 Sm 20:6; 2 Sm 5:2; 7:11-14; 1 Kgs 2:33; 11:39; Ps 18:51; 89:4f.,36f.; 132:11; Is 11:1; Jr 33:22. ¹ Fitzmyer may be right to see a definite reference to 2 Sm 7:11-14 since not only, as he notes, does 4QFlor use the passage to announce the coming of the two Messiahs – the ‘branch of David’ and the ‘Interpreter of the Law’ ² – it also seems to be echoed in Re 5:5; 22:16. In fact all but the first two of these texts declare in some measure that the Lord’s anointed will be of ‘the seed of David’ (esp. Ps 89:4f.,36f.), Ps 18:51 containing the term מְשִׁיחֹו, and must be taken seriously. The targums of several of them (Is 11:1; Jr 23:5; 33:15) also show affinity to John’s quotation. ³

The fact remains, however, that no amount of Old Testament texts suffice: we must look elsewhere. If obliged to posit a single Jewish text the only option would be Mic 5:1 (LXX 5:2), traditionally the most ‘obvious’ option. Yet the use of this passage seems to have been a specifically Christian *ad hoc* innovation to confirm the tradition of Jesus’ birth at Bethlehem – it is not quoted in rabbinic literature for the origin of the Messiah until late, ⁴ and when Justin uses it in his conversation with his Jewish opponent Trypho it is on his own lips. ⁵ Herein is the riddle. John and the reader are aware of the Christian Bethlehem tradition: those who argue that Jesus cannot be the Messiah because the scripture says that the Messiah will be of David’s line and come from Bethlehem, unwittingly demonstrate that he *is* the Messiah. ⁶ But where does John get both it and the quotation from if not current Jewish exegesis? ¹

¹ E.g., Freed, *Quotations*, 39f.; Barrett, *Gospel*, 330.

² Fitzmyer, *Essays*, 86.

³ As with Ps 18:51 and *Tg. Jon.* Mic 5:1, their affinity lies in their use of מְשִׁיחֹו. See Freed, *Quotations*, 41f.

⁴ See Bonsirven, *Judaïsme* I, 378.

⁵ Justin, *Trypho*, 78. If it were a contemporary Jewish messianic text one would expect it on the lips of Trypho, allowing Justin an easy *coup* when he replies that Jesus was born in Bethlehem.

⁶ Barrett, “Old Testament”, 167. Scholars still begrudge the point: e.g., Hanson, *Prophetic*, 293-318, esp. 295, 296f. John also assumes tacit knowledge of the virgin birth. In 6:42 (*cf.* 1:13), if Jesus’ objectors had known the truth about his parentage they would have realized that he *had* come down from heaven; instead their ignorance is proof to the reader of Jesus’ divine origins (*cf.* 7:27).

Since both are a part of the Matthean-Lukan tradition (Luke may not be aware of the quotation), it is unlikely that for John either is a product of his own genius. Freed assumes that he is “directly dependent upon Matthew and Luke for the source of this quotation”,² and proceeds with uncanny precision: ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ is John’s equivalent of Luke’s ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυὶδ (Lk 2:4); ἀπὸ Βηθλέεμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαυὶδ is his equivalent of Luke’s εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ (Lk 2:4); and ἔρχεται ὁ χριστός is his equivalent of Matthew’s (ποῦ) ὁ χριστὸς γεννᾶται (Mt 2:4). Perhaps, Freed continues, the whole quotation also shows influence from Luke’s ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ (Lk 2:11). Yet not only is there no certainty that John has such access to Matthew and Luke,³ Matthew and Luke themselves surely work from Christian tradition (not Q). Thus John’s Christian source need not be anything extant, and may derive from the Christian movement’s earliest legacy.⁴ Indeed, though we, like Freed, find the silence of genuine evidence positively deafening, the source could be a *testimonium*.

Since John is dependent on a Christian rather than a Jewish version of what began life as Jewish scripture incorporating Mic 5:1, “it seems as though we must come to admit the existence of Christian writings (ἡ γραφή) earlier than formerly thought”.⁵ John does not feel bound to Jewish versions when quoting ἡ γραφή. But what if ἡ γραφή here is not Mic 5:1 or any Jewish scripture, but a specifically Christian scripture? Freed comes close to suggesting this when he states, “ἡ γραφή here is to be taken as referring only indirectly to an O.T. passage and more directly to the Synoptic passages themselves”.⁶ This leaves us with possibly contemporary,

John chooses not to refer to these birth traditions explicitly because of a double irony – the events surrounding Jesus’ birth are unimportant, it is his heavenly origins that matter (*cf.* 3:8; 7:28; 8:14,23). Schnackenburg, *John* 1, 26-43, examines the issue of John’s relationship to the Synoptics brilliantly and concludes (38), “behind John there is an older tradition, going back to “synoptic” or “pre-synoptic” times, with many contacts with the synoptic tradition [*e.g.*, 12:29; 18:11, transposed from the Gethsemane tradition], but still an independent one”. For further examples, see Benoit, *Passion*.

¹ He is aware of the Jewish belief that the Messiah will appear suddenly (*cf.* 7:27).

² Freed, *Quotations*, 119, 49ff.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 249, makes precisely this point against Freed, though we will contest Hanson’s argument that it is anachronistic to apply Christian scripture to John.

⁴ While scholars generally reject Robinson’s early dating of the Gospel, most (inc. Barrett, Brown and Hengel) recognize that at least parts of it derive from earliest Christian tradition.

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 120.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 119.

probably written, Christian scripture, which John regards as being on a par with Jewish scripture and subjects to his usual methodology and hermeneutic.

There is no intrinsic problem with this. Indeed, it is certainly the case both elsewhere in the Gospel (*e.g.*, 17:12) and in other early Christian writings. But in this instance we reject it, and not simply because at least Mic 5:1 is a likely source. The context does not allow for it: it would be Jesus' Jewish listeners treating Christian scripture on a par with Jewish scripture. Not that John would not have οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι doing this, if only by way of poetic justice, but the point here is apologetic. John is refuting current Jewish scriptural objections to Jesus being the Messiah. But if he is doing this using specifically Christian scripture the point is lost: Jews would hardly feel bound by such pronouncements. Moreover, in the process John would be not only hoodwinking his Jewish opponents that the quotation is Jewish scripture, he would be doing the same to his Christian readers.

Instead, he is putting a Christian version of Jewish scripture in the same reverential set as Jewish versions and subjecting it to his usual methodology, *etc.* His implicit and inimitably ironic recognition of Jesus' Davidic lineage¹ is striking since he is unhappy with this notion and incorporates it nowhere else – it might be equatable with a nonviolent spiritual expression of faith (*cf.* PsSol 17) but all too often would degenerate into something political, worldly and hence foreign to Jesus' true kingship and kingdom (*cf.* 18:36). While its inclusion here, then, is a result of Christian tradition, John sublimates it to suit his own christology. It is not just Jewish exegesis of scripture that John deems malleable, but Christian exegesis too.

What of the suggestion that his motive here is not only to expose the error of the critics, “but also to criticize the customary manner of Old Testament arguments”,² *i.e.*, the crass proof-text methodology that Barrett supposes John dislikes? A general problem with this is that John on not a few occasions (and not just in the Passion) uses this methodology himself. The specific problem is that any such criticism here is just

¹ Glasson, *Moses*, 31: “... the writer was quite conversant with the fact that Jesus was of David's line”. Also see Barrett, *Gospel*, 330f.

² Barrett, “Old Testament”, 167.

too subtle to work. John's acceptance of the conclusions obtained by this method may be begrudging, but it is acceptance nonetheless – Jesus *is* of David's line and *does* come from Bethlehem. John does no more than use the proof-text methodology in the service of his own needs.

10:34

In response to the Jews who wish to stone him for blasphemy because being a human he makes himself God, Jesus replies with the scripture, ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε. The introductory formula is again unique in the New Testament,¹ as is the quotation. The quotation is a verbatim rendering of Ps 82:6a LXX.²

While John is the first to refer explicitly to the Psalter as ὁ νόμος (*cf.* 12:34; 15:25),³ there are numerous examples in the New Testament of where νόμος refers to other Jewish scriptures or to the whole of Jewish scripture (as can יהוה in later rabbinic literature⁴). But why should John tell οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι that this Psalm is ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν? ⁵ The crude divisions in much of the secondary literature are to be avoided, but so is the assumption that John separates Jesus, himself and his community from a Jewish identity – he separates them from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. ⁶ Even Glasson, who assumes some form of antithesis between Christ and Torah, concedes that it is relative and that John may well have been a Jew, while Barrett is circumspect: “It is probable

¹ Similar versions occur elsewhere (*e.g.*, 1 Cor 14:21) and an interrogative, shorter version, אִיִן קְתוּבָה, occurs in CD 9.5. On later Jewish and Christian usage, see Reim, *Studien*, 24.

² We discount the possibility that John's own translation of the Hebrew coincides with the LXX (*cf.* Burney, *Aramaic*, 118) or that he uses a *testimonium* that is faithful to the LXX. Hanson's silence on this issue (*idem*, “Citation”; *idem*, “Reconsidered”) shows that we are in the vast majority. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 61, makes a helpful comment on John's only use of εἶπα here.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 384, is wrong to cite 1 Cor 14:21 as another example – the quotation is from Is 28:11-12. Ro 3:19 is closer, but here the quotation (3:10-19), while predominantly from the Psalter, is also from Isaiah (vv. 15-17), and the term νόμος, not part of the introductory formula, refers to the Jewish system *sui generis* rather than to scripture.

⁴ See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 542-543; III, 159, 463; Schlatter, *Johannes*, 243-244.

⁵ Like Schuchard, *Scripture*, 60 n. 9, we reject the evidence for omitting ὑμῶν (P⁴⁵ Ⲭ* D Θ *pc* it sy^s; Tert Cyp): *contra* Barrett, *Gospel*, 384, a scribe would not think to insert it from 8:17, which either way shows it to be thoroughly Johannine and this discussion unavoidable.

⁶ *Cf.* Barrett, *Gospel*, 384: “... it is unlikely that a Jew would speak to Jews of ‘your law’”; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 187, on 15:25. Teeple, “Qumran”, esp. 24, uses this passage to argue that John was a gentile.

that John (whether or not he was Jewish by birth) was conscious of his membership of a community which when he wrote stood over against organized Judaism.”¹

From what we already know, John can only be a Jew, desperate to retain his Jewish identity yet who with his community has been separated from the synagogue. By proclaiming a crucified Messiah he began the conflict; by presenting this dreadful image as salvifically imperative he transformed the conflict into ostracism; and now he chastises the ostracizers for not “seeing [the scriptures] as preparatory to Jesus and as witnessing to him”!² Small wonder that “[n]owhere else in the Gospel is Jesus represented as using scripture in so strongly controversial a context”.³

So what of his attitude to Torah? Glasson’s argument, that because “the Jews” had misused it as “a final instrument of salvation” it had become ‘their law’, is problematic: the Jewish scriptures proclaim themselves to be the final instrument of salvation (*cf.* Ps 119; Sir 24:23f.). The fact is, this phrase tells us nothing. John has a specifically Christian understanding of Torah, but he in no way invalidates it. Indeed, it bears witness to Jesus (*cf.* 5:39) and as the word of God is immutable (10:35): “the Old Testament was also the Bible of the Church and [John’s] purpose in using the word ὑμῶν ... was not to disavow the Old Testament but to press home upon the Jews the fact that the truth of the Christian position was substantiated by their own authoritative documents”.⁴ John could parenthesize, “The scriptures are also *our* law, we Jews who accept the Messiah”. Yet he no more needs to than a Newcastle comedian performing Newcastle jokes in a Newcastle accent before a Newcastle audience needs to state that he comes from Newcastle.⁵

John again considers it necessary to use just one half of the parallelism, his special interests (put to similar effect in 6:45) determining which half he omits –

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 384; *cf.* Glasson, *Moses*, 92.

² Glasson, *Moses*, 92. *Cf.* 2 Cor 3:14-16, where another early Christian (Jewish!) writer applies the same judgement. See further in this thesis: “The Gospel’s Context”, 295-308.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 144.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 384. *Cf.* Glasson, *Moses*, 92: “There can be no possible doubt that the Evangelist looked upon the Torah as genuine divine revelation”; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 60. Odeburg, *Fourth*, 292, is right that “Jesus stands in the same relation to the Torah as his Father”.

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 187, rightly rejects Loisy’s claim that Jesus sees Jewish scripture as alien to himself, but without our argument produces nothing to defend himself with.

καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες / וְבָנֵי עֲלִיּוֹן כְּלָכֶם: a Jewish identity does not guarantee relationship with God; besides, only Jesus' relationship with the Father may be described in terms of sonship. Yet why does he quote this scripture at all? Certain theories require short shrift. Barrett is right to regard as “fanciful” the suggestion that he is stimulated by the fact that Nu 7 (“The Princes”, LXX: ἄρχοντες) was the Torah lesson for the Feast of Dedication, the next verse of the Psalm also referring to ἄρχοντες. Similarly, that the Psalm was sung by the Levites in the Temple on the third day of the week (*m. Tamid* 7.4) is purely fortuitous. A true solution must address the problem of what the scripture meant in its usual Jewish context. Hanson is right: “John is not lifting four words out of context in order to score a point. He has the whole psalm in mind and also the traditional interpretations of it.”¹

What *m. Tamid* 7.4 does show is that Ps 82:6 was no embarrassment to at least second century CE Jews, and here we find our first clue. That the Psalm itself, like many other Jewish scriptures (inc. Ex 4:16; 7:1), should use אֱלֹהִים to refer to divine figures other than God himself is no great surprise – monotheistic concepts were still at best in their infancy. What *is* surprising is that later Jewish intertestamental literature should do the same sort of thing only at a more heightened level, involving a whole range of divine and intermediary figures. Philo refers to Moses as θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς and to the Logos as δεύτερος ὁ θεοῦ;² but perhaps the best example is 4QŠirŠabb in which אֱלֹהִים refers to a large number of entities.³

Qumran scrolls need not reflect first century Jewish thinking generally, but it seems that only now was the Jewish emphasis on monotheism receiving renewed attention (*cf.* Mk 12:29-30), undoubtedly spurred on by the Christian מְנַיִם with their worship of a second God.⁴ This suggests that Ps 82 only became an embarrassment to

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 144. See Schuchard, *Scripture*, 62-63, for the three main Jewish interpretations of the text.

² Philo, *Mos.* 1.158; *L.A.* 2.86. Philo is not saying that either is God in the absolute sense.

³ See J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân – 4Q Serek Šîrôt ‘Ôlat Haššabbat” [= 4QŠirŠabb^d], *VTSup* 7 (1960), 318-345. For 4QŠirŠabb^{a-h} in full, see C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27, Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1985).

⁴ In the post-exilic period other figures had already been excluded (*cf.* Jr 44), and the Elephantine papyri referring to Asherah, Yahweh's consort, show that Jews in Babylon could have constructed a pantheon to include the like but did not. It seems, then, that monotheism went as far back as the exile but that strong secondary figures constantly ‘dogged’ it.

Jews as the first century proceeded, and now required an exegesis that would not compromise the monotheism fast receiving normative status.¹

This is borne out by later Jewish interpretations of the Psalm, which portray it as addressed not to angelic beings but to all or part of Israel.² Sometimes it is understood as a description of Dt 1:15-18 where God himself addresses the judges of Israel appointed by Moses,³ but usually it is understood as addressed to the whole of Israel after they receive the Law at Sinai.⁴ Moreover, *b. 'Abod. Zar* 5a (c. 500 CE?) has R. Jose (c. 150 CE) say, “The Israelites accepted the Torah only so that the Angel of Death should have no dominion over them, as it is said [Ps 82:6]”, giving the Law rather than human divinity prominence. “Later passages make the same statement more explicitly, and in others the idea of receiving the Law and so becoming אֱלֹהִים, divine, is made personal rather than historical, but the active and decisive agent remains the Law.”⁵ It is significant that *b. 'Abod. Zar* then quotes Ps 82:7 to show that Israel’s idolatry with the Golden Calf revoked the promise of immortality.⁶

Bultmann does not consider how this relates to Jn 10:34, proposing that the editor has no regard to the original sense and context of the Psalm but simply resorts to ‘mere’ Jewish exegesis to prove that Jesus is God.⁷ This is unsatisfactory. John as much assumes that Jesus is God as attempts to provide a proof, and he has no quarrel with ‘mere’ Jewish reasoning elsewhere – he uses it enough times! Perhaps, then, this

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 384, simply infers from *m. Tamid* 7.4 that Ps 82 was not neglected, “though this was a difficult passage for convinced monotheists to deal with”.

² The notable exception is the fragment 11QMelch, which presents Melchizedek as the speaker, addressing the evil angels. See Jonge & Woude, “11Q Melchizedek”, 312-314.

³ Cf. *b. Ber* 5a. The Midrash on Ps 82 (Braude II, 59-60) applies v. 6 to Adam and refers to the princes as the “heavenly princes” spoken of in Is 24:21.

⁴ Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 543.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 384. On the dating of the Babylonian Talmud, see L. Jacobs, *The Jewish Religion* (New York: OUP, 1995), 527-533; J. Neusner, *Rabbinic Judaism. The Documentary History of its Formative Age, 70-600 C.E.* (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL, 1994), e.g., xi.

⁶ There are subtle variations on this theme, and sometimes the same notion is expressed in more general terms: e.g., see *Sifre Dt* Piska 306, 320 (Hammer, 307, 329). Cf. Bonsirven, *Textes*, 548, n. 1998; *Pesiq R. Piska* 1.2 (Braude I, 38). For further background, see Hanson, “Citation”; *idem*, “Reconsidered”. For the alternative position, see J.A. Emerton, “Some New Testament notes. 1. The Interpretation of Psalm lxxxii in John X”, *JTS* 11 (1960), 329-332.

⁷ Bultmann, *John*, 389. Cf. R. Tennant, “Hard Sayings – IV”, *Theology* 66 (1963), 457-458: “There is little point in studying the original context in Psalm 82:6.” This was part of the then trend, which argued that for John the Old Testament was “something dead”, and that the scriptural quotations of first century Christians “consist of odd suggestive phrases that have stuck in their minds, and are used without regard to their context” (Tennant). Cf. Freed, *Quotations*, 60-65, esp. 64.

Psalm was still a ‘welcome’ part of Jewish scripture and John uses it in all good faith as part of his defence of Jesus’ deity – maybe he himself caused some of the subsequent Jewish embarrassment at its (and other scriptures’) ‘angelic’ interpretation. Or perhaps the Psalm had already become embarrassing to John’s fellow Jews, and with no solution yet found he exposes this Achilles heel in their rebuttal of his christology.¹

Hanson argues that John simply understands the Psalm itself as having been addressed by the pre-existent Word, whose foretelling of the resurrection (ἀνάστα, Ps 81:8 LXX) is the γραφή that cannot be broken (Jn 10:35).² His argument is weak. Van der Woude followed by Emerton is surely right that Qumran’s Melchizedek is to be identified with the archangel Michael; but that this, together with 11QMelch’s joining of Ps 82 to another psalm of judgement, Ps 7:8-9, makes for “an easy transition” to the pre-existent Word passing judgement on contemporary Jews, hardly squares with Hanson’s own admittance of John’s non-alignment with 11QMelch.³

There is a better explanation. John is aware of the later Jewish exegesis of the Psalm and uses it. Not so much that which took those addressed to be Israel’s judges (as advocated by a few scholars⁴) – “there is no obvious continuity between the judges of Israel in Moses’ time and the Jews in Jesus’ time”.⁵ Nor that which took them to be Israel’s prophets. Jn 10:35 shows that John uses the exegesis expressed in *b. ’Abod. Zar* to defend Jesus’ unique, filial, relationship with the Father. Those to whom ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ came are the Jews at Sinai, ὁ λόγος referring primarily not to Jewish scripture but to the Word of the Prologue who gave the Jews their law.⁶ This has Jewish

¹ The embarrassment it caused – it suggested human equality with God – is avoided by the Targum of Ps 82:6: “I said, you were reckoned just as angels, and you are all just as angels on high.” Despite *m. Sanh* 7.5 55b, this is the ‘blasphemy’ Jesus is guilty of (Jn 10:33); cf. 1QS 6.27 – 7.1.

² Hanson, “Citation”; *idem*, “Reconsidered”; *idem*, *Prophetic*, 146ff.

³ Like Jonge & Woude, “11QMelchizedek”, Hanson (“Reconsidered”, 364, *Prophetic*, 147) can only disagree with J.A. Emerton, “Melchizedek and the Gods. Fresh Evidence for the Jewish Background of John X. 34-36”, *JTS* 17 (1966), 399-401, that the scroll shows that John too regards the Psalm as addressed to angels. Qumran’s distinction from both contemporary Jewish and John’s exegesis of the Psalm perhaps puts 4QŠirŠabb in a more sober light too.

⁴ R. Jungkuntz, “An Approach to the Exegesis of John 10.34-36”, *CTM* 35 (1964), 556-565. He notes that one of the judges is called Ἰησοῦς, and pleads Eze 34:16c. Also Schuchard, *Scripture*, 64-70, who gives an interesting aside on Jesus as “the eschatological prophet like Moses” (67).

⁵ Hanson, “Reconsidered”, 366. His concession – that John would not be concerned that there is no clear word of God in the original context or that Moses is the speaker – is less impressive.

⁶ Bultmann’s view, that ὁ λόγος here refers to Jewish scripture, should not be dismissed totally, the *double entendre* echoing John’s presentation of Jesus as the fulfilment of every Jewish salvific icon.

precedents: in 11QMelch it is Melchizedek, in Jubilees the angel of the Lord, who gives the Torah; it fits in beautifully with John’s christology that implies that every appearing of God is a ‘christophany’ (1:18; cf. He 1:3); and it allows a coherent explanation of the Psalm’s new context – if it is I, Jesus, who gave you the law and so you were called gods, why is it blasphemy if I call myself God’s Son? ¹

John’s Jewish self-understanding, his positive stance toward Torah, and his masterly deployment of a Jewish scriptural exegesis, are undeniable. Hanson rightly exclaims: “How well versed John was in Jewish exegetical tradition!” ² Once again, all John’s efforts are comprehensible only within a Jewish matrix.

12:13

This scriptural quotation, the only one in the Gospel without an introductory formula, is spoken by the great crowd who have come to the feast of Passover, when they hear that Jesus is coming to Jerusalem. The larger part is taken from Ps 118:25-26a (LXX Ps 117:25-26a). The LXX translates the Hebrew accurately save that, *ad sensum*, the Hebrew of v. 26a reads, “He that comes, let him be blessed in the name of the Lord”, while the LXX, “Blessed be he that comes in the name, that is, to the work and with the authority, of the Lord”. ³

John shares the quotation with all the Synoptics (Mk 11:9-10; Mt 21:9; Lk 19:38). The word ὠσαννά has no intrinsic semantic value in Greek, but is a transliteration of the Hebrew הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא. Besides having little reason for doing so, it would be singularly atypical for John to transliterate the Hebrew himself, ⁴ and since he is not following the LXX (which translates it as σῶσον δὴ), he “seems to have had access

J.S. Ackerman, “The Rabbinic Interpretation of Psalm 82 and The Gospel of John”, *HTR* 59 (1966), 186-191, sees the Psalm’s Sinai context but not the pre-existent Logos connection. Dodd, *Interpretation*, 266, has long argued that ὁ λόγος here may refer to the pre-existent Word, a view rejected by some still, e.g., Theobald, *Fleischwerdung*, 301; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 63 n. 19.

¹ This fits the rabbinic *a minori ad maius* argument that Schnackenburg, *John II*, 312, presents against Hanson’s explanation (Hanson, *Prophetic*, 148f.) much better.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 149.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

⁴ Apart from proper nouns (e.g., 5:2; 9:7), John retains no Aramaic *ipsissima*.

to [the Old Testament] in another form”.¹ What form? Goodwin is too cautious – ““Hosanna” is most likely to have been derived from John’s source for the account of the triumphal entry, whether that source be Mark, oral tradition, or a lost document.” That ὡσαννά occurs in the identical context in Mark and Matthew leaves no doubt: John’s form is Christian.

Further comparison with the Synoptics bears this out. Matthew appends τῷ νιῷ Δαυίδ to the end of ὡσαννά (the whole phrase recurs in Mt 21:15) but other than that all four Gospels have, in the identical context, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, following the LXX verbatim.² Only Luke varies slightly, by inserting ὁ βασιλεὺς after ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Similarly they all add something extraneous to the end of the text – Matthew is identical to Mark in part, while all three Synoptics involve the phrase ἐν ... ὑψίστοις. Moreover, John’s [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ is reminiscent of Mark’s penultimate εὐλογημένη ἢ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυίδ and Matthew’s and Luke’s earlier kingship references.

With Q (Mt 23:39; Lk 13:35) also using the identical line from Ps 118:26a LXX, in what might originally have been a Triumphal Entry context, the similarities are striking. Manifestly, all the Gospel versions derive from a single Christian tradition, now tailored to suit each community’s needs. Surely, then, that this once John and the Synoptics (*cf.* Q) all use no introductory formula is because the tradition – incident plus quotation – is so familiar one is simply unnecessary. To isolate the original quotation, moreover, merely involves isolating the extant versions’ common elements. Most obviously, these are: Ps 118:26a LXX, shared by all; then the opening ὡσαννά, shared by Mark, Matthew and John; then the extra-Psalmic kingship appendages, shared by all; and finally the ἐν ... ὑψίστοις phrase, shared by all bar John.³

The opening ὡσαννά need not be a transliteration of the Hebrew; it could be a transcription of what was on the lips of the crowd, the Aramaic ܠܘܘܫܢܐ. Barrett is

¹ Goodwin, “Sources?”, 65, including in this category 19:37 and, tentatively, 13:18. Goodwin does not make his intentions clear, but he would be wrong to assume that since John does not use the LXX he therefore does not have access to it.

² In view of the above it is surprising that Barrett, *Gospel*, 418, notes, “we cannot tell whether John has translated the Hebrew, borrowed from Mark, or quoted the LXX”.

³ It could be, however, that Matthew and Luke take ἐν ... ὑψίστοις from Mark’s version.

right to prefer this alternative – not only is the tradition surely dependent on the LXX for the rest of the text, that the crowd actually recited the Psalm makes perfect sense since it was a special part of the Tabernacles festival and the last of the *Hallel* group sung at Passover. ¹ He is wrong, however, to suppose that “it may be that the word had already lost much of its original meaning and become little more than a jubilant shout of praise”. Certainly its new form conveys “a feeling of reverent joy and gladness”, but since it occurs only here in the Gospels and never in the LXX, it is “a Christian invention to give new meaning to an old Heb. expression”. ²

The original quotation, then, was primarily a quotation of Ps 118:25-26, which abandoned the parallelisms by citing only the first half of each verse, ³ shortening v. 25a to a new word inspired by a vestigial Aramaic *ipsissima* now invested with new meaning, and taking v. 26a verbatim from the LXX. Attached to this, if not conflated with it, was a non-Psalmic text – to do with kingship, apparently scriptural, possibly Davidic – and perhaps an ἐν ... ὑψίστοις finale. The whole thing was associated, maybe for good historical reason, with the Triumphal Entry. John’s ability to apply Jewish scripture, especially the Psalms and already familiar Jewish messianic texts, to his christology, and his willingness to jettison parallelism, render freely and conflate, then, are traits common to the Christian movement’s earliest scriptural hermeneutic. He merely develops them.

John happily uses, with no alteration in context and little in content, this familiar Christian version of Jewish scripture. If not Mark’s, it is used by him and the other Synoptists, equally with no alteration in context and little in content. Whether aware of the Synoptics or not, John, however maverick, ⁴ is Christian enough to use Jewish scripture just as they do – no more a hybrid backwater Syriac affair!

The original quotation is compatible with Mark’s version and his use of Jewish scripture generally, and it is the easiest hypothesis that he is the source for Matthew

¹ See *m. Sukk* 3.9; 4.5. Also Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 121. Cf. his excellent “Entry”, 329-330.

³ V. 26 is in fact not true parallelism, since בְּרִכְוֹתֵיכֶם has a plural not singular suffix.

⁴ Kysar, *Maverick* (1993), 144, notes, “The Maverick is being tamed!”, but misses the point. John has much in common with the wider Christian tradition *wholly volitionally*.

and Luke. Matthew would be substituting τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ for εὐλογημένη ... Δαυίδ, placing it after ὡσαννὰ rather than after v. 26a maybe in an attempt to ‘unclutter’ the Psalm. Luke would be abandoning ὡσαννὰ altogether while expanding, perhaps by way of compensation, ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις to ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις. John could also be working from Mark, substituting [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ for εὐλογημένη ... Δαυίδ in an attempt to exorcise οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι’s prerogative on Jesus’ kingship, and abandoning the final ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, thereby eradicating the difficulties with ὡσαννὰ “which arise in the Marcan use of the word”.¹

But this is not the only possibility – Q shows that there was at least one early Christian version of Ps 118:26a that did not derive from Mark. Mark himself could be working from such a tradition, while the other Gospels from him. Yet it could be, without involving Ur-Mark and the like, that John works from something other than Mark – be it oral, written, *testimonia*, even liturgy – that the Synoptics similarly have access to. He may even be aware of the Synoptics but choose not to work from them. The evidence is equivocal, and even allows that Q, Mark (used by Matthew) and Luke together with John represent three different versions of the original, John following it exactly save for giving the prerequisite kingship motif his own touch and maybe abandoning the ἐν ... ὑψίστοις termination.²

John’s kingship motif is telling. Quite possibly a genuine reflection of the fact that Jesus was hailed as messianic king by the crowd(s) on Palm Sunday, it must be part of the original quotation – all the Synoptics have it, besides, John never refers to Jesus as βασιλεὺς unless tradition demands it. Not that he necessarily feels unable to excise it: he may be keen to express his own understanding of Jesus’ kingship. Nor that it need be “a clarification of Mark”:³ of all the Synoptics Luke is nearest to John in spirit since in both “King” is synonymous with “The Coming One”, John’s καὶ (if it is textually valid⁴) epexegetic – the Coming One *is* the Messiah.⁵

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

² The options for John’s possible relation to Mark are not that simple anyway – Brown, *John I*, xliv ff., prefers a theory of interdependence.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

⁴ Read by P⁷⁵ B α; omitted by P⁶⁶ D Θ pc.

⁵ This rules out D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956), 20-23, that The Coming One refers to Elijah.

How John alters this motif depends on what his source is. Since he puts it at the end of Ps 118:26a, as Mark does, while Luke puts it in the middle and Matthew puts it at the start, he does not appear to be relegating it to a subordinate position. True, his version is shorter than Mark's, but this could be due to his general tendency to shorten or Mark's to lengthen. He does appear, however, to alter its scriptural basis, his version alone an "interpretative gloss ... based on Zech 9:9" ¹ (cf. Zph 3:15). Perhaps the motif originally had no specific scriptural basis – there does not seem to be any in the Synoptic versions – which he feels uncomfortable with; but more likely his citing of Zch 9:9 two verses on simply makes it too obvious to ignore.

Most noticeable is his lack of Davidic intonations. If he works from Mark he (and presumably Luke) is deliberately excluding them. ² This is in order – his general lack of such intonations is well documented – and it makes sense as part of his οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic: Jesus is proclaimed king of *Israel*. He also has a tendency to tone down politically loaded aspects of Jesus' kingship, and his unique mention of palm-branches smacks of nationalism, especially if he associates them with the לילך, an unfortunate side effect he could be trying to eliminate. ³ Even if he does not work from Mark he could still be deliberately excluding them, for the same reasons. But if they are only introduced by Mark, passing on to Matthew, he and Luke may simply reflect the original more faithfully. Either way, John's track record shows that none of his alterations are due to any consternation at others' editorial license. Quite the opposite, he too shapes the original to suit his own theological predilections.

If ἐν ... ὑψίστοις is introduced by Mark, passing on to Matthew and Luke, John may again reflect the original more faithfully. Alternatively, he deliberately omits the phrase, again, hardly because he deems it inaccurate, and there seems to be no reason why he should deem it inappropriate: it can only be due to economic considerations – it is surplus to requirement.

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

² Freed, "Entry", 332-333, argues for this.

³ Cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 77-80. McHugh's notion ("Life", 156), that John mentions the palm-branches, for the Greeks a symbol of victory (cf. 1 Macc 13:51; 2 Macc 10:7), to signal the final parting between his community and the Jewish faith (cf. 12:20ff.), is weak.

Where does all this lead us? It is by no means unlikely that John works from Mark. But equally, despite our unease at proposing an otherwise unknown, unattested, source, this scriptural quotation comes closer than most of John's to having been taken from a Christian *testimonium*.¹ This is not only because of its widespread early Christian usage, at that within a specific manner and context, but also because Q is proof of at least one non-Markan, Christian, version of Ps 118:26a. Often presented as an alternative to the *testimonia* suggestion, the suggestion that John works from an early Christian liturgy (the text's liturgical origins explaining its frequency in the Gospels) is doubtful – there is no evidence that John has access to any.²

Whatever John's source, his handling of it is unique. Allowing for his unwarranted assumption that John works from the Synoptics, Freed is right to extrapolate that his “main concern in the context of the quotation is not, as in the Synoptics, with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. Rather, Jn has taken elements from the Synoptic account of that incident in Jesus' life and inserted them into the larger framework of the Lazarus story at an opportune time to bring his theme of Jesus as *King* to a high point in its development”.³ With no more qualms about tailoring a Christian version of scripture than tailoring Jewish versions, John recasts the text to fit its new surroundings. By now this comes as no surprise.

These new surroundings are saturated with Jewish motifs. This becomes more apparent in 12:15, but that τὰ βᾶῖα τῶν φοινίκων, literally, ‘palm-branches (βᾶῖον⁴) of the palm-tree’, “probably signify no more” than a jubilant welcome accorded to a notable person (Mk 11:8) and a triumphal procession (1 Macc 13:51), is unnecessarily

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 121, concedes this point.

² Discussion usually centres around the opening ὡσαννᾶ. That its new meaning is the result of Christian liturgies going back to the Didache and the Apostolic Constitutions (so E. Werner, “‘Hosanna’ in the Gospels”, *JBL* 65 [1946], 109-112) is rightly rejected by Freed, *Quotations*, 70. As Freed notes, however, it could have been taken originally from a Jewish liturgy or hymn: cf. T.K. Cheyne, “Hosanna”, *EncBib* 2, col. 2119; Werner, “‘Hosanna’”, 116ff.; Stendahl, *School*, 65.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 121.

⁴ Cf. Liddell & Scott, *Lexicon*, βᾶῖον. 1 Macc 13:51 provides the only instance in the Greek Bible of the form in Jn 12:13, though even here the genitive plural, βᾶῖων, may be derived from the more usual βᾶῖς (βαῖς). John's form is attested in the papyri. See J.H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930), s.v.

cautious. ¹ The לִילָבֹד was a bundle made up of palm, myrtle and willow in fulfilment of Lv 23:40, shaken at the occurrence of the word ‘Hosanna’ when Ps 118 was sung at the Feast of Tabernacles. ² With what has already been seen of John’s familiarity with contemporary Jewish teaching and practice, he surely sees the לִילָבֹד in the palm-branches. The symmetry is somewhat spoiled, if that matters to John, since the feast is Passover rather than Tabernacles; but Ps 118 itself, involved in both, provided a link between the two. Moreover, according to 2 Macc 1:9; 10:6 the Feast of Dedication was celebrated similarly to Tabernacles, and some have suggested that Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem had the significance of a new Dedication. ³

Perhaps in mentioning the palm-branches John is simply the most historically authentic. ⁴ Indeed, perhaps the crowds themselves are aware of the association between what they are saying and their waving of palm-branches – the article τὰ may be over-translated as ‘they took *the* palm-branches’, *i.e.*, those that had been brought (maybe from Jericho) for the purpose. But in view of the fact that only John mentions them – Mark has στιβάδας, Matthew has κλάδους, Luke has nothing at all – it is more likely that the association is first noticed by him. His alluding to Lv 23:40 is further supported by the fact that τὰ βᾶϊα τῶν φοινίκων is a pleonasm. The point must not be stressed since John occasionally uses pleonasms for no apparent reason, besides, this particular one is not unique to him. ⁵ But it could be that he is deliberately drawing attention to the palm-branches. After all, φοίνιξ, which appears elsewhere in the New Testament only in Re 7:9, ⁶ is precisely what the LXX uses in Lv 23:40. ⁷

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 417.

² See *m. Sukk* 3, esp. 3.9.

³ See F.C. Burkitt, “W and Q: Studies in the Western Text of St. Mark (continued)”, *JTS* 17 (os) (1916), 139-149; C.G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (2 vols.; London: Macmillan & co., 1927²), I, 259f.; W.R. Farmer, “The Palm Branches in John 12,13”, *JTS* 3 (1952), 62-66; B.A. Mastin, “The Date of the Triumphal Entry”, *NTS* 16 (1969), 76-82.

⁴ Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 43: “If we recall that there are a few palm trees in Jerusalem even today and that *Pseudo-Aristeas* 112 enumerates dates among the products of Jerusalem ... John’s account appears to be within the bounds of possibility.”

⁵ It occurs without the articles in *T. Naph.* 5:4.

⁶ Re 7:9 too may have the Feast of Tabernacles in mind: see Abrahams, *Studies* II, 54; *cf.* H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus Transfiguré* (ASNU 16; København: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1947), 278. In Re 7:9 φοίνιξ means, as elsewhere, ‘palm-branches’, while in Jn 12:13 the pleonasm makes it mean ‘palm-tree’.

⁷ Glasson, *Moses*, 107, also puts weight by the palms reference, noting Re 7:9 and quoting 2 Macc 10:6f.

Finally, it is surely more than “possible” (Barrett) that Jesus here is being greeted as the coming King in the language of Ps 118, then finds an ass and so fulfils, at least in part, Zch 9:9. John is as close as he is anywhere to providing an implicit commentary on Jewish scriptural messianic texts, with Jesus as the new referent.

12:15

The first to be spoken by John himself, this scriptural quotation, a conflation of at least two Old Testament texts, remains within the context of the Triumphal Entry. Its introductory formula occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Jn 6:31. The quotation divides into two $\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon$ parts: the opening, and the remainder.

The first part, Goodwin notes, does not come from the main text but “from elsewhere”, suggesting Is 44:2 as a possibility.¹ Barrett agrees that “[t]he source of John’s version is obscure”, and suggests that Is 40:9 may influence his recollection, also noting Is 44:2 and Zph 3:16.² Reim prefers Is 40:9 and 62:11.³ Freed is more assertive: the source “is probably Zeph 3:14ff. and might have been constructed from either the Hebrew or the Greek”.⁴ None of these suggestions is satisfactory. Only Is 44:2 contains the exact words $\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon$ (MT אַל־תִּירָה), but the context is not relevant – it would seem to embrace οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in God’s plan of salvation. The passages from Zephaniah could provide only a general influence, not a verbal one, besides, John quotes from Zephaniah nowhere else. In Is 40:9 the MT gives a feminine singular (אַל־תִּירָא ; LXX $\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$) corresponding with $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\ \Sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu$, yet those told not to fear are the messengers, not those living in the land.

As a specific text Is 35:4 is the best candidate in view of the whole tenor of the chapter, which culminates in the redeemed entering Zion with singing during the eschatological age (vv. 9f.), and the fact that it is those living in the land who are told

¹ Goodwin, “Sources?”, 68. Its most recent supporter is Schuchard, *Scripture*, 76-78.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 418.

³ Reim, *Studien*, 30.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 121. For those advocating the two ‘favourites’, Is 40:9 and Zph 3:16, see Schuchard, *Scripture*, 75 nn. 23, 25. Zph 3:16 carries the consensus, inc. Menken, “Joh 12,15”, 198.

not to fear. True, the MT and LXX are plural (אַל־תִּירָאוּ, μὴ φοβεῖσθε), but John’s singular could simply be in conformity to θυγάτηρ Σιών, more appropriate in what is a conflate anyway and in keeping with his methodology thus far. Or, even if he works from memory it could simply point to a copyist’s error in the LXX, his own if he works from the Hebrew, reading a singular jussive instead of a plural *hif’il*.

No text fits exactly and Barrett may be right: “no better explanation is at hand than that John quoted loosely from memory”.¹ This allows for the possibility that John just does not have a particular text in mind, further, that he does not have the Jewish scriptures in mind at all but adds a few words of his own. This has implications for both what he deems constitutes a scriptural quotation and the extent of his editorial license – working from memory or not, he presents his own ‘invention’ as part of (Jewish) scripture. There is still room for manoeuvre. He may legitimately consider that his invention captures the spirit of such scripture, especially if he is aware, as any erudite Jewish scholar would be, however vaguely, of some or all of the above texts. This virtually brings us back full circle to him quoting loosely from memory.

By contrast, scholarship is unanimous that the second part comes from Zch 9:9, which is also quoted in Mt 21:5. Matthew, like John, swaps the opening ... נְיָלִי / חάρε ... Ἱερουσαλημ for a more pithy alternative, clearly, in view of the verbal and contextual agreement, from Is 62:11 (MT לְבַת־צִיּוֹן אָמְרוּ = LXX = Mt εἶπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών). Unhappy with a rejoicing daughter of Zion, Matthew replaces it with something more subdued, the θυγατρὶ Σιών of Is 62:11 providing an almost perfect match for the θύγατερ Σιών of Zch 9:9. This renders the second half of Zch 9:9’s opening parallelism redundant if not positively out of place, besides, Matthew, like John, does not appreciate Hebrew parallelism for what it is.²

John’s version is hybrid – there is “no evidence of its earlier existence, whether in a full translation of the Old Testament or in a Testimony Book”³ – which makes its parallels with Matthew’s version the more striking. John too replaces the greatly

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418. Cf. Lagrange, *Evangile*, 325: “μὴ φοβοῦ est très fréquent lorsqu’il s’agit d’une manifestation divine”.

² He too abandons parallel constructions unless he gives them a specific application.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 418; similarly, Schuchard, *Scripture*, 72.

rejoicing daughter of Zion with something else – a daughter of Zion being urged to stop fearing – and abandons the second half of the opening parallelism for the same reasons Matthew does. He also has an aversion to the mention of Jerusalem, one of the many Jewish icons replaced by Jesus and the ultimate home of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.¹ Perhaps this same aversion influences Matthew. These parallels also suggest that John in fact does take μὴ φοβοῦ from a specific text, for our money Is 35:4. There can certainly be no objection that he would hardly bother conflating such a small element with Zch 9:9, since this is precisely what Matthew does. Moreover, while there is not the verbal link between Is 35:4 and Zch 9:9 that there is between Is 62:11 and Zch 9:9, this would be of little concern to him – his (like Matthew’s!) freedom with scripture ensures that he can happily conflate texts to say what he wants them to say.

The MT and LXX of the first phrase of Zch 9:9 John and Matthew quote correspond closely (הִנֵּה מֶלֶךְךָ יְבוּא לְךָ / ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεται σοι). Both writers agree with the LXX save that John misses out σοι. John may work from the Hebrew, but the simplest hypothesis is that he recognizes the LXX’s wrong use of a dative instead of an accusative with πρὸς.² Either way, he deems it unnecessary to supply πρὸς σε, since the context makes it clear where the king is coming to. Both writers omit the next phrase (הוּא ... צַדִּיק / δίκαιος ... αὐτός), but while they each make use of the rest of the text, they now go their separate ways.

Barrett oversimplifies things when he states that John differs from the Hebrew and LXX of Zch 9:9 in two points – he adds μὴ φοβοῦ and ends with καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου – but these are the most significant alterations. The Hebrew of Zch 9:9 closes with parallelism, עֲנִי וְרֹכֵב עַל-חֲמֹר וְעַל-עִיר בֶּן-אֲתָנֹת, which the LXX translates as πρᾶϋς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκῶς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον, possibly taking עֲנִי as πρᾶϋς because it considers עֲנִי a better reading.³ Matthew follows the LXX save that he renders חֲמֹר in the first half more accurately as ὄνον rather than

¹ With the unbelief in Jerusalem (*cf.* 12:38-40), not least among ὁ ὄχλος that has just cried “Hosanna” (*cf.* 12:34), it would be improper for John to proclaim Jesus as king over the city.

² Menken’s explanation (“Joh 12,15”, 201-204, 208) is unnecessarily complicated.

³ עֲנִי and עֲנִי were easily susceptible to scribal confusion since ם and ן became very similar in appearance after the return, especially during the Qumran period.

as ὑποζύγιον, and in the second half adds ἐπὶ and changes the adjective νέον to υἷον ὑποζυγίου. ¹ John's rendition, by contrast, is extremely loose and abandons the parallelism altogether.

If the choice were between a Hebrew version and the LXX, for the first part of the text Matthew certainly and John quite likely would be working from the latter: this way Matthew follows Is 62:11 LXX verbatim, θυγατρὶ Σιών rendering the θύγατερ Σιών of Zch 9:9 superfluous, while John's θυγάτηρ Σιών is due to his preferring the nominative of address to the vocative of Zch 9:9 LXX. As for the second part, they would appear to use both: John omits עַיִן / προὔς since it is of no interest to his christology; ² perhaps motivated by a wish not to repeat the preposition he substitutes καθήμενος for the LXX's ἐπιβεβηκώς, a perfectly acceptable rendering of רָכַב; ³ and he takes ἐπὶ πῶλον from the LXX, while ὄνου from בֶּן־אֲתָנֹת, ⁴ keeping its sense better than the LXX does while abandoning the parallelism. Yet this does not take into account Matthew's and John's parallels with each other.

John's quotation cannot comprise an offhand hazy recollection of Zch 9:9, and Freed should not allow the "less acceptable alternative ... that "John quoted loosely from memory"". ⁵ Most of John's alterations are specifically motivated and / or related to the Hebrew / LXX, while his parallels with Matthew mean that he *must* be working from fixed tradition, whether oral or written. Further, this fixed tradition must be Christian – John is reproducing traditional material. ⁶ The usual assumption is that his link with Matthew is direct. Indeed, if Freed has his way, "the quotation in Jn is a free artistic composition on the basis of Mt and Mk ...". ⁷ Free artistic composition

¹ ὑποζύγιον is not very accurate for "she asses", but means approximately the same thing as far as the donkey-colt is concerned. Matthew seems to be influenced by the ὑποζύγιον of the LXX that he chooses not to use in the first half of the parallelism (cf. on Jn 1:23; 6:31).

² Freed, "Entry", 338, puts the omission down to "the sake of meter or, rather, because it added nothing to, even detracted from, the theme of Jesus as king".

³ See Reim, *Studien*, 30. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 81-82 (cf. Menken, "Joh 12,15", 206-209) notes the influence of 1 Kgs 1:38,44, though whether on the "OG" or John he is unsure.

⁴ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 83, argues that πῶλον ὄνου "has come from Gen 49.11 OG".

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 121, cf. 80, quoting Barrett, *Gospel*, 418. Barrett in fact confines his comment to μὴ φοβοῦ and καθήμενος ... ὄνου; for other alternatives, see Schuchard, *Scripture*, 74 n. 19.

⁶ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 157, is right: "it is plain that these citations [12:13,15] are simply part of the tradition which John had received". Schuchard, *Scripture*, 71-84, ignores the Matthean parallel to argue that the text is "John's own creation"; cf. Menken, "Joh 12,15", 194-195.

⁷ In "Entry", 337, Freed refers only to Matthew.

undoubtedly, but while Freed’s evidence is impressive this is not the only possibility. As with John’s earlier scriptural quotations from Christian versions, it is equally viable, especially since it is by no means proven that John has access to the Synoptics at all,¹ that he and Matthew work from a common Christian tradition. Indeed, we are again tempted to form a working hypothesis involving *testimonia* – that both writers quote scripture but at one, two or three removes.² Certainly, while the great diversity with which Zch 9:9 is cited in the early church does not point to a set form of text, it *was* regarded as a testimony text to the messiahship of Jesus.

Since our conclusion must be consistent with that for 12:13, our preference remains for a common Christian version (*testimonium* or no). More precision is impossible to attain: Matthew and John have access to the same version,³ or one is dependent on at least a pre-Gospel version of the other.⁴ But it is again possible to build a composite picture of this version from their common features. It replaces the χαίρει σφόδρα of Zch 9:9 LXX with a more subdued alternative, probably an Isaianic conflate; it omits κήρυσσε ... Ἱερουσαλημ; it follows the LXX for ἰδοὺ ... ἔρχεται σοι; it omits δίκαιος ... αὐτός; and ends with πραῦς to the end of the verse, replacing ὑποζύγιον with ὄνον (there is no reason why it should not put it where Matthew does) and incorporating πῶλον. If Matthew does not consult the LXX (and neither he nor John has a good memory of it) we can be more precise. His preserving of the LXX – Is 62:11 and πραῦς ... ὑποζυγίου – also derives from this version.

This version, then, abandons some parallelism, is affected by Jewish polemic, it conflates, is selective, and follows the LXX closely but with apparent recourse to a Hebrew version. Matthew may well follow it precisely save for applying a literal exegesis to the final parallelism by adding the extra ἐπὶ. John follows it less precisely:

¹ Dodd, *Historical*, 155: John’s version of the Triumphal Entry differs from the Synoptists’ “in every point where it is possible to differ in relating the same event”. D.M. Smith, “John 12,12ff. and the Question of John’s Use of the Synoptics”, *JBL* 82 (1963), 58-64, argues against Freed for John’s independence from the Synoptists here; also Menken, “Joh 12,15”, 196; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 71 & n. 1.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 419, leaves this as a possibility, but, as will become clear, his point that “John uses Old Testament *testimonia* more frequently in narrative than in discourse” is not safe.

³ The implication of this, that Mark and Luke could be deliberately omitting reference to Zch 9:9+, is not as unlikely as some might believe. See on 13:18; 19:24,28.

⁴ No-one has suggested that Matthew is dependent on John. If this alternative were true, it is surprising that Matthew’s unforgettable treatment of the final parallelism appears nowhere else.

he uses his own conflate, omits σοι and abandons the final parallelism altogether, still omitting προὔς in the interests of christology while using καθήμενος either out of personal preference or to avoid repeating the preposition. Nonetheless, it is again clear that he inherits much of his scriptural methodology and hermeneutic from the wider Christian legacy.¹

Barrett offers two explanations for John's abandoning of the final parallelism. First, that he quotes "carelessly".² Barrett's choice of words could be better – John's adapting of the Christian version is hardly careless – but one gets his point: John is not concerned with preserving the text verbatim. Second, and more to the point, that while Matthew is not bothered by such trifles as the difficulty imposed by a literal exegesis of the Hebrew parallelism, John is. This need not imply that John is aware of Matthew's version – his understanding of Hebrew parallelism means that he must either have both halves fulfilled, as Matthew does (*cf.* Mt 21:2,7), or abandon one of them. He is certainly capable of the former (*cf.* Jn 19:24), but manifestly, "he was aware of the misunderstanding which the Hebrew parallelism invited ... and rewrote the difficult words simply and clearly, caring more for the sense than for verbal accuracy".³

Despite the widespread use of Zch 9:9 in the early church John is bound by no-one, but maintains his 'user-friendly' approach and applies his own methodology, perhaps more than Matthew does. Far from being slipshod, his usage is perfectly calculated – the scripture is attuned "to give added strength to the writer's theme of Jesus as king", king of Israel.⁴ Indeed, Brown would have us believe that John goes on to echo the universalism in the next verse of Zechariah when he cites the Greeks' request in 12:21.⁵ John again subordinates his scriptural material to his theological, better, christological, concerns.

Finally, John seems to be near the start of an increasing trend among Jewish scriptural exegetes to invoke Zch 9:9. Not least it appears in *Eccles R.* 1.9 as one of

¹ Freed's assumption (*Quotations*, 78ff.), that John uses the LXX or Hebrew *as well as* a Christian (*i.e.*, Synoptic) version, seems an unnecessary complication.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 419.

³ *Ibid.* We are less cautious than Barrett is.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 80; *cf.* Schuchard, *Scripture*, 76-80; Robinson, *Priority*, 232.

⁵ Brown, *John I*, 462f.; *cf.* Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 491.

the three messianic signs, where, as a counterpart to Ex 4:20, in true midrashic style the Messiah is compared to Moses.¹ Judging by his extensive use of Mosaic imagery (*cf. e.g.*, 4:13; 6:1-14,31; 7:37f.) John would surely be aware of any contemporary version of this exegesis – that he deems it not relevant here would simply serve to show that it too is obsequious to his christological concerns of the moment.

12:34

Here ὁ νόμος is indirectly cited by the crowd, and bearing in mind the loose form of scriptural quotation John is capable of, the citation comes close to qualifying as one. Neither its ‘introductory formula’ nor the specific Old Testament passage it is based on appear elsewhere in the New Testament.

A primary question again concerns the source of the text. A simple dogmatic dilemma is being presented. Referring to his coming death, Jesus has stated that he, the son of man (*cf. v. 23*), will be lifted up from the earth (vv. 32-33). The crowd, however, clearly Jewish,² have problems with this. First, they have heard from ὁ νόμος that the Messiah will live forever, so, assuming that the son of man is he,³ how can Jesus say that this figure will be lifted up, *i.e.*, die?⁴ Second, who is this son of man anyway, a figure, it would seem, they have never heard of? To the extent that the son of man is at its centre, this dilemma may genuinely reflect first century Jewish thinking.⁵ But for John, typically, it is not directly over the son of man at all, but Jesus as the Messiah:

¹ Martyn, *History*, 98ff.

² *Cf. v. 9*. The introduction of Greeks in v. 20, however, allows for a non-Jewish element.

³ *Cf. vv. 32, 34*. It suits John’s christology to leave this assumption, “which raises difficulty in the minds of the hearers” (Barrett, *Gospel*, 428), as read.

⁴ That the same uniquely Johannine language appears elsewhere in the Gospel has prompted several attempts at ‘relocating’ 12:34. Bultmann, *John*, 347f., relocates it to 8:28, though he admits that there is no explicit δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι there; McGregor & B. Noack, *Zur Johanneischen Tradition* (Kobenhavn: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1954), 146, relocate it to 3:14, perhaps more cogently since, as van Unnik, “John 12:34”, 174, notes, 8:28 is an accusation of Jesus against the Jews rather than a dogmatic dilemma like 12:34 and 3:14.

⁵ Modern scholarship is divided over how first century Jews used the ‘son of man’ term, but the crowd’s second question fits the opinion that Jesus is the first to apply it to a specific figure. For bibliographies, see Casey, *Prophet*, 55 n. 15; *idem*, “The Use of the Term (א)נש(א) בר in the Aramaic Translations of the Hebrew Bible”, *JSTNT* 54 (1994), 87-118, *passim*; *idem*, “The Development of New Testament Christology. II.4. Son of Man”, *ANRW* II (forthcoming).

if the Messiah is to live forever and Jesus, the son of man, is to die, how can he be the Messiah, and how can he as the Messiah die? To this extent it is peculiarly Johannine – hence the crowd are typically presented as understanding both John's christology, that Jesus is the Messiah and the son of man, and John's terminology, that Jesus' being lifted up is a euphemism for his death.¹

John's interest in identifying the crucified Jesus, who happens to be the son of man, with the Messiah, comes as no surprise. He consistently relegates son of man issues to a back seat not because the term is strange or obscure, nor because he “does not wish to shed light on Jewish usage and terminology”,² but because these issues are of minimal concern to his community. Indeed, his use of the term ‘son of man’ here is incidental – he only includes it because it goes with ὑψωθῆναι (*cf.* 3:14).³ Conversely he consistently elevates Jesus' messianic identity to centre stage, since this provides his community's essential self-identity.⁴ The dilemma, even in that John bothers to present it at all, is part of his community's ongoing christological dispute with the local synagogue, the nub of which is the contrast between ὑψωθῆναι and μένειν: how can Jesus the Messiah be both ‘lifted up’ and live forever?

It is this context that demands that ὁ νόμος refers to Jewish scripture (for much the same reason ἡ γραφή must in 7:42): it can only present a conflict to both John's community *and* the synagogue (alias ὁ ὄχλος) if it refers to something that both deem authoritative – Jewish scripture, whether a specific text or its general tenor.⁵ John may construct the dilemma himself, reinforcing his general apologetic by preempting a possible ‘counterattack’ by the synagogue, but this changes nothing.

¹ E.M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel* (London: SPCK, 1961), 72: “As usual in John, the bystanders are represented as understanding the Johannine idiom.”

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 428. John often does not explain his Jewish terms, because as a Jew writing to Jews such explanations are superfluous.

³ Jesus had not said that the son of man will be lifted up, only that he himself will be.

⁴ John does not answer either of the crowd's questions here. Indeed, while the first provides a major theme of his Gospel, he nowhere attempts to clarify the muddles over the son of man.

⁵ The synagogue cannot be pointing out contradictions between John's christology and his community's own scriptures, since John would then need to answer their objections with more than silent irony. Besides, no scripture peculiar to John's community would say that the Messiah will never die since the crucifixion was fundamental to his community's existence. Moreover, we shall see that John refers to specifically Christian scripture only as γραφή.

Thus Bultmann’s reasoning is difficult to fathom when he offers a number of texts where μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα is used, yet none from the Old Testament. Not that John cannot be aware of these texts, but they provide only further witness to scripture, not substitutes for it. Compliant Old Testament texts abound: the Lord’s counsel (Ps 33:11; Pr 19:21), righteousness (Ps 111:3; 112:3,9), praise (Ps 111:10), truth (Ps 111:2), word (Is 40:8), He Himself (Ps 9:7; 102:12; cf. Dn 6:26), all μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. John need not be dependent on these texts either, but any he is dependent on will derive from Jewish scripture. As it is, most take it for granted that ἐκ τοῦ νόμου at least conveys the meaning of ‘out of [Jewish] scripture generally’.¹

John’s ability to conflate texts, encapsulate series of them, and express general scriptural motifs (cf. 7:37f.,42), makes most scholars concur that this reference – indirect after all – “is somewhat vague”,² and reluctant to pinpoint a specific text over citing a number of possibilities,³ including Ps 89:37-38; 110:4; Is 9:6; Eze 37:25; Dn 7:14 (LXX, Th); 1 En 49:1; 62:14; PsSol 17:4 (dependent on Ps 89:4); *Syb Or* 3:49-50, 767f. Barrett captures this spirit well, “doubtful whether John himself was thinking of particular passages so much as of the common messianic *theologia gloriae* which had to be corrected by the *theologia crucis*”.⁴

Leaving Ps 89:37-38 to one side, all these texts have a degree of relevance⁵ – they all have a messianic context⁶ and they all speak of an eternal reign. Hence it seems likely that at least some of them do not escape John’s attention. Nevertheless none fit the description exactly – none employs the key word μένει and, *contra* John’s text, all deal with the Messiah’s *dominion*, not the Messiah himself.⁷ At this point the consensus appears vindicated. But what of the phrase ἐκ τοῦ νόμου? True, the rabbis sometimes used תורה to refer to scripture generally rather than say to the Decalogue

¹ E.g., Barrett, *Gospel*, 427: “ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, that is, out of Scripture, the Old Testament”.

² Bernard, *John*, II, 443.

³ Both Bultmann and Barrett do this in their commentaries.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 427.

⁵ *Contra* van Unnik, “John 12:34”, 177.

⁶ This makes them an improvement on the texts cited earlier.

⁷ Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 500, misrepresents John’s text: it does not express “[t]he opinion of the Jews that according to the Scriptures the dominion of the Messiah would *abide for ever*”.

or Pentateuch, and John could certainly use νόμος similarly here.¹ But the other two times he uses νόμος in an introductory formula (10:34; 15:25) he refers not to Jewish scripture generally but to specific texts in the Psalms. Bearing this in mind, one notices the predominance of Psalm texts among those that have been put forward.

Indeed, van Unnik goes a long way toward establishing that John has specifically Ps 89:37a (LXX Ps 88:36a) in mind.² The Psalm mentions David being anointed³ and it is interpreted messianically, as PsSol 17, the New Testament⁴ and rabbinic sources⁵ all show. V. 37 itself is quoted messianically in *Gn R.* 97,⁶ and in later Christian *testimonia* serves as witness to Christ the King.⁷

While the LXX renders the Hebrew, “his seed will remain forever”, accurately, the similarity between it and John’s text is striking – apart from the re-positioned μένει, the only difference is John’s telling substitution of ὁ χριστός for τὸ σπέρμα. Jn 12:34 is the only known text to make this substitution, but it is quite in line with Jewish, proto-rabbinic, methods of exegesis. Jn 7:42 shows that in Jewish circles τὸ σπέρμα Δαυὶδ (therefore *a fortiori* υἱός Δαυὶδ) was a well-known name for the Messiah (*cf.* 2 Sa 7:12; Ps 89:4-5); Ga 3:16 shows that Paul, also familiar with Jewish exegesis, too considered τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ (sing.) to refer to the Christ; and *Gn R.* 97 shows that מָשִׁיחַ was understood to be the Messiah.

As a rendering of Ps 89:37a, moreover, the text is specific; it speaks about a personality; and offers a parallel to the most important part of the crowd’s point, not merely to the somewhat general εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Van Unnik would not be so confident if he looked at John’s other scriptural quotations – sometimes John *does* seem to ‘vaguely reminisce’. But the Psalm cannot be dismissed lightly. It also fits in with the formulaic appellation, with John’s penchant for quoting from the Psalms generally, and with his tendency to quote the first half only of parallelisms. It is fair to recognize

¹ He does this elsewhere, albeit not in the introductory formulas. See on 10:34.

² Unnik, “John 12:34”.

³ The LXX uses χρίω (v. 19) and χριστός (vv. 37,50).

⁴ Vv. 4-5 in Ac 2:30; v. 11 in Lk 1:51; v. 21 in Ac 13:22; v. 31 in Re 1:5; 3:14.

⁵ See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, *passim*.

⁶ *Genesis Rabbah* here too may reflect genuine Second Temple Jewish tradition.

⁷ *E.g.*, see Eus. *Dem. Ev.* VII, 3.3ff.

Ps 89:37a as the primary source, specifically the LXX, and that John is also aware both of other relevant passages and of first century Jewish messianic expectations that nurtured a belief in the eternal reign of the Messiah.

This indirect quotation also reveals John's perception and accurate portrayal of how his Jewish contemporaries cite scripture. That they were accustomed to such a midrashic, eisegesic, conflatory methodology is reflected in later rabbinic literature and borne out by the then cutting edges of Jewish thought. John is aware of this thought too. According to some strains of it the messianic age was the final age, and the Messiah's reign was eternal (1 En 38; 48 – 52; 62:14; 2 Bar 73 – 74; *Sib Or* 3:49f.; PsSol 17:4ff.; cf. Justin, *Trypho* 32). Yet according to other strains the messianic age gave way to the final age, and the Messiah's reign was temporary (2 Bar 36 – 40; 4 Ezr 7; cf. 1 Cor 15:28).¹ This explains why John need not explicitly resolve the dilemma: aware that the objections of his community's rogue parents to Jesus' messiahship are contentious, he can leave the protagonists to argue among themselves

Barrett's apparent point, however, that the crowd favour the former *theologia gloriae* while Jesus favours the latter *theologia crucis*, does not appreciate John's implicit solution.² For sure the crowd, though they realize that Jesus' saying refers to his death, "fail to perceive that it is at the same time a prophecy of glory" and that "... the work of Jesus, though truly the fulfilment of the Old Testament, was inconsistent with current Jewish messianic presuppositions". But John in no way wishes to undermine the belief in the Messiah's eternal reign – he would hardly suggest such a thing of Jesus – and in that sense has no quarrel with the *theologia gloriae per se*, only with how it had been debased by "the desires and imaginings of Jewish apocalyptic".³ Rather, he unites it with the *theologia crucis*, passing comment on the nature of Jesus' death. As the realized eschatology impregnating 12:31ff. and the futurist eschatology

¹ See J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah: developments in earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), for the plethora of messianic (and non-messianic) notions within Second Temple Judaism: e.g., *idem*, "From Messianology to Christology" (3-35, here 31), "... it is impossible to define, and difficult to describe the messianology of the early Jews". Also see J.J. Collins, *The Sceptre and the Star* (ABRL; New York, etc.: Doubleday, 1995).

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 428 and *passim*.

³ Bultmann, *John*, 355.

in 14:1ff. bear eloquent witness, while to the crowd the Messiah's being "lifted up" marks the end of his reign, in fact it is only the beginning.

12:38

The first of two juxtaposed scriptural quotations, spoken by John and marking the end of Jesus' public ministry, this one reveals that the listeners' rejecting of Jesus was predetermined by God and foretold by Isaiah.¹ The introductory formula occurs only here in the New Testament, while λόγος occurs in an introductory formula elsewhere in the New Testament only in Lk 3:4 (in the plural) and Jn 15:25.

The source of the quotation is Is 53:1, and the version is almost certainly the LXX² (it represents the Hebrew with sufficient accuracy save for inserting κύριε at the beginning, probably to clarify that the prophet begins his query to God), which John follows verbatim. The perennial alternative, that he uses a *testimonium*, is not impossible (*cf.* 12:13,15), but the evidence is sparse:³ the first half of Is 53:1 is quoted elsewhere in the New Testament only in Ro 10:16 (*cf.* Justin, *Dial.* 42), again following the LXX verbatim. It is not so much that an early Christian *testimonium* would be quoted more frequently as that such a *deus ex machina* is so unnecessary – both writers have access to the LXX and are capable of quoting it directly.

John and Paul both divorce the scripture from its original context and use it to serve their own ends.⁴ For John it is part of his οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic, demonstrating that it is part of God's will that some Jews if not the majority have not believed in what Jesus has said or done; for Paul it provides scriptural precedent to the fact that people

¹ The most recently identified group have been the essentially Jewish ὁ ὄχλος (v. 34; *cf.* vv. 9-11,13). While John would not wish to exculpate entirely the non-Jewish element now on stage, the listeners here remain essentially Jewish: they have a direct link with the Pharisees and belong to the synagogue (*cf.* v. 42), besides, John would hardly use Isaiah to refer to non-Jews.

² As most scholars agree: see Schuchard, *Scripture*, 87 nn. 8-10, and his reference to John's use of ἀποκαλύπτω (88). 12:38 makes even Goodwin ("Sources?", 62) admit that "in whatever other form John may have known his Bible, at least part of it was familiar to him in the LXX".

³ *Cf.* Dodd, *Interpretation*, 39; Lindars, *John*, 436-437; Fortna, *Fourth*, 138.

⁴ *Cf.* Hanson, *Prophetic*, 166, "We must take both quotations [12:38,40] with the utmost seriousness ... according to John the pre-existent Word really did converse with the prophet Isaiah and Isaiah was well aware of the events of the coming messianic age."

will never believe without hearing. John quotes both halves of it, and again betrays a literal understanding of Hebrew parallelism – Barrett and Brown are but two to note that ἀκοῆ refers to Jesus’ words, βραχίων to his actions, and that John is concerned with showing the listeners’ rejection of both (*cf.* v. 37).¹ Paul quotes only the first half, since he is concerned purely with the need to proclaim τὸ ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ.

It is ironic that John uses a Jewish scripture to demonstrate that Jewish unbelief (see v. 42) has been predestined by God. Indeed, that this is his express purpose is apparent from the introductory formula’s opening ἵνα. It is grammatically possible to take this ἵνα as ecbatic – “the result of their so disbelieving was the fulfilment of the word ...” – especially since ἵνα is exegetical elsewhere in John (*e.g.*, 1:27; 17:3). But as Barrett states, this is denied us by vv. 39-40: διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠδύνατο πιστεῦειν, ὅτι The ἵνα has to be given its full purposive force.

What lies behind this statement, that Jews who do not believe in Jesus do so because Is 53:1 has to be upheld, is the dreadful reality that they can never believe because God has so ordained it. John has no intention of ‘toning down’ this brutal fact, and does not when he makes it clear both here (*cf.* 12:32) and elsewhere that the exceptions comprise those Jews who believe that Jesus is the Messiah. John, himself one of the exceptions, could not be more abstruse, while his scriptural quotation could not be more vindicatory of his community.

Barrett, however, misrepresents John when he clarifies his meaning as being that “the hardening of *Israel* was intended by God”.² John does not mention *Israel* here and could not, since as far as he is concerned those Jews who have believed in Jesus are themselves still part of *Israel* (*cf.* 1:47). *Israel* is nothing to do with the present discussion.³ Barrett, noting John’s references to believing Jews, offers the rider, correct for what it is, that his words “were not the cut and dried statement of a philosophical theology”, but rather, as is typical of John, “an absolute statement followed by a qualification”. Yet were *Israel* rather than unbelieving Jews the referent

¹ *Cf.* Westcott, *John*, 184-185; Menken, “Joh 12,40”, 197; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 88-89.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 431, my italics.

³ John has no polemic against *Israel*. Just recently he has had the (Jewish) crowd proclaiming Jesus as *Israel*’s king (12:13).

John's words would be followed not by a qualification, nor even a paradox, but by a contradiction. John deals in the former two, but not the last one.

12:40

The second of these juxtaposed scriptural quotations, given in the same context, occasioned by the same unbelief, and spoken again by John, is also, as the introductory formula once more makes explicit, from Isaiah. The actual formula (the whole of v. 39 serves as something of an introduction) occurs nowhere else in the New Testament in this precise form, though Ro 15:12 is close enough.

Again the source of the quotation is certain, Is 6:10,¹ where the Hebrew and LXX follow the same clear structure (A1 A2 A3 – B3 B2 B1 – C).² The LXX translates the Hebrew with sufficient but not total accuracy. Its opening ἐπαχύνθη is translated from what in the MT is a ms *hif'il* imperative, וְשִׁמְרֵהוּ, as if it were a 3ms *hof'al* perfect, וְשִׁמְרֵהוּ; βαρέως ἤκουσαν from what in the MT is a ms *hif'il* imperative, וְהִכְבֵּד, as if it were a 3ms *hif'il* perfect, וְהִכְבֵּד; and ἐκάμυσαν from what in the MT is a ms *hif'il* imperative, וְשִׁעַ, as if it were a 3ms *hif'il* perfect, וְשִׁעַ. While the final לוֹ רָפָא לֹא is an impersonal idiomatic expression that requires some recasting in order to be intelligible in the Greek, καὶ ἰαθήσεται or better, ἰαθή, as a passive, would have been closer than καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς reflects nothing more sinister than bad translation. Yet that the LXX's rendering of the Hebrew consonantal text consistently prefers perfects to imperatives (*cf.* v. 9) is hardly accidental. The translators wish to stress that sinful, disobedient Judah has hardened *itself* in wilful rejection of God's mandates. Not that the rendering need be the result of a conscious policy, the translators probably merely presume. But this does not make it less significant, quite the reverse.

¹ Recourse to other texts, esp. from Isaiah, by Freed, *Quotations*, 87-88; Brown, *John* I, 486; Menken, "Joh 12,40", 205-206, 208-209; Lieu, "Blindness", 88; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 102-105, is interesting but largely unnecessary.

² *Cf.* Lindars, *John*, 438; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 93.

John differs from the Hebrew and LXX considerably. Beginning with A3, he puts the verb at the start of the sentence, *contra* MT and LXX which put it at the end, moves the possessive pronoun from after the noun (LXX – the MT has suffixes) to before it, and omits the opening conjunction. He translates **הַשֵּׁעַ (שׁעע)** with τυφλόω rather than with the LXX’s καμμύω, while like the LXX he abandons the Hebrew’s imperative mood for an indicative perfect: yet unlike the LXX he makes God, better, Jesus (v. 41), the subject, not Judah – *He* is the One blinding *their* eyes.¹

Moving on to A1, he adds καὶ, omits γὰρ (LXX), transposes ἡ καρδία (**לב**) from the middle of the sentence to the end, and abandons **הַיְהוָה הַעֲרָה** / τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου for the more general αὐτῶν. He translates **הַשְּׁמִינ׃ (שׁמין)** as ἐπώρωσεν² rather than as the LXX’s ἐπαχύνθη, again like the LXX abandoning the Hebrew’s imperative mood for an indicative perfect. With Jesus still the subject, **לֵב** / ἡ καρδία has to become accusative – *He* is the One hardening *their* hearts.

Omitting A2 and B2, the references to hearing, John passes on to the second half of the verse. He makes no radical alterations. Beginning with B3, he renders the Hebrew as the LXX does save for translating **פֶּן** as ἵνα μὴ + subjunctive – the LXX’s μήποτε is equivalent but a little more dramatic. He then renders B1 as the LXX does save for translating the verb **יְבִינ׃ (בין)** as νοήσωσιν rather than as συνῶσιν, putting it before the noun and article instead of after. He ends with C, again following the LXX save for translating the verb **וְשָׁב (שב)** with στρέφω rather than ἐπιστρέφω.

With the differences between John and the MT / LXX such as they are, more of a clue to the version John uses may lie with the Synoptics / Acts: Ac 28:26-27 quotes Is 6:9-10, Mt 13:14-15 quotes vv. 9b-10, Mk 4:12 loosely quotes v. 9 and the last line of v. 10, and Lk 8:10 & Mt 13:13 loosely quote v. 9.³ Freed is right: despite the

¹ *Contra* Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 156, the context demands that Jesus rather than God is the subject. So Lieu, “Blindness”, and the definitive Evans, *Isaiah 6:9-10*, 129-136; Freed, *Quotations*, 87, is in two minds. Cyril of Jerusalem’s contention, favoured by Loisy, that the devil is the subject, is motivated by the desire to avoid such an unpalatable statement. Cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 91 n. 1. Schuchard’s argument that Jesus’ ἀκοή is the subject (*Scripture*, 100) is strange.

² ἐπῆρωσεν, read by P^{66 75} ⳉ K W pc, is an attempt to find a more suitable verb: so Menken, “Joh 12,40”, 192-194; πεπώρωκεν, read by B² f¹ ⲙⲗ, is an attempt to find a more suitable tense and to assimilate to τετύφλωκεν. See Barrett, *Gospel*, 432; cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 93 n. 11(!).

³ Cf. Mk 8:17b-18a; Jn 9:39.

popularity of Is 6:9-10 as a quotable text in the early church, “the diversity of text-form of the quotation ... gives no evidence that *testimonia* were used at all”.¹ Yet the Synoptics all use the same context: they give the quotation as Jesus’ reason for speaking in parables, and juxtapose it to his explanation of the parable of the sower.

Mark, while missing out v. 9a which refers to “this people” and switching the ‘hearing’ and ‘seeing’ clauses, surely works from the LXX. He uses the same verbs for v. 9, retains the same syntax, and is identical for the last line of v. 10 save for substituting ἀφεθῆ for ἰάσομαι (he takes μήποτε from earlier in the verse).² His other differences – he introduces the quotation with ἵνα, uses the present subjunctive rather than the future indicative (emphatic negative), and puts the ‘outsiders’ in the third rather than second person plural – have the one intent: to marginalize the ‘outsiders’ and present them as the direct product of God’s preordained decree. Since he must be aware – happily aware – that his rendering is loose, his theological bent, which *contra* the LXX is heavily predestinarian, is deliberate.³

Mt 13:13 and Lk 8:10 too miss out v. 9a, switch the ‘hearing’ and ‘seeing’ clauses, and put the ‘crowds’ in the third person. Yet Matthew prefers the theological bent of the LXX, hence he introduces the quotation with ὅτι and uses the present indicative (abandoning the emphatic negative future) to suggest that those who are blind and deaf are so by their own volition and sin. Luke prefers that of Mark, hence like him he introduces the quotation with ἵνα and uses the present subjunctive, positively highlighting the ‘predestination-to-destruction’ theology. Since both Matthew and Luke have ‘LXX versions’ elsewhere and thus must also be happily aware that their respective renderings are loose, their theological bents too are deliberate.

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 122. On the widespread Jewish and Christian use of the text, see Evans, *Isaiah 6:9-10*, 129-136. Lieu, “Blindness”, 86ff., suggests that the same provenance of thought is frequently echoed elsewhere.

² See M.D. Goulder, “Those Outside (Mk 4:10-12)”, *NovT* 33 (1991), 289-302. Manson, *Teaching*, 75-77, argues that Mark, like Jesus, cites Isaiah in a targumic form; so does Chilton, *Galilean*, 90-98; *idem* (& Evans), “Jesus”, 300-304, the latter countering Goulder. Mark certainly has access to *Tg. Jon.* for v. 9, but, *contra* Black, *Aramaic*, 211-216, esp. 215, this is not his primary source. We will argue that John too is aware of and influenced by this targumic form.

³ Mark (or Jesus) has no qualms about such ‘tampering’ with the LXX – his is the only New Testament rendering of v. 10 to incorporate ἀφεθῆ. His different application of v. 9 in 8:17b-18a demands that he now abandon this theological bent.

They clearly work from Mark, even adopting his context. Since they also bear similarities to each other that are not apparent in Mark – they ignore v. 10 and make the same reduction to the ‘seeing’ clause ¹ – it is likely that Luke also has access to Matthew. Essentially, however, Mt 13:10-13 & Lk 8:9-10,18b derive from Mk 4:10-12,25. Why Matthew should wish to transpose Mk 4:25 does not concern us, but it seems that both he and Luke feel that Mark’s version of Is 6:9-10 is insufficient. Thus they re-quote the two verses, Matthew straightaway while Luke in his second volume, and this time adhere closely to the LXX.

Save that Matthew again omits v. 9a, their ‘re-quotations’ are the only New Testament versions to agree with each other exactly: they follow the LXX verbatim for the part they share, save for omitting the αὐτῶν of καὶ ... ἤκουσαν in v. 10. ² One could argue that they both work from the LXX independently and their one common minor omission is coincidental. Certainly Matthew works from it: he omits v. 9a since he has already followed Mark’s lead in not starting the quotation until after this clause, and omits αὐτῶν either accidentally or because he considers it, rightly, redundant. Yet Luke surely works from *him*, no doubt unaware of the missing αὐτῶν but unhappy about the missing v. 9a hence he adds his own loose if not badly memorized version of it. ³ Recourse to Q or *testimonia* is not necessary.

The plot has thickened. All four Gospel writers if not Jesus himself re-phrase and re-order Is 6:9/10 to suit their respective needs. John even shares some of his particular adaptations: all four Gospels put the text’s referents in the third person, while he, Mark and Luke heighten the predestinarian emphasis. ⁴ Yet his version remains distinctive: aside from his myriad of grammatical peculiarities, John does not

¹ Matthew’s longer version and Luke’s shorter version of the ‘hearing’ clause are purely a matter of taste. Matthew’s οὐκ ἀκούουσιν is not exactly in keeping with Mark either.

² A Matthean textual variant that includes it (⌘ C 33 892 1241 *pc* it vg^{mss} sy^{s.c.p}) is best explained as the result of a scribal desire to conform to the LXX. *Cf.* UBS⁴.

³ In fact Luke merely substitutes the locative accusative, πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, for the dative τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, and consequently has to move καὶ εἰπόν to the end of the clause. This is why he surely works from Matthew rather than *vice versa*: for Matthew to miss out Luke’s hybrid rendering of v. 9a requires him to have an exact memory of the LXX, and Luke mysteriously to render the LXX loosely for the opening clause yet follow it virtually precisely for the remainder.

⁴ *Cf.* Dunn, “Question”, 200 n. 94, “The use of Isa 6:10 in 12:40 is ... closely parallel to that in Acts 28:26-27.”

bother with v. 9 at all, he is the only one to quote only from v. 10, and he is the only one to omit the hearing clauses.

He does not work from any of the Synoptics (if he is aware of them) ¹ – one could suggest that he works from Mt 13:14-15 (even Ac 28:26-27!), but only because it is little more than the LXX *redivivus*. Rather, he works from Jewish scripture, if not specifically from the LXX. Mark's loose rendering of Is 6:9-10 LXX and Matthew's precise rendering of Is 6:9-10 LXX offer clear precedents for this.

Many of John's alterations now become readily explainable and, like the Synoptists', are seen to be theologically motivated. His stance is omened by the ὅτι of the introductory formula – “They could not believe for this reason, namely, that Isaiah had said ...”: ² what predestinarian language the LXX and Matthew downplay, he, like Mark and Luke, emphasizes with relish. ³

Some of his alterations to A3 are incidental: he may put it first because of his general tendency to make blindness such a strong motif for spiritual unbelief – he wishes to give it prominence ⁴ – or simply because of his own brand of symmetry (A3 A1 – B3 B1 – C). ⁵ It is certainly incidental that he re-positions the verb to first place and the possessive pronoun to before the noun, and he has no choice but to omit the opening conjunction. However, while τυφλόω is accurate enough as a translation of שָׁעַר, ⁶ he manifestly prefers it to the LXX's equally accurate καμμύω since one tends to *shut* or *close* one's own eyes and *blind* the eyes of someone else. For him, the unbelievers' eyes are 'blinded' not by themselves but by Jesus. John may presume this interpretation, either inferring Jesus' judicial blinding from His commanding of Isaiah,

¹ See Dodd, *Historical*, 58 n. 1; Braun, *Jean II*, 26; Menken, “Joh 12,40”, 202-203; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 92-106; even Freed does not suggest otherwise.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 431.

³ Luke's reversion to the LXX in Ac 28:26-27 is as much because he is repeating Matthew as it is due to a change of context. C.A. Evans, “The Function of Isaiah 6.10 in Mark and John”, *NovT* 24 (1982), 124-138, argues that Mark and John use Is 6:10 to show that God (or Christ) has deliberately blinded his people only so that the cross might take place: he too is motivated by the desire to avoid John's unpalatable statement. Cf. B. Hollenbach, “Lest they should turn and be forgiven”, *BT* 34.3 (1983), 312-321, who translates Jn 12:40b as “because of course the last thing they want is to see with their eyes and perceive with their hearts and turn for me to heal them” (320).

⁴ See Lieu, “Blindness”, 85; cf. Schlatter, *Johannes*, 275.

⁵ Cf. Menken, “Joh 12,40”, 195; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 102.

⁶ שָׁעַר means ‘close’ or ‘shut’, but since Isaiah is to do it to Israel ‘blind’ is legitimate.

or, if he works from the Hebrew, reading a 3ms *hif'il* perfect (פָּשַׁע) in place of a ms *hif'il* imperative, as the LXX ostensibly does. Again, such a subliminal predestinarian emphasis would be all the more significant. But while he undoubtedly legitimates this emphasis from Jesus' commanding of Isaiah, it is most likely to be the result of a conscious policy since he too surely has access to the 'non-predestinarian' Is 6:10 LXX. Either way, what motivates him is clear – it is (Jewish) unbelievers rather than Israel who are the recipients of Jesus' judgement.

Some of his alterations to A1 are incidental too: he must add καὶ and omit γὰρ since the clause now follows another one, and his transposing of τὴν καρδίαν to the end makes no overall difference. But it is again his predestinarian emphasis that makes him alter the verb to ἐπώρωσεν (as a translation of פָּשַׁע, πωρόω is accurate enough though why he should prefer it to the LXX's παχύνω is a mystery ¹): he abandons the MT imperative for the LXX perfect, probably the result of a conscious policy, because he wishes “to emphasize the judgement as the action of God”. ² Yet this predestinarian emphasis must be properly understood. He changes הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵי / τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου to αὐτῶν hardly because an explicit reference to the subject does not fit in what is no longer the first clause – he could easily transpose the phrase to his own first clause. Rather, it is again because he does not want to single out Israel – only those (Jews) who cannot believe are the butt of his text. Given the context, he only needs to use the possessive pronoun to make the point. ³

His peculiar omission of the 'hearing' clauses is also intentional: ⁴ it is in the interests not simply of literary economy but also context – he is still referring to those who have *seen* the signs performed by Jesus (v. 37). As for his rendering of C, he may use καὶ ἰάσομαι “with an allusion to the inner meaning of Jesus' miracles of healing”, ⁵

¹ Schuchard's recourse to Job 17:7 “OG” (*Scripture*, 103-104), however, is interesting.

² Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 502. John handles the text differently in 9:39 to make the same point.

³ Barrett's paraphrase, “Not once only, in the ministry of Jesus, but again and again throughout its history, Israel had been confronted with the necessity of birth from above, only to reject the prophetic message and the Spirit of God” (*Gospel*, 431), is inaccurate – John presents it as *God's will* that (*Jewish*) *unbelievers* reject the message of Christ. Freed, *Quotations*, 88, puts it better: “the unbelief of the multitude is explained as predestined by God and fulfills what Jn believed had been prophesied concerning Jesus”.

⁴ See Freed, *Quotations*, 88; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 101-102.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 431.

or he may be merely following the LXX.¹ His whole quotation, like those in the Synoptics, is a re-working of Jewish scripture based on theological considerations. He is “adapting his Old Testament material to his own purpose”.²

It is dangerous to assume from the Synoptic precedent that he works from the LXX rather than from a Hebrew *Vorlage*. What follows for the Synoptics does not always follow for John, and it is frankly impossible to pinpoint what version he uses. Since he does not make use of the characteristic words of the LXX (ἐπαχύνθη, ἐκάμυσαν, συνῶσιν) it is unlikely that he uses the LXX exclusively, making only volitional changes. But he does seem to use it in part – as Freed points out, while the version John’s quotation follows up to and including ἵνα μὴ is anyone’s guess, “[o]f the last twelve words, ten are in exactly the same form as in the LXX”.³ Equally, *contra* Burney, it is unlikely that he uses a Hebrew version exclusively, making only volitional changes. But again he seems to use one in part – Barrett maintains that he “seems to be nearer to the Hebrew than to the LXX ... and differs little from [it] except in the omission of the reference to ears and hearing (this is of course a difference from the LXX also), and in the mood and person of the verbs **השמע** – ἐπώρωσεν, and **השע** – τετύφλωκεν”.⁴

This makes Barrett’s contention – that John is again “quoting loosely, perhaps from memory” – surprising. It is not impossible, but nor is it “the simplest hypothesis”. For starters, it is ‘the simplest hypothesis’ that John works from Is 53:1 LXX in v. 38. This does not prove that he has access to the LXX for the rest of Isaiah, but as part of a cumulative evidence it points in that direction. This being the case, if John now quotes from memory it is because he has not bothered to turn the scroll – unlikely for such an erudite writer.⁵ Moreover, the quotation’s uncanny resemblance in places to

¹ Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 428f., believes that the LXX must form the background to the quotation since “the words *and I should heal them* belong to the LXX and not to the Hebrew text”.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 431. Cf. Freed, *Quotations*, 88: “The theological view of John is responsible for his form of the quotation of Isa 6:9f.”; also Schuchard, *Scripture*, esp. 106.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 122.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 431.

⁵ Bultmann’s contention (*John*, 452 n. 2) that the quotations in Jn 12:38,40 are from different hands since only the former follows the LXX is not sustainable either way. It is already clear that John has no set practice regarding what versions he uses.

the Hebrew are too close to be merely vague recollections. Most fundamentally, however, all of John's significant alterations can be put down to a theological motive, not to a faulty or lax memory. It is the simplest hypothesis that he uses the Hebrew *and* Greek text, and takes the bits of each he likes best to produce his own hybrid.¹

The popularity of Is 6:9-10 in the early church lay in its usefulness as a proof-text to those who faced unbelief.² Looking at John's quotation not just within the context of the Gospel (esp. ch. 9)³ but within this wider context of contemporary Christian exegesis reflects a diffuse tradition of interpreting the text in terms of blinding and hardening. Lieu notes, "The New Testament points to a continuing tradition of expressing obduracy or the inability or refusal to respond which owes its ultimate inspiration to Isa 6:9-10 but which has remained more constant in theme than in precise vocabulary".⁴ She even suggests, convincingly, that while John's use of *πωρόω* to express "hardening" has no clear precedent in the LXX or other Jewish literature or Greek writers, the evidence of Mark and Paul (who also relate the term to Is 6:10⁵) indicates that it is not peculiar to him. Thus John's use of Is 6:10 reveals his ability to draw from contemporary Christian ideas to form his Gospel.

This means that he does not simply extrapolate his exegesis of Is 6:10 from his community's fate at the hands of the local synagogue, which some treatments of Jn 9 & 12 might suggest. "Rather, a theological understanding of unbelief as blindness, with a degree of tension as to the question of ultimate responsibility, had already been worked out both in direct exegesis of Isa 6:9-10 and in the interpretation of the healing of the blind in the light of that tradition."⁶ Lieu argues that only subsequently was this exegetical tradition of the early church with its background in Jewish exegetical

¹ So Menken, "Joh 12,40", 198-209; cf. Lindars, *John*, 438: John uses "a Palestinian non-LXX form with strong Semitic colouring, though beginning to undergo modification in the direction of conformity with the LXX". Schuchard, *Scripture*, 96-106, is wrong to discount John's parallels with the Hebrew; cf. Goodwin, "Sources?", 71. Dodd, *Historical*, 58 n. 1; Lieu, "Blindness", 87-88, revert to a *testimonium* explanation.

² John's setting of the text in retrospective comment on the course of Jesus' ministry (cf. Ac 28:26-27) may reflect a more 'original' application than Mark's more limited one.

³ Cf. Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 156.

⁴ Lieu, "Blindness", 88.

⁵ Mk 6:52; 8:17f.; Ro 11:7; 2 Cor 3:14; cf. 1QS 4.11.

⁶ Lieu, "Blindness", 90.

patterns related to and modified by the experience of John's community in becoming excluded from the synagogue. Indeed, it may have been this very 'sectarian' self-consciousness reflected in John's blindness / sight antithesis that left no room for them there. Such entrenchment of his community meant that, for John, those who are blind are permanently so and cannot believe.¹

John could well describe the theophany of Is 6:5f., which he refers to in 12:41, as the glory of God. But his hermeneutical device of making God the subject is never so strong, and it is most likely that he is describing the glory of Jesus. Indeed, commentators from Westcott through Reim to Hanson are agreed that John presents 12:37-41 as a vision of the Logos identified with Jesus, the pre-existent Messiah. This is all the more sure since "a naked vision of God" contradicts 1:18.² It also allows John's exegesis a Jewish setting. In *Tg. Is* 6:5, for example, in which Isaiah sees "the Lord's glory", the theophany is described not as "the King, the Lord of hosts" but as "the glory of the *shekinah* of the King of the ages" (יקר שכינה מלך עלמים).

Neither the Targum nor John are the first to interpret Is 6:5f. this way. While the Targum shows that Isaiah's vision created difficulty, Sir 48:22-25, which picks Isaiah out in that εἶδεν τὰ ἔσχατα ... ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ὑπέδειξεν τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι αὐτὰ, alluding to Is 6:1-5, shows that this passage had already opened the door to and become the subject of considerable speculation. Young suggests that not just Sirach but Jews generally by the early second century BCE, including deuterio-Isaiah, had indulged in considerable eschatological speculation over Isaiah and his book. Indeed, the more apocalyptic sections of the Ascension of Isaiah, from which Sirach's words are immediately drawn, too depend on this pre-Christian Jewish speculation on the enigmatic vision of Isaiah in Is 6.³

¹ If Lieu is right (*ibid*) that 1 Jn 2:11 represents a different thread within the tradition of interpreting Is 6, this would prohibit identifying the Gospel's course with that of the community as a whole.

² Young, "Study", 215. Cf. Reim, *Studien*, 39; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 167; Carson, "John", 250-251; Menken, "Jon 12,40", 209: "Der Prophet hat in seiner Tempelvision den praexistenten Jesus und nicht Gott selbst gesehen."

³ See Young, "Study", 217-218.

Barrett’s caution that it is only “possible” that John is aware of something like the Targum is too pessimistic.¹ Nor is it enough to say that what motivates John to suggest that Isaiah saw the glory of Christ is not any such precedent but the general Christian tradition that “all the Old Testament spoke of Christ”. The Jewish precedent provided the necessary precursor to the general Christian tradition.² That John has specific knowledge of the Targum and the Isaianic speculation, and in his “Pescher-Zitat”³ extends the midrashic method, substituting Jesus for the *Shekinah* of the rabbis, makes eminent sense as part of his replacement Christology. The theme of Jesus as the glory of God is strongly echoed, if only implicitly, in Jn 14 – 17 (e.g., 14:9); and we will later see the common proposition that in 1:14 σκηνώω recalls the Hebrew שָׁכַן from which the intertestamental divine periphrasis, שְׁכִינָה, is derived.

Jn 12:36-41, then, supports the contention propounded by Young and others that John is familiar with midrashic techniques applied to the book of Isaiah.⁴ More generally, it reveals his ability to draw from contemporary Jewish as well as Christian ideas to form his Gospel. His terminology is perfect from both a Johannine *and* a Jewish perspective: it is a Johannine-Jewish exegesis of an Old Testament text.

13:18

One of two quotations of fulfilment spoken by Jesus, and part of his discourse to the disciples after the feet washing, this scripture, Ps 41:10 (LXX Ps 40:10),⁵ is quoted nowhere else in the New Testament (though it is alluded to in Mk 14:18). This and the fact that the Psalm “apparently was not even regarded as messianic, preclude

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 432; cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 98 n. 30. Le Déaut, “Targumic”, 273f., had already revealed 12:41 as a clear example of John’s frequent assuming of specifically targumic traditions.

² Barrett refers to Philo, *Som.* 1.229f. (where Gn 31:13 καλεῖ δὲ θεὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον), which demonstrates the pervasiveness of the Jewish precedent. On John’s presentation of the Christian tradition (e.g., 8:56; cf. 1 Pe 1:10) see A.T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1965), esp. 104-108.

³ Menken, “Joh 12,40”, 209.

⁴ Young, “Study”, 230f. Young’s examination of Jn 12:36-41 forms part of his overall thesis, which ably demonstrates that John is the latest in a long line of Isaian-centric exegetes.

⁵ Menken, “John 13.18”, 69ff., adds 2 Sa 18:28; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 114-117, adds 2 Sa 20:21.

Jn's use of *testimonia* ...".¹ The introductory formula occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in the Gospel itself, without ἀλλά, in 17:12; 19:24,36.² An unlikely option for the formula is that ἵνα plus subjunctive is not a purpose clause but a substitute for the imperative – “but let the Scripture be fulfilled”; either way it points to the prescience of Jesus as the Logos, and to the Psalm's christocentricity.

The LXX clumsily renders עָקַב עָלַי הַגְּדִיל as ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν, wrecking a Hebrew idiom that means “to scorn”: it interprets עָקַב as πτερνισμόν, while it translates הַגְּדִיל literally as ἐμεγάλυνεν. John's version does not correspond exactly to either. He renders עָקַב as πτέρναν, ³ remaining literally faithful to the MT, ⁴ which suggests that he feels more at home with this Old Testament idiom than the translators of the LXX do; ⁵ yet he renders הַגְּדִיל as ἐπήρην, which, though it may communicate better since the Greek reader could find ἐμεγάλυνεν confusing, is less literally faithful than the LXX; his τρώγων and the LXX's ἐσθίων are synonymous.

This incongruous evidence ⁶ makes it difficult to determine whether John works from the LXX, Hebrew or neither. In places he adheres to the LXX quite closely, even when it deviates somewhat from the MT: he opens with an articular participle, uses the same preposition, ἐπί, and possibly the same pronoun, μου; elsewhere he adheres more closely to the Hebrew: not only is he apparently familiar with the Hebrew idiom, he follows לֶחֶם יְמִי – at least as it is pointed by the MT – in keeping ‘bread’ singular. ⁷ Freed reflects the dilemma admirably: “Jn may be closer to the Heb. text for about half of the quotation than to the Gr.; but it is impossible to tell

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 123. Cf. Dodd, *Historical*, 37.

² 19:24 has a textually suspect ἢ λέγουσα. 19:28 substitutes τελειωθῆ for πληρωθῆ.

³ Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 518 (also Loisy, *Quatrième*, 392), takes this as the sudden kick of a horse. Barrett, *Gospel*, 445, takes it as the action of one who “shakes off the dust of his feet against another”; similarly, E.F.F. Bishop, “He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me” – John xiii.18 (Ps xl.9)”, *ExpTim* 70 (1958-59), 331-333, takes it as an insult and sign of hostility. Brown, *John* II, 544, and Lindars, *John*, 454, offer other suggestions.

⁴ We read the Hebrew as the present participle of עָקַב, ‘seize’ (*Pi'el*, ‘hold’).

⁵ Sym. too avoids the Hebrew idiom (καταμεγαλύνθη μου ἀκολουθῶν), though Aq. and Th. do not (καταμεγαλύνθη μου πτέρνα).

⁶ Barrett, *Gospel*, 444: “On the whole John is nearer to the Hebrew ... than to the Greek of the LXX ... though he departs from the Hebrew where the LXX renders it literally”.

⁷ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 109-117, discounts this evidence in favour of 2 Sa 20:21 “OG”.

definitely”.¹ By continuing, “[i]t is a free adaptation to fit the immediate context”, however, he makes more obvious another possibility. Could it not be, as is the case in 12:40, that John uses both to construct his own, characteristically more economical, version? After all, while John is undoubtedly rewriting freely, his alterations are again theologically motivated: he changes the LXX’s ἐσθίων for τρώγων, the only New Testament writer to do so, since the latter appears in the discourse on the Bread of Life (6:54,56ff.), and he prefers the singular ἄρτον since it suggests the eucharistic loaf of which Judas has presumably just partaken.²

John’s relation to the Synoptics remains of special interest. Mk 14:21 (and Mt 26:24) is anomalous in that it gives what looks like an introductory formula but no subsequent quotation. καθὼς γέγραπται could concern what immediately precedes, viz. the general statement that the Son of man goes, in which case it may be no more than a general reference to scripture. It probably, however, concerns the whole of the ensuing incident in which the Son of man is betrayed by Judas, one of those eating bread with him – “The Son of man will go *just as* it is written ...”. In this case it must be a genuine introductory formula, since such a specific incident requires a specific scripture, one which refers to Jesus’ betrayer, a betrayer, to boot, that eats (eucharistic) bread with him. The only candidate is Ps 41:10.

Everything now fits. Mark, aware of the relevance of the Psalm, alludes to it in 14:18 – ὁ ἐσθίων μετ’ ἐμοῦ is certainly hard to understand unless it comes from the Psalm – and this provides the solution to the mystery in v. 21. Both Matthew and Luke (22:22) work from Mark but, failing to spot the relevance of 14:18, remain unaware of the Psalm. Matthew is prepared to accept Mk 14:21 without further ado, and repeats καθὼς γέγραπται while failing to spot its real significance, while Luke, uneasy about the apparent lack of a specific scripture, tones down the introductory formula to a more innocuous κατὰ τὸ ὠρισμένον.³

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 123. Most scholars, inc. Westcott, *John*, xiv, 193; Schlatter, *Johannes*, 285; Reim, *Studien*, 40-41; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 156-157; Bernard, *John*, 467; even Menken, “John 13.18”, are too hasty in agreeing that John simply translates the Hebrew.

² Cf. Menken, “John 13.18”, 72.

³ This invalidates the assumption that Mark’s scriptural methodology is primitive and virtually limited to the use of proof-texts: his scriptural nuance here is too subtle for his literary descendants! It

It is tempting to assume, as Freed does, that John similarly takes his cue from Mark, but ‘improves’ things by actually quoting Ps 41:10. That this is done under direct influence from Mk 14:18 whose relevance John alone perceives is strongly suggested, so Freed, by the fact that μετ’ ἐμοῦ before τὸν ἄρτον in Jn 13:18 ¹ echoes the final words in Mk 14:18. John’s “underlying motive probably was to supplement the story of the traitor as told by the Synoptists, especially Mk and Mt. The words of Mk 14:21 and Matt 26:24 ... provided the necessary incentive ...”. ²

Yet this depends upon the contentious hypothesis that John is dependent upon Mark (let alone Matthew) at all; it wrongly implies that he does not care for introductory formulas unaccompanied by scriptural quotations; ³ and it requires that he sees in Mark what both Matthew and Luke fail to see. Besides, he has good reasons of his own for quoting the Psalm without that of simply clarifying an ambiguous scriptural reference. Apart from those contained in τρώγων and the singular ἄρτον, the quotation stresses two of his key theological overtones. First, that the action of Judas is the result of God’s divine will as decreed in scripture; second – and whatever ἐγὼ οἶδα τίνας ἐξελεξάμην precisely means ⁴ – that Jesus maintains his Logos qualities, aware of the events to occur in his life, indeed, having himself ordained them.

Freed’s supposition is not without merit, and some of its defects are alleviated if John works from Mark but arrives at the Psalm under his own steam, or at least thinks he does. But it fails to take into account any alternative. It is too unlikely that

also invalidates Barrett’s model of a gradual ‘maturing’ of scriptural methodology from Mark *via* Matthew / Luke to John. Indeed, Mk 14:21 is reminiscent of Jn 6:45; 10:34; He 2:6, where the onus is on the reader to identify the text. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 174, argues that Matthew and Luke actively avoid all scriptural reference to save face for Jesus.

¹ It is read by P⁶⁶ Ⲙ A D W Θ Ψ f^{1.13} Ⲏ lat sy bo – probably correctly since μου may be a scribal assimilation to the LXX (so Barrett, *Gospel*, 444). Menken, “John 13.18”, 61; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 108 n. 5, prefer μου: Schuchard takes μετ’ ἐμοῦ as a scribal assimilation to Mark.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 92. All doubt in Freed’s mind is gone by *op. cit.*, 123. Those who argue for John’s independence from Mark include Dodd, *Historical*, 36-37; Brown, *John II*, 571; Reim, *Studien*, 41; Moo, *Passion*, 237, 240; Menken, “John 13.18”, 64-65. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 107-108, notes Mark’s allusion to the Psalm but too argues for John’s independence.

³ In 17:12 and 18:32 the introductory formulas are accompanied only by *allusions* to scripture, Christian scripture at that. In 7:42 and 12:34 the accompanying quotations are indirect.

⁴ Hanson’s convincing suggestion (*Prophetic*, 172f.), that it is an implicit reference to Nu 16:5 (*cf. Tg. Ps.-J.; Tg. Onq.*), quoted in 2 Tm 2:19, makes it more likely that Judas is not among those Jesus has chosen. See Barrett, *Gospel*, 444. This also makes more sense of Jesus’ implicit claim to divinity in 13:19, ἐγὼ εἰμι (which Schnackenburg, *Johannesevangelium III*, 31, describes as “christologisch ... der göttliche Gesandte”): Jesus works in the same way God does in Nu 16.

Mark and John think of the Psalm independently, indeed, if John does include μετ' ἐμοῦ a link between his and Mark's version seems certain. But they may both have access to the same early tradition, oral or written, John retaining (or constructing) the proof-text, Mark removing it (or leaving it as it is).¹ One thing is sure: the roots of both Mark's and John's communities are embedded in the Jewish scriptures.

Finally, Gn 3:15 was widely recognized in early Christian circles as the *Protevangelium*: the serpent, *i.e.*, Satan (*cf.* Re 12:9; 20:2), bruises the seed's, *i.e.*, the Messiah's, heel, while the seed bruises the serpent's head. The link is tenuous, but bearing in mind the fact that Satan has already entered Judas's heart in Jn 13:2, it takes little imagination to see Judas as Satan's human representative (*cf.* 6:70) trying to 'turn the tables' by lifting his heel against the Messiah.² This, together with the clear antithesis it offers for what Jesus has just done to Judas – wash his feet (13:10b) – could also explain why John prefers to stay with the Hebrew idiom.

15:25

This second quotation of fulfilment on the lips of Jesus again stresses that the events of his life, specifically his being hated undeservedly, have been preordained by God and prophesied in scripture. The introductory formula occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, though John's use of πληρόω is typical of him (*cf.* 12:38; 13:18; 17:12; 19:24,28). The ἵνα plus subjunctive may again be imperatival (*cf.* Mk 14:49) but as in 13:18 it is probably elliptic – “these things are so happening in order that the word may be fulfilled”.³ Either way, again the overall meaning does not change: those who possess ὁ νόμος, from whom Jesus distinguishes himself and his disciples, in

¹ The links Hanson, *Prophetic*, 174, sees between Ps 41 and Judas' betrayal (v. 7c = Judas' going to the Sanhedrin [esp. Jn 13:30]; v. 9b = Judas' non-belief in the resurrection [LXX ἀναστῆναι]; v. 11 = Jesus' prayer to the Father for the resurrection [LXX ἀνάστησόν]; v. 13 = Jesus' declaration of his eternal reign with the Father) make it more likely that the two were associated in earliest Christian tradition. Indeed, the association could have been taken over from Jewish tradition: in 1QH 5.23-24 the author quotes Ps 41:10 in the context of rebellion within the Council; *cf. b. Sanh* 106b.

² αὐτοῦ πτέρναν occurs in the LXX only in Gn 3:15. Brown, *John* II, 544, is unconvinced, although Hoskyns, “Genesis”, has long established a link between Jn 18 – 19 and Gn 1 – 3.

³ See Barrett, *Gospel*, 481-482 (also 356). *Cf.* Turner, *Insights*, 147f.

hating Jesus, *ergo* John's community, are again referred to and accused by the very scriptures they call their own (*cf.* 10:34). Jesus applies "the words of the psalmist(s) to the Jews in such a way as to show that his persecution and hatred by the Jews without cause had been prophesied in their own law".¹

The quotation is from Ps 35:19 or Ps 69:5 (LXX Ps 34:19 / 68:5).² Neither appears elsewhere in the New Testament, explicitly or implicitly, leaving nothing to suggest that John works from a *testimonium*. Scholars agree that it is impossible to determine which John is dependent on since שְׂנֵאִי הַנֶּחֱמָ occurs in both and each time is translated accurately by the LXX as οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν. Bernard suggests the latter since it was generally regarded as messianic, as does Lindars since Ps 69 is widely used in the New Testament, not least by John himself (2:17; 19:28-29).³ Yet John does not seem especially influenced by either factor when he quotes scripture. His familiarity with the Old Testament, his fondness for the Psalms and his willingness to conflate suggest that in fact he is aware of both, more than happy that not one but two scriptures prophesy that Jesus would be the subject of undeserved hatred.⁴

John's version, though typically unique, is not extraordinary. Rather than expressing the verb as a participle, as the Hebrew and Greek do, he uses an aorist indicative, which leaves the article necessary in the LXX superfluous. Brief as he is, one might assume that John cites loosely and from memory (or oral tradition).⁵ The latter may well be the case, but not the former: the one verbal alteration is theologically, better, christologically, motivated – since the text stands fulfilled John puts the verb in the past tense – while his literary thrift makes him use only enough of

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 123; similarly Schuchard, *Scripture*, 120 n. 8, 123.

² Other suggestions – usually Ps 109:3 (*e.g.*, Schnackenburg, *John III*, 117) or Ps 119:161 (*e.g.*, Pancaro, *Law*, 330) – generally receive short shrift.

³ Bernard, *John II*, 495; Lindars, *John*, 495; also Dodd, *Historical*, 33, 38-39; Reim, *Studien*, 43, 94; Brown, *John II*, 698; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 187. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 122-123, gives a good defence of Ps 35.

⁴ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 123: "It is, of course, possible ...". John's ability to have a whole range of Jewish texts and motifs in mind simultaneously is already clear. See Barrett, "Old Testament", 162ff.

⁵ *Cf.* Goodwin, "Sources?", 62-63. The quotation is probably direct. While two of the other four times John ends an introductory formula with ὅτι (7:42; 12:34) the quotation is indirect – the only two of his sixteen other Old Testament quotations to be so – the context suggests that here as in 10:34 (and 18:9) the ὅτι is *recitative*.

the Psalm(s) to make his point. ¹ Freed is right: it is impossible to determine which version John finally draws upon. By the law of averages one might presume the LXX, but there is no reason why he should not, as elsewhere, draw upon the Hebrew too. ²

The text's background remains a mystery too. We can only assume that John is the first to use it and that he takes it from his own tradition. ³ The only known Jewish parallel is the late statement in *b. Yoma* 9b that the Temple was destroyed "because therein prevailed hatred without cause". This would appeal to his replacement christology, but the link remains tenuous. ⁴

17:12

This marks a point of departure for John since the introductory formula – unique to John but typical of him (although it appears definitely verbatim elsewhere only in 19:36) – does not accompany an Old Testament quotation. Though no scripture exactly fits the preceding statement either in part or the whole, this is clearly what John refers to as ἡ γραφή. If he is pushed for an Old Testament text Freed considers Pr 24:22a LXX the most likely, "since only there in the LXX do the words *υἱός* and *ἀπώλεια* occur together". ⁵ Yet John quotes from Old Testament Wisdom literature nowhere else, and would be leaving his source totally obscure since his readers are hardly aware of the linguistic detail Freed is aware of. Barrett considers it probably a reference either to Ps 41:10 quoted back in 13:18, to which Hanson adds Nu 16:5, or to Ps 109:8 (Ps 109:8b is quoted in Ac 1:20) "rather than any prediction of Antichrist". ⁶ Yet John has no verbal agreement with these texts, the latter is irrelevant, while since John is familiar with the former (in both the LXX and Hebrew) why does he not

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 123: although it is a "free reminiscence" (95; cf. Burney, *Aramaic*, 121), "... the viewpoint of the writer has determined the form of the quotation".

² Schuchard, who is usually a champion of the "OG", is uncommitted (*Scripture*, 122).

³ Cf. Schnackenburg, *John* III, 117.

⁴ The suggestion in Jocz, *People*, 43 – viz., the Talmud was influenced by a Hebrew Christian tradition that echoed Jn 15:25 – is discounted by Brown, *John* II, 689.

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 123, cf. 97.

⁶ Barrett, *Gospel*, 509. Freed, *Quotations*, 123, cf. 97, prefers Ps 41:10 to the texts suggested by anyone else.

repeat it? Despite his sense of literary economy he is not averse to repetition when it serves a purpose, especially in the Final Discourse material.¹

Barrett's mooted suggestion, that ἡ γραφή is the words of Jesus as recorded by John, is more significant. The phrase ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας is "a familiar Semitic expression",² which appears elsewhere in the New Testament in 2 Th 2:3. Thus John would not seem to take it from Jewish scripture but from Christian tradition,³ even that strand from which 2 Th takes it. Hence the nominal juxtaposition Freed notices.

Freed's view, and ours, is that "ἡ γραφή here is probably not to be regarded as a reference to O.T. scripture but rather to the words of Jesus himself formerly spoken in 6:70f. and now having fulfilment".⁴ The scripture is Jesus' statement to the effect that he has chosen the Twelve knowing all along that one of them, Judas, will betray him. If – as Freed and Barrett assume and as is probably the case since the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας is so central – the emphasis is on the fact that the betrayal by Judas is part of the divine plan, 6:70f. is the only candidate. But if the emphasis is on the fact that Jesus has protected all those God has given him, *i.e.*, *only* the one destined for destruction will be lost, ἡ γραφή could be 6:39: it is directly quoted in 18:9 as scripture (as 17:12 may be indirectly), complete with introductory formula and as now having been fulfilled. John may refer to both. Indeed, happy to have whole series of texts in mind without explicitly citing any (7:42; *cf.* 12:34), he may have Ps 41:10 in mind too. Either way, ἡ γραφή refers to Jesus' words as recorded by John. Whether they were already in circulation in John's community or first appear here, John treats his own writing just as he treats Jewish scripture – it is quotable, prophetic and authoritative.

¹ Reim, *Studien*, 46; Moo, *Passion*, 224; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 197, *cf.* 174, all presume Ps 41:10 to be the source.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 97. This is generally accepted.

³ The Christian tradition itself may derive from Jewish sources. Having just quoted Ps 41:10, 1QH 5.25 says that the rebels in the Council have gone *הַנְּזוּת לְכַנְּי* (MT pointing by Lohse, *Qumran*, 132). Hanson, *Prophetic*, 198, "is this an indication that John did have some sort of connection with Qumran in his cultural background?" Hanson also notes Is 34:5 LXX; 57:4e LXX (*cf.* Eph 2:3); Sir 16:9; 46:6 (Heb). In the New Testament ἀπώλεια is often used of eschatological perdition: Mt 7:13; Ac 8:20; Ro 9:22; Php 1:28; 3:19; 1 Tm 6:9; He 10:39; 2 Pe 2:1; 3:17; Re 17:8.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 123.

Besides 18:9 (*cf.* 18:32 and the Paraclete passages, esp. 14:26) this has good precedent. 7:42 shows that John is prepared to refer to other contemporary Christian writings, if not to the Synoptics, as ἡ γραφή (as are other early Christian writers), and this practice must surely postdate a similar regard on his part for both the words of Jesus and his own writing. There still seems to be no reason for why he does not quote his text, but perhaps, as with others of his enigmas, he does not feel he needs one. After all, this is not something otherwise unheard of (*cf.* Mk 14:21; Mt 26:24).

Our distinguishing of ‘Christian’ from ‘Jewish’ scripture here might in fact be somewhat false, since Jn 6:69f. may itself be “largely inspired” by Ps 59 LXX. Hanson has the disciples’ words in 6:60 recall v. 5a; the references to σημεῖα (6:2,14,26,30) and Peter’s affirmation (6:69) recall v. 6a; and Jesus’ words in 6:70 recall v. 11a (esp. Α – ἐκ θλίβοντος, closer to the MT מְצַר).¹ This would certainly be in keeping with Jewish messianic interpretation, which applied the Psalm (at least vv. 9ff.) to the messianic age.² Jn 6:69f. has also been allied to Is 43:10 LXX, most notably to the perfectly placed ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ πιστεύσητε καὶ συνῆτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.³

John’s motivation is theological: to show Judas as part of God’s overall plan (*cf.* 13:18), a virtual antitype to Jesus.⁴ That the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας is a traditional semitism bequeathed to John from the wider Christian tradition not only makes it futile to insist that he uses an existing semitic source, it makes it all the more significant that he alone employs this traditionally futurist eschatological figure “in a creative way to support his theme of Judas the betrayer”.⁵ John is as capable of adding his own ingredients to stock Christian concepts as he is of adding them to Jewish

¹ See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 92ff., for these and other more tenuous connections. It might be worth noting that the MT of v. 6(8)a, בְּקֶדְשׁוֹ, would be useful to John’s replacement christology.

² The Palestinian רַשִׁי רְשׁוּמוֹת did this (*b. Sanh* 712-713 104b); *cf. Pesiq. Rab Kah* (Suppl. 2.3 [Braude with Kapstein], 466), as did the midrash on Ps 60 (Braude I, 515f.).

³ For other connections with the Isaiah passage, see Schnackenburg, *John II*, 77, *cf.* 79ff.; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 93f. Schnackenburg is more convincing, especially when he equates ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁴ John hardly sees Judas as “a victim of teleological thinking” (J.D.M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* [London: DLT, 1970], 427). He is unconcerned with such philosophical conundrums.

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 123. There may be a trajectory of development involving John’s portrayal of Judas, 2 Th’s futurist eschatological ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας [ἁμαρτίας], 1 & 2 Jn’s eschatological / heretical ὁ (οἱ) ἀντίχριστος(οι), even perhaps ὁ θηρίον of Re 13 (both of them!); but it is impossible to extrapolate. *Cf.* Barrett, *Gospel*, 508.

concepts. In fact the only Jewish scriptural motif possibly present – and that only if the *whole* of 17:12 comprises ἡ γραφή – is the tradition that emphasizes that Moses did not lose a single sheep (*cf.* Jn 10:28f.; 18:9).¹ This would be in keeping with both John’s replacement christology and his Mosaic polemic.

19:24

Spoken by John, this quotation provides scriptural witness to the fact that Jesus’ clothes were dispersed just as God intended. The introductory formula is unique to John and typical of him, appearing verbatim elsewhere without ἡ λέγουσα² in 17:12; 19:36. The text, Ps 22:19 (LXX Ps 21:19), appears explicitly nowhere else in the New Testament,³ leaving nothing to suggest that John works from a *testimonium*.

The LXX translates the Hebrew accurately save for abandoning the imperfect: it puts the verbs in the aorist tense rather than in the present or future – יִקְרַן (pi‘el imperfect קָרַן) becomes διεμερίσαντο, יִפִּילוּ (hif‘il imperfect נָפַל) becomes ἔβαλον. John follows the LXX verbatim (διεμερίσαντο *hapax legomenon*). He could work from the Hebrew, using a past tense to make the text more overtly prophetic, and may well have access to it, but there is no serious doubt that he works from the LXX, which suits his purposes admirably.⁴ As in 13:18, however, the evidence can be arranged to suggest that he takes his cue from the Synoptics (Mk 15:24; Mt 27:35; Lk 23:34), which all refer to Jesus’ garments being divided by the casting of lots.

Since, except for his last five words (clearly a Markan expression), Mark only uses words found in Ps 21:19 LXX, it seems that he too is aware of the text. Matthew

¹ Glasson, *Moses*, 96.

² \aleph B it sa^{mss} ac pbo do not read ἡ λέγουσα here, though this is probably (so UBS⁴) a scribal assimilation to 17:12, *etc.*

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 124: “In some texts of Mt 27:35 the passage is quoted exactly as in Jn 19:24 and introduced with Mt’s characteristic formula.” But this reading (Δ Θ 0250 *f*^{1.13} 1424 *al* it vg^{cl} sy^h mae Eus) is patently a scribal assimilation to John.

⁴ So *e.g.*, Westcott, *John*, 275; Bernard, *John*, 629; Lindars, *John*, 578; Dodd, *Historical*, 40; Reim, *Studien*, 93-94; Pancaro, *Law*, 340; Menken, “Joh 12,15”, 209; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 127. Jn 20:25,27 contradict R.J. Dillon, “The Psalms of the Suffering Just in the Accounts of Jesus’ Passion”, *W* 61 (1987), 430-440, here 431 n. 3, that Ps 22 entered the Passion tradition in an early Aramaic stage hence the Gospels’ lack of reference to the piercing of Jesus’ hands and feet.

and Luke, in turn, are dependent on him: they too conflate the Psalm's parallelism, substitute the third person of reported for the first person of recited speech and, save for omitting his peculiar final phrase, generally repeat his wording. This is nothing new – it precisely parallels the Synoptists' use of Ps 41:10.

A closer inspection, however, suggests that Matthew and Luke also refer back to the LXX. Beginning with a conjunction, καὶ (which they replace with δὲ), Mark's predilection for the historic present makes him duly alter the LXX's διεμερίσαντο. Luke is prepared to live with this alteration (he uses a participle because he will retain the LXX's indicative mood for βάλλω), but Matthew is not – he reverts to the aorist either because he wants to remain faithful to the LXX or because he likes the prophetic emphasis this creates or both. Followed again by both of them, Mark almost duplicates the LXX's τὰ ἱμάτιά μου – he uses a third person possessive pronoun to fit the new context – while jettisoning the ensuing parallelism. Followed by Matthew, he alters the LXX's ἔβαλον to βάλλοντες, present due to his tense predilection, participle since in the new truncated version the two verbs refer to the same action and so one must become a participle. Luke, having rendered the previous verb as a participle, can indulge in the luxury of reverting to the LXX. Still followed by Matthew, Mark renders the LXX's κλῆρον verbatim, while Luke, for reasons known only to himself, prefers κλήρους. Mark can legitimately finish with five words of explanation – he is not quoting anyway – which Matthew and Luke regard as superfluous and, perhaps more to the point, illegitimate, and excise.

Albeit ignored by Schuchard, the Synoptists' familiarity with the relevance of Ps 21:19 LXX to the demise of Jesus' garments is incontrovertible – their allusions are thinly veiled, their minimal differences from the LXX readily explainable. Thus not only does Mark apply more than a proof-text methodology to Jewish scripture (*cf.* Mk 14:18,21; 15:36), they all do: Matthew does not 'upgrade' Mark's allusion to a full-blown quotation, and Luke does not 'downgrade' it to a theme of fulfilment. The traditional assumption that the Synoptists always prefer proof-texts, at least in their Passion Narratives, must finally be laid to rest.

Freed predictably states that John’s “incentive for the use of an O.T. quotation here, as in 19:28, came from his understanding of Mk 15:24 and 15:23,36 and parallels. Jn was the first to see in those Synoptic passages allusions to O.T. scripture”. Freed himself is none too comfortable with the latter statement, and as good as contradicts it: “[the Psalm] may be alluded to, without formulas of introduction, in Mk 15:24 and parallels”. Yet he never recants: “[John’s] effort to interpret and supplement the Synoptic account led to the discovery and use of the Ps text”.¹

Could it still be, however, that John supplements the Synoptic tradition – that taking his cue from Mark he makes explicit what Mark leaves implicit? The answer is not simple. It is well known that John’s uncharacteristic recitation of both halves of the parallelism is due to his application of a literal hermeneutic, hence his “embellishment” (Freed) of the narrative with ὁ χιτῶν.² He distinguishes τὰ ἱμάτια, which are merely divided, from ὁ χιτῶν, for which the soldiers cast lots, because he fails to appreciate that in the parallel form of Hebrew verse לְבוּשׁוֹ and בְּנָדָר (ἱμάτια, ἱματισμόν) are synonyms.³ Since he shares this interpretation with none of the Synoptics, if he works from Mark his extending of a perfectly proportioned scriptural allusion by adding the second half of the parallelism and referring to the casting of lots for Jesus’ tunic is entirely wilful.⁴

This is not unreasonable. John has sufficient genius for such creativity, he is happy to accommodate both halves of Hebrew parallelism elsewhere (12:38,40), and it certainly highlights the Psalm’s christocentricity. But it requires that John’s tradition here, part of his Passion Narrative to boot, is not a bedrock and pre-Markan, an early legacy of his community, but a modern concoction. Since we have rejected the assumption that an early proof-text methodology was gradually replaced by a more

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 123-124. Dodd, *Historical*, 121-136, gives a detailed refutation of John’s dependence on the Synoptics here; cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 126.

² Cf. e.g., Loisy, *Quatrième*, 486; Reim, *Studien*, 48; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 27.

³ See Freed, *Quotations*, 103; Barrett, *Gospel*, 550f. This is perfectly Jewish: the *Midrash* on Ps 22 (Braude I, 321) applies the first half of the verse to what Haman and his associates connive to do with Esther’s garments, the second half to the casting of lots for her royal cloak “which it is not seemly for commoners to use”.

⁴ Arguably at least Matthew would use this hermeneutic were he aware of it: cf. Freed, *Quotations*, 124: John’s “curious misunderstanding of the LXX text, which is a reproduction of the Hebrew synonymous parallelism, is analogous to Mt’s misunderstanding of ... Zech 9:9”.

subtle hermeneutic, this too is not unreasonable.¹ But it is an extra burden Freed must bear, along with that of assumed Synoptic dependence.

Yet if John uses no source, in concocting his own version he is still somewhat dishonest. Barrett is uncomfortable with Lindars' suggestion, that John understands the synonymous parallelism but takes advantage of it to fill out his tradition, since it "comes near to accusing [John] of saying what he knew to be untrue".² But while his own suggestion, that John is 'forced' into his presentation of the facts by a genuine misunderstanding of the parallelism, is more feasible, it does little to rectify matters. John still says what he knows to be untrue, only with a genuine motivation – without understanding the synonymous parallelism he has to adapt 19:23 to fit the text.³

One may be unconcerned about such 'dishonesty'. But it is too much to argue that Mark and John use this Psalm in this context totally independently of each other. The only solution to circumvent all the above problems is that John works from an earlier tradition, independent of the Synoptics and surely emanating from within his own community, which reaches him in pretty much its extant form. Thus he not so much 'invents' it as preserves it, its uniqueness no more than a reflection of that of his community. The necessary corollary is that the Psalm, for sure the tradition's *raison d'être*, was involved from its inception. Thus John's and Mark's scriptural exegeses coincide simply because Psalm plus context derive from the very beginnings of the earliest Christian genre, the Passion Narrative.⁴

Again John's motivation is theological / christological. By setting the demise of Jesus' garments explicitly within the matrix of the fulfilment of Old Testament scripture, he again portrays Jesus' crucifixion as part of God's eternal plan (*cf.* Jesus' Logos qualities in 19:28ff.). This explains his use of the aorist tense: it is not simply in

¹ Barrett, "Old Testament", 168, contends that the frequency of proof-texts in John's Passion Narrative is an indicator of its early origins.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 551; *cf.* Lindars, *John*, 577.

³ See C.K. Barrett, "John and the Synoptics", *ExpTim* 85 (1974), 228-233, esp. 232ff.

⁴ Dodd, *Historical*, 40: Ps 22 "was from the earliest days the great stand-by of Christian thinkers and teachers seeking an understanding of the sufferings and death of Christ"; *cf.* Lindars, *John*, 89-93. D.M. Smith, *Johannine*, 142; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 13, cogently argue that John subsequently becomes aware of the Synoptics, especially Mark, but that they are not integrally related to him.

deference to the LXX, which he has no qualms about abandoning elsewhere, it makes the Psalm's prophetic reference to the incident all the more apparent.

It is unlikely that John alludes to Joseph with his coat, brothers (prefiguring the disciples) and two fellow-prisoners. As Barrett notes, Schlatter's reference to *m. Besa* 1.10 is misleading since *m. Besa* 1.10 does not refer to garments such as that which Jesus wore but to garments whether sewn up or not.¹ Similarly, while Ps 22 and Ex 39:22ff. seem to have been associated with the feast of Purim,² if this is anything more than purely fortuitous it has at best a peripheral bearing on John's quotation. One clear Old Testament motif, however, involves the fact that Jesus' robe (χιτών, v. 23) – John is the only New Testament writer to refer to it – is seamless. The word χιτών and its Hebrew equivalent, כְּתוֹנֶת, are used in the Old Testament of the High Priestly robe (e.g., Lv 16:4). As both Philo and Josephus note, this robe was seamless, complete with reinforced neck to prevent tearing (Ex 39:22f.). Philo also speaks of it as being symbolic of the Word, the δεσμὸς τῶν ἀπάντων.³

The significance of the parallel is ambiguous, since while John applies priestly qualities to Jesus he does not do so to the same extent as the writer of Hebrews does – who makes no mention of Christ's seamless robe. Barrett, however, is overcautious: "John's thought was set in motion not by any description of the high priest's vestments but by the fulfilment of Ps 22."⁴ John's thought was not *so much* set in motion ... There is no need for a direct link between John and Philo or Josephus. The physical and allegorical attributes of the High Priest's robe formed part of the general background knowledge for educated first century Jews, not least in the Diaspora, and it need only be assumed that John, like his readers, is just such a Jew.⁵

Most of all, it is the interests of John's own community that are again served best by this imagery. Barrett is right to stress the difference between John and Philo:

¹ Schlatter, *Johannes*, 349; Barrett, *Gospel*, 550.

² Guilding, *Worship*, 169.

³ Jos. A. 3.161; Philo, *Fug.* 110-112.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 550; similarly Schuchard, *Scripture*, 128.

⁵ The influence of Zch 3:1-5, which John may allude to elsewhere (see on 10:1ff.; 18:5), where the High Priest Ἰησοῦς is stripped of his filthy garments and clothed in a ποδήρης (cf. Re 1:13), now becomes more likely. It would certainly convey a 'Johannine' message, that Jesus replaces the now defunct Levitical priesthood. See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 209f.

“[John] would probably think, not of the Word as the unifying element of the universe, but of the death of Christ as bringing into one flock the scattered children of God (cf. 11:52)”. The motif of unity is not simply in the recesses of John’s mind, it is central. In 11:52 Christ’s death is predicted as bringing into one flock God’s scattered children; in 21:11 there is surely an underlying message in the statement that the net does not tear despite holding all 153 fish (cf. 17:11,20-23). So too here, the community, like the robe of Jesus, is one and must remain that way.¹

19:28

This one-word quotation, spoken by Jesus from the cross, appears only here in the New Testament, leaving nothing to suggest that John works from a *testimonium*. The introductory formula, which also appears only here in the New Testament, is unusual for John, since he substitutes τελειόω (he uses the word elsewhere but not in an introductory formula) for the customary πληρόω. This comes under the auspices of John’s fondness for synonyms, his literary variation no doubt spurred on by his use of τετέλεσται both here and in v. 30.² Freed is correctly agnostic about any theological significance in the substitution:³ the meaning of πληρόω is perhaps underscored, particularly in view of the juxtaposed and synonymous τελέω – Jesus really is the fulfilment of scripture, specifically the one cited.

Possibly the formula should be connected with what precedes – all things have been accomplished in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled. On at least two other occasions John places the introductory formula after the quotation (1:23; 17:12), and, as would presumably be the case here, in two formulas (7:37f.,42; cf. 18:32) he may use ἡ γραφή to refer to scripture generally. After all, to assume a specific text now

¹ See Schuchard, *Scripture*, 128-130; and esp. I. de la Potterie, *The Hour of Jesus. The Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus according to John: Text and Spirit* (Eng. tr. D.G. Murray; Middlegreen: St Paul Publications, 1989), 124-132. Martyn’s and Brown’s theses successfully demonstrate the Johannine corpus’s concern with unity. Also see B.W. Longenecker, “The Unbroken Messiah: a Johannine feature and its social functions”, *NTS* 41 (1995), 428-441.

² This is the more significant, since τελέω occurs nowhere else in the Gospel.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 124. He is wrong to imply, however, that such significance is mutually exclusive to τελειόω being synonymous for πληρόω / τελέω.

that we are in the Passion Narrative is weak: we have already rejected the notion that earlier Christian tradition necessarily prefers a proof-text methodology; that John's three other Old Testament quotations in his Passion Narrative (19:24,36,37) are of specific texts hardly constitutes a powerful statistic;¹ and John is not bound by methodological strictures anyway – he invariably makes his material suit his needs. It is also ill-founded: John's Passion Narrative contains two introductory formulas (18:9,32) that do not refer to Jewish scripture at all but rather to words of Jesus, the latter not to specific words but to a general set of them.

Barrett uses his discretion wisely, then, when he argues that it is “less likely” that the formula refers to what precedes (though a glance at 7:37,42 should have prevented him from basing this on ἡ γραφή being singular).² In fact we are not as cautious but more because the ensuing quotation, despite its brevity, can be so easily identified. Still, bearing in mind John's christocentricity one suspects a wry smile on his face – if the sentence reads as saying that all things have been accomplished so that the whole of scripture might be fulfilled, so be it. Barrett perhaps offers the best interpretation when he suggests that the previous ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται may itself be “a special reference to the complete fulfilment of Scripture, with the note that one prophecy remains to be enacted”. The final τετέλεσται of v. 30 spoken with Jesus' dying breath signifies its fulfilment and thus that of Jesus' mission.³

There is little doubt that the quotation comes from Ps 69:22b (LXX Ps 68:21). We can be sure that John is aware of this Psalm not simply because he is so familiar with the Psalms anyway but because he has already quoted v. 10 and, we can safely assume, v. 5 (2:17; 15:25). Brawley also notes that “Psalm 69 is the second most

¹ *Contra* Brawley, “Absent”, 434.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 553.

³ *Op. cit.*, 553-554; *cf.* Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 295. Gillian Bampfylde, “John XIX 28, a case for a different translation”, *NovT* 11 (1969), 247-260, renders ἵνα τελειωθῆ ἡ γραφή as “in order that the scriptural prophecy of my ministry may reach its fulfilment”, and argues that the scripture referred to must concern the pouring out of the Spirit: she opts for Zch 14:8, fulfilled when Jesus hands over the Spirit in 19:30. This cannot hold, if only since Jesus in fact hands over the Spirit in 20:22 (*contra* Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 633). Lindars, *John*, 582f., represents the majority, correct, view when he sees 19:30 as a reference primarily to Jesus' voluntarily handing his life back to the Father (*cf.* Lk 23:46). The relevance of Zch 12:10, quoted in 19:37, is also incidental: it applies only in the sense that John has in mind the crucified-and-risen Lord. See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 224.

frequently cited psalm in the NT”.¹ There can be little doubt, then, that he is aware of v. 22 (quoted in 1QH 4.11). Thus, that it fits so well – it refers to thirst (אֲרָאָה / καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου) and to sour wine (צִמְצִימָה / ὄξος – cf. ὄξους in Jn 19:29) – is more than fortuitous. Freed at best only half accepts this and in reality suspects “a purely literary-theological motive for the creation of a supposed quotation from scripture which may or may not be influenced by the recollection of some O.T. source such as Ps 69:22”:² *i.e.*, ἡ γραφή derives not so much from John’s memory as from his mind. Yet it would be strange for John to create his own scripture when a text he knows fits so well. In any case, a purely Johannine “creation” goes against the grain of everything observed so far and should be rejected. John’s christological exegesis of the Old Testament allows him to tailor it and to place sayings of Jesus, even Christian writings, alongside it – but not to label something as “scripture” that he knows is not.

The text’s brevity precludes us from determining which version John uses. The LXX is statistically the most likely, but διψῶ literally follows no known version and John may well work from memory. Yet this is not necessarily as consequential as it at first sounds. John’s memory is based on a version of Ps 69:22 somewhere along the line, and quite where the demarcation is between version and memory is hard to say.

To what do we put down John’s brevity and inaccuracy? Lack of concern with precision, failure to check his source, a faulty memory, ineptitude – all are possible. But the uncompromised trend hitherto has been for him to have specific reasons for rendering his scriptural quotations the way he does, even those he highly stylizes. The same applies here. For good reason he wants to place the text on the lips of Jesus; the first half of it, “they gave me to drink”, is provided by the context; and the remainder, ὄξος, is provided by the next verse. The distilled resultant is διψῶ! This is no ‘off-

¹ Brawley, “Absent”, 437.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 105: cf. 124, “The Old Testament source for the word διψῶ and the text the writer had in mind thus far remain unknown. The weight of suggestion seems in favour of Ps 69:22.” Haenchen, *John II*, 193, is dogmatic that Ps 69:22 does not fit; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 160, remains uncertain as to whether John has a specific text in mind; Brown, *John II*, 929, prefers the suggestion that John is alluding to the total voice of scripture, but if the reference is to a specific text he concedes Ps 69:22 as the most likely source; cf. Bultmann, *John*, 674 n. 1; Fortna, *Fourth*, 270 n. 82. Lindars, *John*, 580-581, argues that when 19:28 is taken with v. 29 the scripture is certainly Ps 69:22; so do Reim, *Studien*, 49; Moo, *Passion*, 277; Carson, “John”, 252; Brawley, “Absent”, 437: “... the incident as a whole resonates profoundly with Ps 69:21”.

the-cuff', incidental, scriptural reference. John knows exactly what he wants to say and why. His genius with the proof-text methodology is here at its most honed.

Again it is possible that John takes his cue from the Synoptics, more precisely from Mark, who all include versions of the incident but do not quote any scripture. Freed notes, "This is one of the clearest examples of the writer's creative use of his Synoptic sources showing his own literary-theological changes and additions. The same thing is true for Jn 19:29".¹ Thus, dependent on Mark, in which the onus is put on the soldiers for giving Jesus the sour wine, John sees the significance of Ps 69:22b, transfers the onus to Jesus, and reconstructs the narrative accordingly.

That all four Gospels relate the same basic tradition (*cf.* Mk 15:36; Mt 27:48; Lk 23:36) shows that John inherits it rather than constructs it.² But Freed's extrapolation of the evidence is open to much the same comments as apply to 19:24. There is no longer any reason why at least Mark need not be aware of the relevance of Ps 69:22. Indeed, it seems likely that he is, and again specifically of the LXX – he not only repeats ὄξος, he uses the verb ποτίζω.³ Even Barrett seems persuaded: "As in the mention of the casting of lots for the clothes of Jesus, John makes the Old Testament allusion more explicit than do the earlier evangelists".⁴

Again, John is not the only one or necessarily the first to notice the Psalm's significance. If he works from Mark his use of a proof-text rather than an allusion is wilful; if he works independently he probably inherits it from his own community. Our conclusion? Whether he is aware of Mark or not, John has independent access to both the tradition and the Psalm – his similarities to Mark reflect the fact that both are dealing with early material that has found its way into two distinct communities.⁵

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 124.

² *Cf.* Barrett, *Gospel*, 553: John "is probably dependent on Mark or a similar source".

³ Bernard, *John II*, 639, puts Matthew nearer Ps 69:22 than Mark since he mentions χολή (27:34). So does Hanson, *Prophetic*, 212.

⁴ Barrett, *Gospel*, 553. Matthew's δραμών, σπόγγον, ὄξους and final περιθεὶς καλάμῳ ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν are all in Mark's version, yet Luke only agrees with Mark in using ὄξος (*Koine* Greek has no other word for 'wine-vinegar'). A likely scenario is that put forward for Mt 26:24 & Lk 22:22. Matthew follows Mark unquestioningly, and finds it irresistible to lengthen Mark's version even though he is unaware of the Psalm to which he hence gives no deference; Luke is also dependent on Mark, yet unaware of the Psalm he sees no point in stressing the incident and in fact plays it down.

⁵ Just because σπόγγος appears in the New Testament only in this tradition does not justify Barrett, *Gospel*, 553, that "it seems very likely that both Matthew and John drew it from Mark 15:36" –

In one area scholarship is unanimous: while John and the Synoptists recite the same basic tradition, John adapts it to his own needs. Again, his overriding concern is christological. We see a Christ perfectly in control as befits the Word of God, so much so that unlike in the Synoptics he declares his own thirst – not because of human frailty, but so that ἡ γραφή might be fulfilled.¹ As with the other Old Testament quotations in John’s Passion Narrative this one carries an extra, specific Old Testament allusion. Still applying the text, v. 29 recites the peculiarly Johannine tradition that the sponge is lifted to Jesus’ lips on ὑσσώπος (Mk 15:36 and pars. have κάλαμος). The questionable historicity of this detail is striking: hyssop, “a small wall-growing plant, well adapted for sprinkling”,² is not capable of bearing a soaked sponge. One conjecture, based on a single late miniscule, is that through a primitive error ὑσσώπω has taken the place of ὑσσῶ (‘a javelin’). But while this would solve the problem, it is weak – the alternative reading is so little attested to (and surely arises by accident if it is not the work of a well-meaning scribe) – and, more importantly, unnecessary.

John’s preoccupation with presenting Christ as the Passover Lamb is well known, and hyssop played an important part in Passover observance (*cf.* Ex 12:22). Surely, then, this detail is part of his Passover motif. This “ungrammaticality”³ simply reminds the reader, almost by way of subliminal advertising, that Jesus is the Passover Lamb.⁴ What makes it all the more poignant is its connection with ἡ γραφή – it is Passover imagery as cited from scripture that bears witness to the true identity of Jesus. John specially adapts his tradition to incorporate this allusion – for him the needs of christological expression dominate those of historicity. This singularly Jewish

any more than Luke’s not using σπόγγος suggests that he is not dependent on Mark. It only indicates that σπόγγος was part of the tradition from its earliest stages. The tradition itself may well have a Jewish origin: 1QH 4.11 allegorizes the vinegar of the Psalm as false teaching. See Mansoor, *Thanksgiving*, 124; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 214: “It seems probable that devout Jews learned in scripture were quite accustomed to use the language of God’s suffering servant of themselves”.

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 211f., contrasts Jesus as being aware of the scriptural fulfilment with the soldiers (19:24). Brawley, “Absent”, 440, overplays his hand when he argues that since Ps 69 moves from lament to divine rescue John’s hermeneutic is theocentric rather than christocentric.

² *Enc. Bib.* II, col. 2142.

³ Brawley, “Absent”, 432, borrows the term from M. Riffaterre, *Text Production* (New York: Columbia University, 1983), 51, to mean “a feature of the text that resists interpretation of a literal level and pushes it into a figurative level” (n. 32).

⁴ See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 212f. *Cf.* F.G. Beetham & P.A. Beetham, “A Note on John 19:29”, *JTS* 44 (1993), 163-169.

alteration must be meaningful to his readers as well. That is to say, the recourse to scripture here demands both a Jewish writer *and* a Jewish intended audience.

19:36

This and the next, juxtaposed, quotation, both spoken by John and part of his crucifixion narrative, are his final Old Testament quotations. The former appears nowhere else in the New Testament, which leaves nothing to suggest that John works from a *testimonium*.¹ Its introductory formula, while unique to John is not unusual for him. It appears verbatim in 17:12, and at most with little difference in 13:18; 19:24,28. There are four candidates for the quotation's source: Ex 12:10 (LXX),46; Nu 9:12; Ps 34:21 (LXX Ps 33:21). The LXX gives a fair rendering of the Hebrew for each of them. John does not exactly agree with any: the verb agrees with the Psalm (הַשְׁבֵּרָה ... אֶתָּה – 3fs *nif'al* perfect / ἐν ... συντριβήσεται – 3s fut ind pass) rather than with the Pentateuchal texts, the remainder agrees with the Pentateuchal texts (בֹּו ... וְעֲצָם / καὶ ὀστοῦν ... ἀπ' αὐτοῦ) rather than with the Psalm.

One could at first glance favour the Psalm – aside from the verbal agreement, John is fond of quoting the Psalter.² Yet he is capable of changing verbs to suit his needs and of quoting from elsewhere, and upon examination the Pentateuchal texts are more likely. This is not simply because of John's otherwise almost verbatim agreement with them, but because his motivation – almost fixation within the context of the crucifixion – is again to present Jesus as the Passover Lamb. That these passages refer to the Passover sacrifice, of which no bone may be broken, while the Psalm refers to God's care of the faithful must make them the more obvious choice.³

¹ For rabbinic use of the text, see Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar II*, 583.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 219f.: Ps 34, which John would regard as “a thanksgiving on the part of the risen Christ to God ...”, often appears elsewhere, and John may allude to vv. 16b-17a in 9:31.

³ So Barrett, *Gospel*, 558; Freed, *Quotations*, 114; cf. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 219. Loisy, *Quatrième*, 495; Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 634f.; Bernard, *John II*, 651; Goppelt, *Typos*, 190; G.H.C. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928), 352; Lightfoot, *John*, 327; Reim, *Studien*, 51-53 (he describes the Psalm as “eine unbekannte Psalmstelle”); J.M. Ford, “‘Mingled Blood’ from the side of Christ (John XIX.34)”, *NTS* 15 (1969), 337-339 (she bases her work on *b. Ohol*); Moo, *Passion*, 314-315; Pancaro, *Law*, 345, all give the Passover texts primary if not sole consideration. Dunn, *Partings*, 94, is at least uncomplicated: “(19.36 = Ex. 12.46)”! Dodd,

The discrepancies – John’s verb has a different tense, voice and maybe person, and he omits *ἀπό* (this makes his pronoun accusative) – could be because John works from the Hebrew. The preposition would no longer be in question, and the verbal differences could be the result of a different vowel arrangement. Ex 12:46 MT reads the verb as *תִּשְׁבְּרוּ* (2mpl *qal* imperfect), Ex 12:10,46 LXX agreeing with *συντρίψετε* (2pl fut ind act), but John could read it as *תִּשְׁבֵּר* (3fs *nif'al* imperfect); Nu 9:12 MT reads the verb as *תִּשְׁבְּרוּ* (3mpl *qal* imperfect), the LXX agreeing with *συντρίψουσιν* (3pl fut ind act), but John could again read it as *תִּשְׁבֵּר*.

Yet since except for these discrepancies John follows the LXX verbatim, previous trends make it most likely that this is the version he works from. He could have easily forgotten about the preposition if he quotes from memory, but more probably, whether he quotes from memory or not, he deems it unnecessary. With his willingness to alter verbs purely for the sake of personal interest well documented, it is no surprise that his verbal differences are in fact theologically induced. “... the text of Jn as a whole is closer to the LXX of Ex 12:10 than to any other passage and [*sic*] must be considered as the most likely direct source. In this case Jn’s verb would be a slight correction from the third sing. fut. mid. form to the third sing. fut. pass. form which makes better sense and satisfies his theological view completely”.¹

It is impossible to categorically pinpoint which text(s) constitute John’s source or which version he follows. One final refinement, however, allows for the most likely scenario. Pure dependence on the Pentateuchal texts does not really explain the coincidence that John’s only significant deviation from the LXX (his inflecting of the verb) reverts to the LXX of the Psalm. Knowing his willingness to conflate, not least when invoking the term *ἡ γραφή* (*cf.* 7:37f.,42), the easiest explanation is that while he uses the framework of one or more of these texts – concerned as they are with the Passover Lamb – he resorts to the Psalm for the verb since that suits the new context better. Freed allows that the quotation may be “a combination of the Ps text with one

Interpretation, 233f.; *idem*, *Historical*, 131f.; Seynaeve, “Citations”; Haenchen, *John* II, 200, all give the Psalm sole consideration. For other views, see Schuchard, *Scripture*, 135 nn. 7-11.

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 125.

of the others”, while Barrett is less equivocal: because of the verbal agreement, “we cannot exclude the influence of the Psalm”.¹

John’s close adherence to the LXX must elevate the probability that this is the version he works from to virtual certainty. But with Jewish memorizing of scripture such as it was, this need not detract from the possibility that he gives “a free citation, perhaps from memory ...”² – the acquaintance with scripture this would demand certainly suits his high regard for it. Either way (and there is always the happy medium that he quotes an oral source), John knows exactly what he wants to quote, how, and why – hence our dislike for the suggestion that he simply forgets the preposition.

Again his motive is christological, his motifs Jewish. Beside the brute invoking of scripture, his purpose is to reinforce Jesus’ death – happening just as the Passover lambs are being killed in the Temple – “as the death of the true Paschal Lamb”.³ Freed and Barrett are overcautious to talk merely in terms of probability: John has recently incorporated this very motif into a scriptural quotation (19:28-29), and it was widely known that the bones of the Passover lambs were to remain unbroken. As elsewhere in the Gospel, the kerygmatic, proof-text methodology becomes an integral part of John’s overall methodology whereby implicit comment upon a whole range of scriptural motifs is encapsulated in a word or short phrase.

19:37

This is separated from the previous quotation only by its introductory formula, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. While John can use ἡ γραφή for

¹ *Ibid* (cf. 110); Barrett, *Gospel*, 558; cf. Hengel, *Question*, 189 n. 68. Westcott, *John*, 280; Cothenet, “Témoignage”, 274-275; F.-M. Braun, *Jean II*, 19-20; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 222; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 136-140, also allow for a joint allusion, if not for a conflate. Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 162-163; Brown, *John II*, 937f., remain uncommitted. Bultmann, *John*, 677, suggests that the scripture was originally intended as the Psalm but that John himself preferred the Passover reference: this is taken up by Schnackenburg, *John III*, 291f.; Lindars, *John*, 540; Barrett, *Gospel*, 558. S. Edgar, “Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament”, *NTS* 9 (1962-63), 57-59, argues that John violates the context of Ex 12:46 by constructing αὐτοῦ as masculine (referring to Jesus) rather than neuter (referring to τὸ πάσχα): the involvement of the Psalm makes his point irrelevant.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 125; similarly, Schuchard, *Scripture*, esp. 140.

³ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 140 (cf. 136-140).

sets of scriptures, even *ipsissima vox Iesu* (17:12), Barrett is right that here it refers to a specific text. Yet he does not help himself by mooting that this is because it is in the singular: ¹ it is because of the adjective ἕτερος. John is referring to Zch 12:10. The LXX misreads וְדָקְרָו as וְדָקְרָוּ ² – which results in near nonsense, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο – but confirms the reading of אֱלֹהֵי after וְהִבִּיטוּ by translating καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με. John's version is quite short, and unlike the LXX faithfully reproduces אֱשֶׁר-דָּקְרָוּ אֱלֹהֵי. In fact it corresponds exactly with the MT, אֱשֶׁר-דָּקְרָוּ אֱלֹהֵי, except that since it is no longer God who is speaking, John uses the 3s rather than the 1s for the object – “and they will look upon *him* ...”. It is uncalled-for to amend אֱלֹהֵי to אֱלֹהֵיו on the basis of the wording here, as some have suggested.

John is not dependent upon the LXX (though he agrees with Aq. Th. καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν – Sym. ἐπεξεκέντησαν). ³ Either “the reading of Jn, including the verb ὀράω, was of Christian origin ... derived from some Heb. text and may well have originated with Jn himself”, ⁴ or John works from a Christian version, even *testimonium*. We prefer Freed's hypothesis – Zch 12:10 is explicitly cited nowhere else in the New Testament, ⁵ and the quotation could well derive from the Hebrew. Indeed, John may resort to the Hebrew because he is aware that the LXX is inaccurate and, more to the point, does not suit his needs as well as it might. ⁶ Yet this last argument supports whatever version John prefers over the LXX, including a *testimonium*, in whose defence there are two heavy pieces of armour.

First, Zch 12:10 was part of an early Christian *testimonium*, used to transmit the belief in the parousia: it is alluded to in the New Testament in eschatological

¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 558.

² See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 538. ו and ו looked very similar in the Hebrew alphabet of the intertestamental period.

³ *Contra* Schuchard, *Scripture*, 144-149. Like others (144 n. 15), he also considers Th.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 125. Cf. Burney, *Aramaic*, 123; Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 536; Dodd, *Historical*, 44-45; Braun, *Jean* II, 20; Schnackenburg, *John* III, 293; Pancaro, *Law*, 350.

⁵ His contention (*Quotations*, 125 n. 2), that “[t]his is true for the book of Zech as a whole with the exception of Zech 9:9; 11:12f.; 13:7 which are not literally quoted, although introduced with formulas of quotation”, is not so convincing.

⁶ Those Hebrew mss John agrees with exactly are undoubtedly the product of later scribal assimilation to him. Lagrange, *Evangile*, 501f.; Westcott, *John*, xiv, too argue that John translates the Hebrew; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 223, quite inexplicably discounts this because of the Greek versions.

contexts (Re 1:7; Mt 24:30; cf. Mk 13:26),¹ and it is quoted in similar contexts – which sometimes also deal with the resurrection – in other early Christian writings.² Second, the vocabulary used by the various early Christian writers when quoting it is generally the same as that in John’s version. Freed counters that it “is rarely quoted in exactly the same form, frequently with more of the Zech. text than Jn quotes”, but this is of little consequence. There is no reason why John should not quote from *testimonia* with the same freedom of expression he applies to the LXX and Hebrew versions. Besides, he would not be altering the text so much as shortening it. Freed argues that his points “tend to refute the idea of a *testimonium* even here”, yet despite his (and our) general aversion for this kind of explanation he is forced to concede that “Zech 12:10 has a better claim to being an early Christian *testimonium* than any other passage quoted in Jn”.³ The verdict remains open.

John’s overriding motive is again christological. The typically futurist eschatological setting usually associated with Zch 12:10 by both Jews and Christians is, equally typically for John, removed, and for the first time “the pierced one” is seen instead in terms of the cross. Over its intrinsic value as a proof-text, John is concerned with giving scriptural validation to both the crucified Messiah and his own brand of ‘realized’ eschatology.⁴ In so doing, he shows his skill at employing Jewish scripture to preserve and reinforce his community’s self-identity, and at putting his new wine into traditional Christian wineskins.

His motifs are Jewish. “It is not the look but the piercing that fulfils prophecy that interests him”⁵ is not true. Glasson demonstrates that the climax to the explicit mention of the brazen serpent of Nu 21:8f. in Jn 3:14 is here – with the Son of Man now having been lifted up, “a special testimony is added to the story from Zechariah

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 125, concedes these “frequent allusions to passages from Zech”.

² Cf. e.g., Barn 7:9; Justin, *Apol.* 1.52.12 (which uses ἐξεκέντησαν); *Dial.* 14:8; 32:2; 64:7; 118:1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.33.11; *Didache* 16:7.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 125. Barrett, *Gospel*, 559, accepts that John may use a *testimonium*; cf. Haenchen, *John II*, 195: “Perhaps Jewish-Christian scribalism was at work here”; Reim, *Studien*, 54-56. Stendahl, *School*, 213ff., argues against it; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 147, summarily discounts it.

⁴ Cf. Brown, *Community*, on Jn 21:20-23. *Contra Moo*, *Passion*, 210-219, John is not thinking of the future parousia.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 559.

12:10 which mentions not only the piercing but also the looking”. Absolutely. The connection is too obvious and methodologically typical of John for him to miss it. There may also be a secondary connection with the rabbinic exegesis of the riven rock in the wilderness, whereby first came water and then blood – John certainly has a christological interest in both Moses and the rock itself.¹

This dual motif of salvation alongside judgement reveals a final intriguing facet. While “John does not indicate the subject of ὄψονταί”, it surely includes all those present at the crucifixion. John’s concern, however, is for here and now, and in that sense the ultimate symbolism may be of the entire humanity that Jesus died for (cf. 3:16) – in Mt 24:30; Re 1:7, the nations of the world are the subject. Furthermore, while he does not state whether they “look in hatred, remorse, or faith”,² one can hazard a guess that he has all three notions in mind – Zch 12:10 Heb refers specifically to remorse. Despite Jn 12:38-40 and the like, then, Seynaeve may be right to argue that John here finally holds out the hope of salvation for unbelieving Jews. They can ultimately respond with faith.³

¹ See Glasson, *Moses*, 34ff., 52ff. Moo, *Passion*, 210-219; Lindars, *John*, 591, rightly see an allusion in 19:34 to Zch 13:1, which refers to the opening of a fountain “to cleanse them from sin and uncleanness”. D.F. Squillaci, “Il cuore di Gesù Trafitto”, *Palestra del Clero* 37.2 (1958), 628-631, shows how the context of Zch 12 – 13 fits John’s purposes here admirably. A. Lefèvre, *Die Seitenwunde Jesu* (BibS, *Geist und Leben* 33; Würzburg, 1960), 90-91, concurs, adding that John finishes with a quotation from Deutero-Zechariah because it comes at the end of the prophetic canon and so sums up the whole prophetic tradition.

² Barrett, *Gospel*, 559.

³ Seynaeve, “Citations”, 73. Cf. Pancaro, *Law*, 351-352; Schnackenburg, *John* III, 293; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 146. M.J.J. Menken, “The Textual Form and the Meaning of the Quotation from Zechariah 12:10 in John 19:37”, *CBQ* 55 (1993), 494-511, argues that the subject of ὄψονταί is Christian believers, the first ones comprising those just mentioned in v. 35.

Preliminary conclusions

These nineteen texts are not all quotations, not all Old Testament, not all direct, and not all John's! We could slim them down, but by what criteria? If we exclude those that definitely do not derive from the Old Testament (17:12), what of those that definitely (12:13,15), probably (7:42) or possibly (7:37f.; 19:37) do not *immediately* derive from the Old Testament? If we exclude those that do not definitely derive from specific sources (7:37f.,42; 17:12), what of those whose sources cannot be determined *in toto* (6:31,45; 12:34; 19:36)? If we also exclude those that are indirect (7:42; 12:34) or that are passed on to John from the wider Christian tradition (1:23; 7:42 [probably]; 12:13,15,38 [possibly],40; 13:18; 19:24,28,36), only three might remain (2:17; 10:34; 15:25).

Even the soberest exclusion clause – barring those that cannot be reasonably confidently considered direct quotations of specific Old Testament texts – eliminates four (7:37f.,42; 12:34; 17:12), those among the most telling.¹ Conversely, retaining the full complement adheres closest to the spirit of the Gospel: exclusively and explicitly, *John presents all bar one as scripture*.² This is our criterion for inclusion. So it admits 12:34, which is usually ignored, while it excludes 18:9,32.

Ambiguities remain – three times it is not certain what the quotation is (7:37f.; 17:12; 19:28)! John definitely quotes the Psalms seven times (2:17; 10:34; 12:13; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24,28), but probably does so three more times (6:31; 12:34; 19:36); he definitely quotes Isaiah four times (1:23; 6:45; 12:38,40), but possibly does so once more (12:15); he definitely quotes Zechariah three times (12:13,15; 19:37), but probably does so once more (7:37). He does not definitely quote any others, but he probably quotes Exodus twice (6:31; 19:36), and Numbers, Nehemiah and Micah each once (19:36; 6:31; 7:42).

¹ Carson, “John”, 246, 248; Schuchard, *Scripture*, esp. xiii-xiv, exclude these and 12:13; 19:28, each ending up with thirteen “direct quotations”. Unless otherwise stated, from now on we will ignore the alternatives for 7:37f.; 19:28; the $\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon$ in 12:15; and those texts that play purely secondary roles.

² On 12:13, see over. Cf. Barrett's definition of John's proof-texts: “Explicit references to the verbal fulfilment of Scripture” (*Gospel*, 482).

He quotes the LXX verbatim three times (10:34; 12:38; 19:24), he almost certainly uses it five times (1:23; 2:17; 6:31; 12:34; 19:36), probably four times (6:45; 12:40; 13:18; 15:25), possibly twice (12:15; 19:28) and remotely possibly three times (7:37f.,42; 12:13). This leaves 17:12 – words of Jesus – and 19:37. He does not quote any Hebrew version verbatim, but he probably uses one twice (12:40; 13:18), quite possibly once (19:37), possibly four times (6:45; 12:15; 15:25; 19:28) and remotely possibly eight times (1:23; 2:17; 6:31; 7:37f.,42; 12:13,34; 19:36). This leaves 17:12 and the times he quotes the LXX verbatim. He probably uses the LXX *and* a Hebrew version twice (12:40; 13:18), possibly twice (6:45; 15:25) and remotely possibly ten times (1:23; 2:17; 6:31; 7:37f.,42; 12:13,15,34; 19:28,36). This leaves 17:12, the times he quotes the LXX verbatim, and 19:37. He uses a Christian version definitely twice (12:13,15), almost definitely once (7:42), quite possibly once (19:37) and remotely possibly once (7:37f.).

Given these variables, however, there remains much to be conclusive about.

The introductory formulas

At first glance John's introductory formulas may look like bland, non-eventful, appendages. All approximately the same length – the longest has 12 words (15:25),¹ the shortest has 3 words (6:31 / 12:15), the average has 5.5 words (5.2 including 12:13)² – they use a limited vocabulary (28 words 99 times),³ in the one context. Yet they give a unique insight into John's view of scripture and his innate Jewishness.

John must deem them important, since only 12:13 does not have one. This exception is not because of the quotation's looseness (*cf.* 7:37f.,42) or its juxtaposition to another (*cf.* 12:38-40; 19:36-37). The key lies in the fact that none of the Synoptists apply an introductory formula to it either. Not that any of the Gospel writers are bound

¹ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 120: "... probably the lengthiest formula in the New Testament".

² We follow UBS⁴ and count all ὅτι *recitatives*.

³ ὁ (ἡ) 18x; γραφή 8x; λέγω 7x (5x declined εἶπεν); γράφω (always declined γεγραμμένον), ἵνα, ὅτι (*recitative* 3x, dependent 2x, causal 1x), πληρόω (always declined πληρωθῆ) 6x; ἐστίν 5x; καθώς 4x; ἐν, Ἰησοῦς, λόγος, νόμος, προφήτης 3x; ἀλλά, αὐτός, οὐ, πάλιν 2x; ἀκούω, ἐκ, ἕτερος, ἡμεῖς, καί, μαθητής, μνησκω, ὅς, τελειώω, ὑμεῖς 1x.

by its possibly non-formulaic Christian origins – they each tailor it to their own needs anyway. Rather, it is so well known it requires no introduction. This is yet more true for John since he re-runs part of his version, Zch 9:9, two verses later: the subsequent formula makes one for 12:13 even less useful.¹ John, like the Synoptists, is simply not bound by habit, especially when it is tantamount to superfluity.

He usually places the formula before the scripture: given our conviction over 7:37f. he places only two after (1:23; 17:12), and none in the middle.² While two are similar to others elsewhere in the New Testament (10:34; 12:40), all his formulas are exclusive to him. This is not deliberate policy – he may not even have access to other Christian documents – it merely indicates his uniqueness as an early Christian writer. He repeats only two, each once (6:31 = 12:15; 17:12 = 19:36): and with no common ground between the pairs of scriptures, these repetitions simply reflect his stylistic tendencies. John is a creature of habits that are his servant, not his master.

That one repetition occurs in chs. 1 – 12 and the other in chs. 13 – 21, however, is significant in that the formulas fit neatly into these halves. Among the eleven in the first half, five words are relatively common that do not appear in the others: εἶπεν (1:23; 7:37f.,42; 12:38,40), ἐστὶν (2:17; 6:31,45; 10:34; 12:15),³ καθὼς (1:23; 6:31; 7:37f.; 12:15), Ἡσαΐας (1:23; 12:38,40) and προφήτης (1:23; 6:45; 12:38). A sixth, γεγραμμένον (2:17; 6:31,45; 10:34; 12:15), occurs in the others once (15:25). Moreover, while καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον occurs only twice in the first half, ἐστὶν plus γεγραμμένον occurs a further three times (2:17; 6:45; 10:34), and καθὼς εἶπεν twice (1:23; 7:37f.).⁴ The rhetorical formulas (7:42; 10:34) are also in this half. The literary traits of the seven in the second half are yet more impressive. Unlike most in the first half, they all bar 19:37 employ the ἵνα ... πληρωθῆ clause and they all bar 15:25 contain ἡ γραφή. Two conform to this wording totally (17:12; 19:36), while

¹ Schuchard, *Scripture*, xiv, n. 14, argues that John omits an introductory formula because 12:13 “represents not a reference to the Old Testament *per se*”.

² This happens elsewhere in the New Testament only in Ro 2:24.

³ εἶπεν or ἐστὶν occur in every formula in the first half except for in 12:34.

⁴ *I.e.*, ἐστὶν and γεγραμμένον always appear together in these introductory formulas. This is the more noticeable, since they never appear together in those of other New Testament writers.

three are variations on the same theme: 13:18 opens with ἀλλά, 19:24 adds ἡ λέγουσα, and 19:28 substitutes τελειωθῆ for πληρωθῆ.

Most of the ‘irregularities’ can be readily explained. 2:17 and 10:34 incorporate Johannine motifs, one the recollection of the disciples, the other John’s οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν). 7:37f.,42 employ γραφή, otherwise exclusive to the second half, for reasons that will become apparent. 12:34 incorporates more polemic, while its remainder, ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, is atypical since John does not deem the indirect reference subject to the usual etiquette.¹ 12:40 and 19:37 include πάλιν, the latter ἑτέρα too, since they follow on from previous scriptures, while the latter omits the purpose clause since it is supplied by 19:36. Indeed, the only real irregularity with 19:37 is the literary variation, λέγει (cf. 19:24). These final formulas provide perfect cadences, underscoring the symmetrical pairing with which each half concludes.

While John uses sixteen different formulas, these traits show that this is exactly what they are.² Even so, the halves should not be overly demarcated.³ John’s literary variations show that he is not bound by stylistic formats that are after all his own creation, and his other variations show that these formats are secondary to more fundamental issues anyway. In fact, each half contains a ‘rogue’ formula that echoes some of the traits of the other half. 12:38 adopts the ἵνα ... πληρωθῆ clause; 15:25 abandons ἡ γραφή for ὁ λόγος, and incorporates γεγραμμένος, ὅτι-*recitative* and a polemic akin to that in 10:34. Both, moreover, are the only ones to use λόγος, while 12:38 is the only one to use a relative pronoun.

It is unlikely that John himself is aware of all these traits. Yet the repetition motif at the end of each half is surely deliberate. So is the fact that as we approach the

¹ The presence of νόμος means that John still presents it as scripture.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 126, notes some of the traits and concludes, “The different types of formulas are to be understood in the light of [John’s] variation of style throughout”. His counting thirteen or fourteen different formulas, however, is peculiar: his exclusion of 12:34 and his ambiguity over ἡ λέγουσα in 19:24 still leaves him one short.

³ The scribal attempt to homogenize the second half by omitting ἡ λέγουσα in 19:24 disregards John’s stylistic flexibility. Hanson, *Living*, 115ff., conjectures that John takes the quotations introduced with the explicit fulfilment formula from Christian tradition, whereas the others are his own additions; cf. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 34: “καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον is likely to be John’s own creation”; Stanton, “Matthew”, 214-217: in Matthew the “formula quotations” are produced by the community while the others may go back to Jesus. But there is no evidence that this is the case – Carson, “John”, 248, deems it “very difficult to prove”.

Passion the formulas become purpose clauses – the crucifixion does not simply fulfil scripture, it is part of God’s *absolute will*. As John passes from Jesus’ public to his private ministry, the impending reality of the cross – now only days away (*cf.* 13:1f.) – makes his scriptural quotations all the more poignant. Their cutting edge has always having been the prospect of the crucifixion, but the heightening awareness of this triumph makes them keener than ever. John explicitly has ἡ γραφή quoted and, equally explicitly, these things happen so that ἡ γραφή may be fulfilled, in order to intensify this heightening.¹ This puts it beyond doubt that the division seen by some (notably Barrett in his 1947 article) between the proof-texts in John’s Passion Narrative and those in the rest of the Gospel,² is unwarranted.

The scriptural appellations

The formulas use five scriptural appellations: eight use γραφή (7:37f.,42; 13:18; 17:12; 19:24,28,36,37), three use Ἡσαΐας (1:23; 12:38,40), three use νόμος (10:34; 12:34; 15:25), three use προφήτης (1:23; 6:45; 12:38) and two use λόγος (12:38; 15:25). The remaining four (2:17; 6:31; 12:13,15) use none.

ἡ γραφή is John’s scriptural appellation *par excellence*. More than his using it for a montage of Jewish scriptures, more than his using it for Jewish scripture taken from Christian versions, it is immediately striking that he uses it for *Christian* scripture (17:12). John not only sees the work of other Christian writers (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) as on a par with Jewish scripture (*cf.* 7:42), he sees the *ipsissima vox Iesu* presented in his *own* writing this way.

Such a view of other Christian writings is representative of the earliest Christian communities. κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς in 1 Cor 15:3 includes “writings from the Christian tradition, if, indeed, the reference is not only to them”; in 1 Tm 5:18 Paul quotes Mt 10:10 (= Lk 10:7) alongside Dt 25:2, and deems both an integral part of ἡ γραφή; 2 Pe 3:15-16 implicitly puts Paul’s letters on a par with τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς. Indeed, the widespread early use of γραφή to introduce New Testament quotations forces

¹ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 86 (*cf.* n. 4), comes close to spotting this.

² Also D.M. Smith, *Johannine*, 89-90.

Freed to conclude: “some of the sayings of and about Jesus were very early put into writing and used with the same authority in the early church as O.T. scripture”.¹

This was paralleled by at least one Jewish sectarian group, the Essenes. To the Teacher of Righteousness, around whom all authority centred, God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets; and the written record of this, prolific as it was, became imbued with intrinsic authority. By the same token, since in early Christian communities authority centred around Jesus, “[w]ouldn’t an early Christian writing containing words of Jesus or about Jesus soon come to be regarded as γραφή, a writing with authority?”² For sure. This is why John can quote ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας with the same authority as that of Old Testament texts.

That he treats his own renderings of Jesus’ words this way (*cf.* esp. 2:22; 18:9,32; 20:9), indeed, that he deems his Gospel as he and his fellow Jews deem Jewish scripture – the source of ζωή (*cf.* 5:39; 20:31) – is not a mere extension of this idea, it is prerequisite: to assert that Jesus’ proclaiming of his thirst was necessary to complete ἡ γραφή necessitates that this new event together with John’s recording of it is itself γραφή.³ John’s self-proclaimed writing of scripture has plenty of contemporary Jewish precedent, as witnessed by the then burgeoning Jewish literature presenting itself as the work of some ancient divine.⁴ Indeed, he rewrites Jesus’ words partly for the same reason Jews were rewriting other texts – in a bid to elevate their sacredness.⁵ Yet despite these precedents, it seems that “Jn was the first N.T. writer to refer to an earlier Christian writing as ἡ γραφή” in the singular.⁶

Freed’s caution, that it is uncertain what γραφή means to John except that it is authoritative, is unnecessary. Its authority is that of scripture. Exactly what ‘scripture’ means to John is itself not cut and dried: but its virtue is that it imparts life by

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 119, 120; *cf.* 51-59.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Brawley, “Absent”, 434. John’s lack of notion of a fixed canon helps explain how he can treat Jewish scripture as he does, and how he can deem it incomplete without the Jesus event and his own record of it. Christians similarly interpolated / redacted the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

⁴ See D.S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (London: SCM, 1987).

⁵ *Cf.* Jubilees as a rewrite of the Law, with additional halakot.

⁶ Freed, *Quotations*, 120.

proclaiming Jesus as Messiah. It is not true that those Christian writings John terms γραφή, while “regarded as authoritative enough to be quoted by other Christian writers whose own writings became better known”, were “not yet fixed nor regarded as sacred”. Unfixed, sure, and “certainly differing in detail”. But sacred? Yes. At least by John, and at least as much as he regards any scripture sacred. Papias (c. 140 CE), while aware of Christian books, οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης (Eus. *H.E.* 3.39.4); and we cannot speak for other New Testament writers. But John uses ἡ γραφή for Christian writings just as he uses it for Jewish scripture¹ – its sacredness is *de facto*.

In another respect Freed is too precise. He has no warrant to presume that ἡ γραφή “may have meant only a writing or written source which [John] had read or used, perhaps still without a name, but a written tradition, nevertheless”. If John can conflate Old Testament texts, even quote them from memory without quite knowing where they come from, he can do the same with Christian texts.² Indeed, in that John takes 17:12 (*cf.* 18:9,32) from his own Gospel, he certainly does not take it from a previous written source. There is nothing to say that he cannot take his Christian texts from oral tradition, even that of his own community.

The two times he uses γραφή in a formula in the first half, it is for scriptures that have a specifically Christian input: 7:37f. and 7:42 (the others in the first half of this ilk, 12:13,15, have no appellation). Clearly, John overrides his reserving of γραφή for the second half when a scriptural quotation in the first half has such input. Having decided to use an appellation at all – and his explicit presentation of these texts, fundamentally altered by their new Christian environs, as scripture is surely calculated – only γραφή suffices. Again we see John’s mastery over his literary tools, and his ability to obviate stylistic habit for the greater good.

Ἡσαΐας and προφήτης, exclusive to the first half, signal John’s only attempts to indicate the source of his scriptural quotations. He uses Ἡσαΐας every time the

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 120: “These writings were soon quoted ... on the same basis of authority as the writings of the O.T.”

² While Achtemeier goes too far, he is right that the New Testament was produced in “a culture of high residual orality” (“Oral”, 3, 19).

quotation comes exclusively from Isaiah, and as good as always puts it in apposition to προφήτης (in 1:23 and 12:38 explicitly, in 12:40 implicitly ¹). Equally, he always associates προφήτης with Isaiah. His reference τοῖς προφήταις in 6:45, then, initially seems somewhat anomalous. What motivates him, however, is that the quotation is an Isaianic conflate. He cannot do what comes naturally, *i.e.*, cite Isaiah, since the involvement of Exodus and other sources makes this a technical inaccuracy. Yet the association of προφήτης with Ἡσαΐας means that this way he can sate his inclination without compromising himself: he not so much draws attention to The Prophets as to Isaiah. ² Thus it is not just that he never uses προφήτης to introduce scriptures that have a specifically Christian input, he would never want to. He is aware of his sources – conflates included – and while he cites Isaiah only one other time (12:41), he seems to have a special affinity with both book and prophet.

νόμος – used twice in the first half, once in the second half – always introduces a Psalm. One might be tempted to presume, then, that it is a euphemism for the Psalms, just as John cites Isaiah when he can, or that it implies the Psalms, just as προφήτης implies Isaiah. Yet the other times John at least probably quotes a Psalm, in the first half (2:17; 6:31; 12:13) he uses no appellation, and in the second half (13:18; 19:24,28,36) he uses γραφή. It would seem, then, that in typical rabbinic fashion John uses νόμος as a euphemism for Jewish scripture generally. ³

He firmly sets νόμος each time within a polemical context. Yet it cannot be loaded with negative connotations any more than ἐν τοῖς προφήταις is. The only contrast could be with ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια Jesus brings (1:17), but then it would need to refer specifically to the Law of Moses instead of to what probably comes a close second as John's favourite Old Testament writing. Besides, as a euphemism for scripture it testifies to Jesus (*cf.* 5:39f.) ⁴ and as such is precious to John's community. Rather, John reserves it for those scriptural quotations whose Jewishness is central to

¹ It is supplied by 12:38. This is why John again omits it in 12:41.

² Menken, "Joh 6,45", 167; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 49-50, miss the point and make 1:23 & 12:38 the exceptions. If John knowingly involves Isaiah in 12:15 it is too insignificant to single out.

³ See Schuchard, *Scripture*, 120 n. 8. That John does not use it for either of the two probably Pentateuchal texts is surely incidental.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 156: "the entire Old Testament testifies to Jesus".

the plot. Again, then, it is not just that he never uses it to introduce scriptures that have a specifically Christian input, he would never want to. To this extent it delineates a body of writings: Jewish versions of Jewish scripture.

Like three concentric circles, within the formulas John intrinsically connects προφήτης to Isaiah, νόμος to all scripture as recognized by Jews, and γραφή to all scripture as recognized by himself.¹ He never puts them together. Yet both times he uses λόγος he puts it alongside one of them, in 12:38 Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου, in 15:25 ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. It carries no weight, not even to stress that John has at least as good as a single text in mind since he does not use it any other time this is the case (inc. 1:23; 2:17; 10:34; 12:40; 13:18; 19:24,28,37). That John further designates it as νόμος in 15:25 also shows that he gives it no intrinsic scriptural connotation. This is why it is characteristic of neither half, why John uses it alongside other appellations, and why he uses it with specifically Christian scripture (18:9,32). Why, then, does he bother to use it in the ‘rogue’ formulas at all? For the sake of literary variation.

The three formulas that contain no appellation (2:17; 6:31; 12:15) all contain γεγραμμένον, which each time seems to carry an air of *gravitas*. Given that John never uses two appellations together, this is not one since it also appears in 6:45, 10:34 and 15:25. Instead it is a substitute for one, specifically γραφή. Thus every formula *as good as* contains an appellation, something that specifically designates that scripture is being referred to. This explains why John does not always deem a ‘genuine’ appellation necessary; why he never puts γραφή and γεγραμμένον together;² and why he can use γεγραμμένον to introduce a scripture that has a specifically Christian input (12:15) – if he uses a formula at all, he introduces every such scripture (7:37f.,42; 12:13,15; 17:12; 19:37) with γραφή or γεγραμμένον, nothing else.

Without again importing γραφή from the second half, John has to use this implicit appellation in the ‘christianised’ 12:15, while his motivation in 2:17 and 6:31 can only be that of further literary variety. It is significant that all three are in the first

¹ *Contra* Freed, *Quotations*, 126, it is “impossible to classify Jn’s quotations ... on the basis of ... formulas of introduction”; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 154 n. 13, “νόμος and γραφή are used by John interchangeably”.

² The one time John does not use γραφή in the second half (15:25) he uses γεγραμμένον.

half, the latter two nearer the start of it at that: again as if to underscore the impact of the quotations as the Gospel proceeds, John soon insists on explicit appellations.

Even allowing for the ‘christianised’ 12:15, that John refers γεγραμμένον to the Psalter only four of the five other times he uses it – three times exclusively (2:17; 10:34; 15:25), once not exclusively (6:31)¹ – means that no link can be made between the two. And with ten Psalm quotations to choose from, the coincidence is not that great. He uses γραφή or γεγραμμένον in eight of the nine formulas that introduce Psalm quotations, but the one exception (12:34) still precludes any link.² Indeed, while the four non-Psalm quotations he introduces with γραφή have a specifically Christian input (7:37f.,42; 17:12; 19:37), aside from those that refer to Isaiah these are his only other scriptural quotations anyway. For sure he could reserve his favourite appellation for one of his favourite sources – after all, he gives Isaiah special attention – he just does not: the apparent link soon dissipates.

The other New Testament writers never use γεγραμμένον in their introductory formulas, rather, γέγραπται. Since John would be aware of this well-known term – it appeared frequently in pagan inscriptions and papyri intended as inviolable and legally binding³ – Freed tentatively suggests that he uses γραφή and γεγραμμένον instead because they give him “an even greater license for altering his quotations to suit his theological purposes”.⁴ His logic is clear: while γραφή carried an air of ultimate authority, it was not deemed unalterable – all early Christian writers felt free to adapt it to their own needs; John, aware of this contrast with γέγραπται, feels that γραφή and its near equivalent γεγραμμένον serve his purposes better. But it is wrong.

It is simply not the case that theological tampering with scripture “is probably truer for Jn than for any other N.T. writer”. Thus the aversion for γέγραπται among New Testament writers would be fairly widespread if the term discouraged them from taking such liberties. Instead, whatever its connotation in pagan contexts, New

¹ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 34, uses the fact that ἔστιν plus γεγραμμένον introduces non-conflates (inc. 12:15) on every other occasion to argue that 6:31 is also a non-conflate.

² Even though John does not subject 12:34 to his usual stylistic tendencies, he would have it conform in this regard if the point was of any real concern to him.

³ See Deissmann, *Studies*, 112f., 249f.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 127.

Testament quotations introduced with γέγραπται are treated as flexibly as those not (*cf.* Is 40:3 LXX in Mk & Lk).

What Freed concedes as a possibility – that γραφή and γεγραμμένον mean to John what γέγραπται means to others ¹ – is the only alternative. As far back as Cremer it was accepted that the use of ἡ γραφή in the New Testament “implies the same idea as is stamped upon the usage of γέγραπται, *viz.*, a reference to the regulative character of the particular document as a whole, which character gives it a unique position, in virtue of which ἡ γραφή is always spoken of as an authority”. ² That John uses the two conjugates and not the other must be put down to his unique stylistic preferences.

John associates a notion of inspiration with certain writings, and accepts them as God’s oracles. This is no anachronism of strands of modern-day fundamentalism – he is prepared to change tenses, persons, contexts, anything to get them to say what they mean. Yet that he gets them to say it at all proves the point: whether he cites Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης, οἱ προφήται, ὁ νόμος, ἡ γραφή, or just states that it stands γεγραμμένον, he speaks of a specific entity: scripture.

That he accepts *Christian* writings under this heading is not as significant for us as is the fact that he accepts the *Jewish* scriptures under it, including many that were roughly contemporaneous. Far from being an antiquated, innocuous relic, the Jewish scriptures were a growing feature within the changing sense of Jewish self-identity, and it is these that John presumes to be a foundation and expression of his community’s faith. This reflects his own self-identity. He uses the Jewish scriptures as only a Jew could use them, and in a way that only a Jew could understand.

Excursus: 18:9,32

These sayings of Jesus, the second of which is merely referred to, are of the same ilk as 17:12. Indeed, if 17:12 is a quotation of 6:39, it and 18:9 *are* the same. It is not surprising, then, that John regards them as scripture, demanding fulfilment just as other scriptures do. The introductory formulas make so much clear. That they exist at

¹ Schuchard, *Scripture*, 18 n. 6, simply assumes this.

² Cited by Deissmann, *Studies*, 112.

all is significant, as is their construction, ἵνα (...) πληρωθῆ, even that they precede their quotations.¹ They resemble the rogue formulas of 12:38 and 15:25. The only difference between them and 12:38 is that 18:9 switches λόγος with πληρωθῆ (Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου is irrelevant) while 18:32 replaces Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου with τοῦ Ἰησοῦ – *i.e.*, John introduces Jesus' words precisely as he introduces those of his probably favourite Jewish scriptural writer! Yet since they lack what would work as a scriptural appellation, γραφή, John does not *present* the sayings as scripture.

It would be tautologous to use the formulas' uncharacteristic elements to back this point up, and wrong in view of 12:38 and 15:25: yet it is consistent that John does not subject the formulas to his usual stylistic tendencies. Even so, the all-pervasiveness of the purpose clause as a prophetic intensifier in the second half makes John retain the ἵνα ... πληρωθῆ construction.

The quotations

Characteristics

John's Old Testament quotations are rare: eighteen in as many verses gives one for and in every 48.1 verses – 2.1% of the verses in his Gospel contain one.² This is not to question his regard for the Jewish scriptures – even his quotations that have a specifically Christian input (7:37f.,42; 12:13,15) serve to enhance the originals, just as the work of the Tannaim did. It simply shows that he deems his work a fresh scriptural enterprise: the Jewish scriptures as much enhance *his* veracity. Nor are his attendant new insights incompatible with a Jewish mind-set – such were inevitable within the flexibilities of first century Jewish faith (*cf. e.g.*, Philo, *Mos.* 1 & 2). It would only be incompatible with a Jewish mind-set if his insights positively contradicted existing Jewish scriptural hermeneutic.

¹ The formula in 17:12, however, is one of the two that come after their quotation!

² This is based on UBS⁴. It has 866 verses in John (excl. 5:4; 7:53 – 8:11), 1068 in Matthew (excl. 17:21; 18:11; 23:14), 661 in Mark (excl. 7:16; 9:44,46; 11:26; 15:28; 16:9-19) and 1149 in Luke (excl. 17:36).

John's distribution too seems fairly even (see fig. 4d), but when the 'two halves' are superimposed it is clear that while he quotes scripture as the need arises, there is a flurry of proof-texts in the closing stages of each half: five of the twelve in the first half are in ch. 12, four of the six in the second half are in ch. 19.¹ This seems deliberate. John's intent is again to heighten their impact by raising their profile at the climax of each half.

It is wrong to make too much of this. Yet it does vindicate our contention that far from being 'second-class citizens' John's proof-texts are part of the Gospel's fabric, and that those in the Passion Narrative should not be hived off from the others. Conversely, it says little for any complex relocating of the Gospel material.

Sources

John's sources are essentially straightforward. He quotes seven Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning six:² the Psalms in 10 quotations (56%), 7 of which are non-conflate;³ Isaiah in 4 or 5 (22% / 28%), 4 of which are non-conflate; Zechariah in 4 (22%), 2 or 3 of which are non-conflate; Exodus in 2 (11%), neither of which are non-conflate; and Numbers, Nehemiah and Micah each in 1 (6%), Micah's being non-conflate.⁴ There is no observable difference between the halves save that John quotes Isaiah only in the first; yet since they are distinct purely in style, this is to be expected.

John's range is not wide. He uses Exodus, Numbers and Nehemiah, moreover, only in two conflates (6:31; 19:36). Thus he predominantly resorts to the Psalms, Isaiah and Zechariah, using at least one of them in every Old Testament quotation bar 7:42. In fact, eleven of his quotations are non-conflates from either the Psalms or Isaiah, while another three or four incorporate either one of them. Further, all those

¹ Ch. 19 marks the end of John's scriptural quotations. That ch. 21 (like the Johannine epistles) contains none need not suggest a different author: it would be unthinkable to say such a thing of ch. 20, besides, none of the final chapters in the Synoptics contain any either.

² By Jewish reckoning 1 & 2 Samuel, 1 & 2 Kings, 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah and the Minor Prophets are all single books.

³ They have only one primary source, though any number of secondary sources.

⁴ We count each text once: we make no distinction between those used on their own and those used in conflates; we take no account of their size (those covering a number of consecutive verses we count once, those covering a number of non-consecutive verses we count separately) or of how often they are used; and we include all those that are equally valid sources for a quotation.

that involve Zechariah or Micah have a specifically Christian input. Thus the Psalms and Isaiah are the only Old Testament books from which John takes non-conflate quotations that do not have a specifically Christian input, and they appear in all his quotations that do not have this input. He never uses them together.

Matthew quotes fifteen Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning eleven; Mark ten, by Jewish reckoning nine; and Luke nine, by Jewish reckoning eight (see fig. 5). Following the Christian / Jewish division of the canon, then, Matthew uses 2.1 / 1.8 times as many as John, Mark 1.4 / 1.5 and Luke 1.3 / 1.3. Yet per verse Matthew uses 1.7 / 1.5 times as many as John, Mark 1.9 / 1.9 and Luke 1.0 / 1.0, while per quotation Matthew uses 0.7 / 0.6 times as many, Mark 1.0 / 1.0 and Luke 0.9 / 0.9 (see fig. 6).¹

These figures must be treated with circumspection, but they do present a fuller picture: while the Synoptists all quote more Old Testament books than John does, if anything John and Luke together contrast with Matthew and, perhaps more so, Mark. Again, however, the contrast is hardly so stark that John's methodology is inconsistent with that of early Gospel writers generally – he is not alone in his limited and selective use of Old Testament sources.

John's non-conflate quotations derive from four Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning three – primarily the Psalms and Isaiah but also Zechariah and Micah. Matthew uses twelve Old Testament books this way, by Jewish reckoning nine; Mark nine, by Jewish reckoning nine; and Luke eight, by Jewish reckoning eight (see fig. 7). In this way Matthew uses 3.0 / 3.0 times as many as John, Mark 2.3 / 3.0 and Luke 2.0 / 2.7. Yet per verse, Matthew uses 2.4 / 2.4 times as many as John, Mark 2.9 / 3.9 and Luke 1.5 / 2.0, while per quotation Matthew uses 1.0 / 0.9 times as many, Mark 1.6 / 2.1 and Luke 1.4 / 1.8 (see fig. 8).²

¹ Matthew quotes a different book for every 1.40% / 1.03% of his verses, Mark a different book for every 1.51% / 1.34%, Luke a different book for every 0.78% / 0.70%, and John a different book for every 0.81% / 0.69%. Matthew quotes a different book for every 27% / 20% of his Old Testament quotations, Mark a different book for every 38% / 34%, Luke a different book for every 35% / 31%, and John a different book for every 39% / 33%. Fig. 6 presents these percentages.

² Matthew quotes a non-conflate from a different Old Testament book for every 1.12% / 0.84% of his verses, Mark does so for every 1.36% / 1.36%, Luke does so for every 0.70% / 0.70%, and John does so for every 0.46% / 0.35%. Matthew quotes a non-conflate from a different book for every 22% / 16% of his Old Testament quotations, Mark does so for every 35% / 35%, Luke does so for every 31% / 31%, and John does so for every 22% / 17%. Fig. 8 presents these percentages.

This suggests that John is the only one to use appreciably fewer Old Testament books for non-conflate quotations than he uses altogether – the contrast between him and the others, even Luke, shows a marked increase. Thus not only are his Old Testament quotations rarer and more terse, the spectrum of books he tends to draw them from is more narrow.

This is not because he has a limited access to the Old Testament, perhaps covering just the Psalms and Isaiah. Only Esther is missing at Qumran, and more importantly, only the least significant Old Testament books are not quoted in the New Testament somewhere.¹ It is fair to assume, then, that John too – both as a Jew and as a Christian – has access to at least most of the Old Testament; but has a special affinity to the Psalms and Isaiah. This again reveals his utilitarianism: what he does not need he does not use (*cf.* 20:30-31). It also vindicates our contention that his renderings are the result not of a lack of resources, but rather of conscious decision-making.

Three of John's texts are Christian: 17:12; 18:9,32. Again he treats the latter two in the same way he treats his Jewish texts. In 18:9 he quotes Jesus' words from 6:39, making some alterations: he omits $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$; he changes the acc. sing. neut. relative pronoun to an acc. pl. masc., and the gen. sing. neut. personal pronoun to a gen. pl. masc.; he renders $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ as a 2s perf. ind. act. rather than as a 3s; and he renders $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\iota$ as a 1s aor.1. ind. act. plus $\omicron\upsilon$ rather than as a subj. plus $\mu\grave{\eta}$. All these alterations are contextual, save for his putting $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\iota$ in the past tense in order to present the quotation as fulfilled prophecy. He must deem them faithful to the text, since he would hardly sully his own writing.

In 18:32 he singles out those words by which Jesus indicates how he will die. He may again have a specific text in mind (*e.g.*, 3:14; *cf.* 21:19) but choose not to quote it, not even indirectly. Yet this need not be the case: he may equally have a whole group of Jesus' words in mind (*cf.* 7:37f.,42). Far from detracting from the text's significance, this supports our contention that John sees Jesus' words generally as scripture – as equal a quarry for extracting quotations from as Jewish scripture.

¹ With our emendations, according to UBS⁴ those not quoted are Judges, Ruth, Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Obadiah and Zephaniah (unless John uses it in 12:15).

Matthew uses Deuteronomy in 13 of his Old Testament quotations (24%); Isaiah in 11 (20%); the Psalms in 9 (16%); Exodus in 8 (14.5%); Leviticus in 5 (9%); Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Zechariah in 3 (5.5%); Genesis, Micah in 2 (4%); Numbers, Samuel (2), Jonah, Malachi in 1 (2%). Mark uses Deuteronomy in 7 quotations (27%); Exodus, Psalms, Isaiah in 5 (19%); Daniel in 3 (11.5%); Leviticus in 2 (8%); Genesis, Jeremiah, Zechariah, Malachi in 1 (4%). Luke uses the Psalms in 7 quotations (27%); Deuteronomy in 6 (23%); Isaiah in 5 (19%); Exodus in 4 (15%); Leviticus in 2 (8%); Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Malachi in 1 (4%) (see figs. 9 & 10). Thus while all four Gospel writers quote from all three sections of Jewish scripture¹ they each use a fairly select number of books. Indeed, together they quote only sixteen / twelve of the books in the Christian / Jewish canon.

Freed uses Jn 1:23; 7:37f.; 17:12 to show John's "kinship to that of the wisdom literature of the ... Old Testament".² Yet none of the Gospel writers, if not no early Christian writers generally, seem particularly fond of quoting wisdom literature. Of the above sixteen books, three are quoted by only one of them (Samuel and Jonah by Mt; Nehemiah by Jn), four by two of them (Genesis by Mt, Mk; Hosea by Mt, Lk; Numbers and Micah by Mt, Jn), and one by three of them (Zechariah by Mt, Mk, Jn), none extensively.³ Of the remaining eight, all four writers seem fond of quoting the Psalms and Isaiah. All the Synoptics also quote Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Malachi and Daniel, even though John quotes none of them save Exodus.

These trends are borne out by comparing how the Gospels use these books in non-conflate quotations.⁴ Matthew uses Isaiah this way in 10 quotations (18%); the Psalms in 9 (16%); Deuteronomy in 8 (14.5%); Leviticus, Hosea, Daniel in 3 (5.5%); Genesis, Exodus, Jeremiah in 2 (4%); Jonah, Micah, Zechariah in 1 (2%). Mark uses

¹ The earliest notice of the tripartition of biblical writings comes from the 2nd century BCE – in the preface to the Greek translation of the originally Hebrew *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, the translator praises the author's reading τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν βιβλίων.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 127.

³ Only four occur in more than one quotation in any Gospel: Genesis and Micah in two of Matthew's, Hosea in three of Matthew's, and Zechariah in three of Matthew's, four of John's. *I.e.*, only one occurs in more than 5.6% of any Gospel's Old Testament quotations – Zechariah, in 22% of John's, at that consistently *via* Christian tradition.

⁴ We include quotations with more than one primary source but from the same book.

the Psalms this way in 5 quotations (19%); Deuteronomy in 4 (15%); Isaiah, Daniel in 3 (11.5%); Exodus, Leviticus in 2 (8%); Genesis, Jeremiah, Zechariah in 1 (4%). Luke uses the Psalms this way in 7 quotations (27%); Deuteronomy, Isaiah in 5 (19%); Exodus, Leviticus in 2 (8%); Jeremiah, Hosea, Daniel in 1 (4%) (see figs. 11 & 12).

John's use of the Psalms – they contribute to over 55% of his Old Testament quotations and account entirely for a little under 40% – and his fondness for Isaiah (the only book he names) is more exaggerated than the Synoptists'; but his correlation with them marks a common cause. All four writers are not merely most familiar with these books, they find them more compliant with their messianic exegesis. However, John's virtual non-use of the Pentateuch reveals his independence from the Synoptics. This non-use is hardly polemically oriented, since he quotes the Pentateuch at all. Perhaps he is not so familiar with it, but ultimately it forfeits its position by default: as quarries for his messianic midrash, the Psalms and Isaiah are usually sufficient.

While Jeremiah, Malachi and Daniel are not quoted extensively by any of the Synoptists,¹ John's non-use of them too is worthy of comment. The Synoptists always quote Daniel within the context of futurist eschatology, all but once (Mt 24:15; *cf.* Lk 22:69) referring to the son of man coming on the clouds. Of course John entertains futurist eschatology (*cf.* 14:1f.) – just as the Synoptists entertain realized eschatology (*cf.* Mk 9:1ff., *pars.*) – but he does not stress it; and he restricts the son of man to a realized setting (1:51; 3:13; 6:27; 9:35), usually that of the crucifixion (3:14; 6:53,62; 8:28; 12:23,34; 13:31). This is surely why he does not share the Synoptists' enthusiasm for Daniel – he does not share in their vested interest that Daniel lends itself to. Similarly, Jeremiah had come to be associated with contexts that John is either not aware of or not interested in,² while Malachi had come to be associated with contexts he has a positive aversion to.³

¹ Only Daniel is used in more than 5.6% of anyone's quotations – in 11.5% of Mark's.

² Mt 2:18 applies Jr 31:15 to Herod's killing of the boy infants; Mt 27:9-10 applies Jr 18:2-3 to the field of blood purchased by Judas; Mt 21:13b; Mk 11:17b; Lk 19:46b, apply Jr 7:11 to the cleansing of the Temple. *Cf.* the allusion to Jr 5:21 in Mk 8:18.

³ Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2; Lk 7:27, apply Mal 3:1 to the Baptist's mission. *Cf.* the allusion to Mal 3:23-24 in Mt 17:10-11; Mk 9:11-12; Lk 1:17.

Both John and Matthew appear fond of Zechariah – John perhaps more so – and quote Zch 9:9 within the same context (Mt 21:5; Jn 12:13,15). John’s other quotations from it, however (Jn 7:37f.; 19:37), contrast with those of the Synoptists’ (Mk 14:27, par. Mt 26:31; Mt 27:9-10) in that his alone are intended specifically to verify a realized eschatology. This again reiterates the independence of his scriptural tradition.

Versions

Save for the three times John follows the LXX (A B ⌘) verbatim, the version he uses is never certain. Yet since he quite probably uses the LXX for twelve of his quotations and possibly for all of them bar 19:37, and since it is safe to assume that he has access to at least the vast majority of the Jewish scriptures, it is also safe to assume that he has access to the complete LXX. This confirms that he avoids it in 19:37 not out of necessity, but out of choice. Moreover, since he probably uses a Hebrew version for at least two of his quotations and possibly for all of them bar three, there now seems little to suggest that his Hebrew access is limited. This confirms that he avoids the Hebrew (however often) not out of necessity either.¹

His overriding use of the LXX, then, comes down to personal preference. This need not imply that he is more familiar with it or that he feels better served by it: it is understandable that in a predominantly Greek-speaking Ephesus he should prefer the Greek language – after all, most are agreed that this is the language he writes in. That it is specifically the LXX he is conversant with reflects its status as *the* popular Greek translation.² That he is conversant with at least one Hebrew *Vorlage* is also unsurprising: it is equally understandable that he should be familiar with the scriptures

¹ Other views exist. Schuchard, *Scripture*, 151 (cf. x-xvii, 151-154), gives “tangible evidence for the use of one and only one textual tradition, the OG”. Torrey, *Four*, 330, argues that John quotes only from the Hebrew and from memory. Burney, *Aramaic, passim*, argues that John quotes only from the Aramaic. Reim, *Studien*, 96, has John use a Hebrew text, but not with unlimited access. Freed, *Quotations*, 126; Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 154; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 249, argue that in the final analysis nothing can be determined about which versions John uses.

² See Schuchard, *Scripture*, 154 n. 11; Schnackenburg, *John I*, 110, who deduces John’s “Hellenistic environment”; Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 282: “the general tendency within the Gospels is towards conformity with the Septuagint ... That tendency is only natural”.

as they were written in the sacred language of his own people.¹ And one should not forget his recourse to targumic tradition (6:31,45; 7:42; cf. 12:41).

Those quotations that betray a prior specifically Christian tailoring (in context, reading, or both) are 12:13,15, almost certainly 7:42, and remotely possibly 7:37f. Moreover, while John himself alters all his quotations – bar the three that escape because the LXX suits his needs admirably² – he alters 7:37f.,42 to such an extent that they are no longer intelligible outside their new settings. As given by John, then, these four quotations are exclusively Christian versions.³

Since John recognizes Christian scripture, it is only natural that he recognizes Christian versions of Jewish scripture – versions, moreover, that if 19:37 qualifies can remain more faithful to the Hebrew than the LXX does. Are some or all of these versions *testimonia*? The only real evidence that *testimonia* were in circulation this early is 4Q*Testimonia* and, to a lesser extent, 4Q*Florilegium*. Even the former, however, seems to be “only a stringing together of Old Testament passages without introductory formulas, in the same manner as in the books of Revelation and Hebrews”.⁴ There is also the issue of whether John would have access to *testimonia*.

Freed is at pains to suggest that John takes none of his quotations from *testimonia*.⁵ His arguments are sometimes presumptuous (for 19:37, decidedly weak), yet he is a corrective to what is all too often assumed. Only six of John’s Old Testament quotations are quoted by other New Testament writers, and only once in the same way (John and Paul quote Is 53:1a LXX verbatim). This is a little strange if he tends to draw them from a common ‘stock’. It is incongruous to say that just because John is the only one to use a text there is no reason why he cannot take it from a *testimonium*:

¹ Schnackenburg, *John I*, 110: the Semitic colouring of John’s language “will make one hesitate to question his Jewish origin ...”; cf. Barrett, *Gospel*, 11.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 98f., is surely wrong that in 7:32ff. John follows the Hebrew rather than the LXX of Is 55:6 because the LXX mistranslates – the Hebrew simply suits John better.

³ The setting in 19:37 is the result of John’s rerouting of a traditional Christian setting, but John may take the quotation from a Jewish rather than Christian Hebrew version.

⁴ Freed, *Quotations*, 128; cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (London: SCM, 1961), 280 n. 1: “The title *Testimonia* is a trifle too *nuancé*, as it is by no means clear that we have here the sort of document proposed by Rendel Harris”. On their content, see Vermes, *Dead*, 293-296.

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 117-130. Young, “Study”, denies that John has a *testimonia* list of suitable texts even from his canonical mentor. Schuchard, *Scripture*, is silent on the issue.

it is not incumbent to prove that John does not use *testimonia* but that he does. And it is tautologous to use *testimonia* to explain the kind of phenomenon found in 6:31, 7:37f., even 1:51, only then to use these passages as proof that John uses *testimonia*.

Nevertheless, as Freed notes, it is not possible emphatically to refute that John ever resorts to *testimonia*. Quite possibly two of his Christian versions are *testimonia* (12:15; 19:37), possibly three are (adding 12:13), and remotely possibly all four are (adding 7:42)! Two conclusions are available: that as with the Hebrew and LXX John's access to Christian *testimonia* is extensive but he chooses to use them only when they best suit his purposes (which is not that often and maybe never); or that he has no access to them and maybe is not even aware of their existence. This is not very helpful – but short of Freed's sin there is little else to say. Except for two things: if John does not use *testimonia*, it is hardly out of principle since he is not averse to Christian versions *per se* – his community may have its own version of the Jewish scriptures; and if he does use them, they no more restrict him than do other versions.

That John works from memory must now be qualified. Achtemeier and Goodwin are correct that even John's accurate quotations could be from memory. Yet that John refers five times to the Prophet to come without ever quoting Dt 18:15ff. does not support Goodwin's notion – “suggested” by the “rarity” of John's Old Testament quotations – “that John quoted from memory with no books on hand to consult”. Goodwin's conclusion – that John “quoted the Old Testament rarely, loosely [incl. 1:23!], and confusedly, often conflating two or more passages, distorting their meaning and hiding their context” – misses the point.¹

John is familiar with the Jewish scriptures: no tricks of memory, *all* his hybridizations are deliberate. Wilcox lists factors that produce variations in a number of scriptural quotations in the Gospels-Acts: “(a) a different text form, (b) interpretation in the light of an exegetical tradition attested in other sources, (c) use of set phrases from one OT verse to interpret another ... (d) correction of a more ‘standard’ form in

¹ Goodwin, “Sources?”, 62, 73; cf. Fortna, *Signs*, 12: John is simply inaccurate and inexact in his reproducing of the Jewish scriptures. Achtemeier, “Oral”, 27, argues merely that all John's quotations are “much more likely to be quoted from memory than to be copied from a source”.

the light of the Hebrew text, and (e) ... not all of a given suspected allusion may in fact be such".¹ Nor is this the whole story. Freed makes the point eloquently: "In reality ... the writer adapts each quotation to his context, to his literary style, and to the whole scheme of composition. The same thing is true for other N.T. writers than Jn, even for the Synoptists. But in no other writer are the O.T. quotations so carefully woven into the context and the whole plan of composition as in Jn".²

John has Christian versions of Ps 118:25-26a (12:13), Mic 5:1 (7:42), Zch 9:9 (12:13,15), 14:8 (7:37f.) and perhaps 12:10 (19:37). This accounts for all his quotations involving Zechariah, while for none involving Isaiah (except Is 35:4 in 12:15) and only one involving the Psalms – at that a conflate, and then because the Christian version is too renowned to ignore. It is miserly to discount Isaiah's non-involvement as fortuitous and to ignore that of the Psalms as not absolute: with one understandable exception none of John's fourteen quotations that involve the Psalms or Isaiah are included, while all the others are (see fig. 13). There is surely no *methodological* criterion behind this; but it is easy to see a pragmatic one. John's familiarity with the Psalms and Isaiah – both cause and effect of his fondness for them – makes him less prone to access them *via* 'ready-made' Christian versions or to 'Christianize' them himself.³ The Jewish version he generally takes them from is the LXX.

The Psalms and Isaiah feature in eight of the nine quotations John takes exclusively from single texts (1:23; 2:17; 10:34; 12:38,40; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24: he may take the ninth, 19:37, from a Christian version anyway). Again, his utilitarianism does not allow for a methodological criterion; rather, his methodology remains constant – to use whatever sources and versions serve him best. But it does once more confirm his predilection for these two books.

¹ M. Wilcox, "Text Form", in Carson & Williamson (eds.), *Written*, 193-204, here 203.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 129. This is directed at those who limit John to Hebrew versions, but Freed continues (130): the view that "[t]he actual form of Jn's quotations may even be the result of study of written texts ... is a preferable alternative to that of memory".

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 419, is right that "John uses Old Testament *testimonia* more frequently in narrative than in discourse" – he *always* uses them in narrative. Yet this is difficult to make anything of, since John at most uses them in only three settings anyway: 7:42; 12:13ff.; 19:37.

Speakers

John uses five speakers for his Old Testament quotations: Jesus 6 times (6:45; 7:37f.; 10:34; 13:18; 15:25; 19:28: 33%); himself 6 times (12:15,38,40; 19:24,36,37); the crowd 4 times (6:31; 7:42; 12:13,34: 22%); Jesus' disciples (2:17) and the Baptist (1:23) 1 time (5.5%). The Synoptists too use few speakers. Matthew uses eight: Jesus 39 times (4:4,7,10; 5:21,27,31,33,38,43; 9:13; 10:35-36; 11:10; 12:7,40; 13:13,14-15; 15:4a,b,8-9; 18:16; 19:4,5,18-19a,b; 21:13a,b,16,42; 22:32,37,39,44; 23:39; 24:15,30; 26:31,64a,b; 27:46: 71%); himself 10 times (1:23a,b; 2:15,18; 4:15-16; 8:17; 12:18-21; 13:35; 21:5; 27:9-10: 18%); the chief priests and teachers of the law (2:6), the Baptist (3:3), the Devil (4:6), the Pharisees (19:7), the crowds (21:9) and the Sadducees (22:24) 1 time (2%). Mark uses six: Jesus 19 times (4:12; 7:6-7,10a,b; 10:6-8,19; 11:17a,b; 12:10-11,26,29-30,31,36; 13:14,26; 14:27,62a,b; 15:34: 73%); a teacher of the law 3 times (12:32,33a,b: 11.5%); himself (1:2-3), the Pharisees (10:4), the people (11:9-10) and the Sadducees (12:19) 1 time (4%). Luke uses six: Jesus 17 times (4:4,8,12; 7:27; 8:10; 13:35; 18:20; 19:46a,b; 20:17,37,42-43; 21:27; 22:37,69; 23:30,46: 65%); himself 4 times (2:23,24; 3:4-6; 4:18-19: 16%); a teacher of the law 2 times (10:27a,b: 8%); the devil (4:10-11), the crowd (19:38) and the Sadducees (20:28) 1 time (4%).

This means that Mark and Luke use only 0.83 times as many speakers *per quotation* as John, while Matthew uses only 0.52 times as many (see fig. 14a). There is more. Only the first two of John's speakers play 'cameo' roles – the Baptist and Jesus' disciples – while a maximum of two speakers play anything more than cameo roles in each of the Synoptics: in Matthew and Luke, Jesus and the writer; in Mark, just Jesus.¹ Far from a minimalist use of speakers being particular to John, then, the Synoptists are more minimalist still. So John shares this methodology, which suits his purposes well, with a wider Christian tradition. John is different in that he uses himself as the speaker comparatively more frequently than the Synoptists use themselves, generally at the

¹ The teacher's three quotations in Mark and his two in Luke are all within the one context.

expense of Jesus (see fig. 14b). This is a mark of his own ebullience and the growing self-confidence of Christian communities with the passing of time.¹

Indeed, what motivates him to use any speakers *at all* other than himself is their ability to make the point better. The Baptist speaks on his own behalf, pointing away from himself and to the Messiah;² the disciples speak on behalf of the believing community, recounting the significance of scripture; the crowd speaks on behalf of Jewish interests, each time unwittingly indicting Jewish unbelievers; Jesus too speaks on his own behalf, each time saying something about his messianic identity.³ All of them, even Jesus, are mere foils against which John sets his message. It is he quoting through their guise. Nothing illustrates his utilitarianism more.⁴

Freed notes that there is no link between the speaker and the version John uses;⁵ we add, or the source. Yet the six times John himself is the speaker are all in the final stages of the two ‘halves’ (three times in each), the final ‘pairs’ included. It is again wrong to make too much of this. (*E.g.*, It would be wrong to deem 12:34 an allusion, to have three quotations by the writer and one by someone else in each ‘final’ chapter.) Nor are these quotations intrinsically different from the rest – they too wield the double-edged sword of polemic and christological motif. It would simply seem that as each half reaches its climax, John can no longer hide the true identity of the speaker – himself. At the point at which his Old Testament quotations have their greatest impact he publicly allies himself with their sentiments – they really are those of the redactor!

Other New Testament appearances

Six of John’s Old Testament quotations (1:23; 7:42; 12:13,15,38,40) are quoted at least in part elsewhere in the New Testament, five in the Synoptics-Acts, one in

¹ The rate of Old Testament quotations that are spoken by the writer increases as we pass from Mark, through Matthew and Luke, to John.

² Cf. Hanson’s three reasons for why John puts the *bath kol* – which in the Synoptics occurs at the baptism – in the mouth of the Baptist (*Prophetic*, 35).

³ All of John’s quotations involve christology and polemic. The dominant partner is abetted by the identity of the speaker. *Contra* Carson, “John”, 246: “It is difficult to discern any principle of discrimination that associates certain kinds of OT texts with certain speakers.”

⁴ For Hanson, *Prophetic*, 40, to pit this against John’s interest in “the preservation of an historical narrative” is to impose upon John a false mind-set. For John this *is* history.

⁵ Freed, *Quotations*, 126.

Ro 10:16. These six represent a random cross section. John could not engineer trends: he has little if any conception of a Christian canon. Indeed, he is less than likely aware of any New Testament writings other than perhaps the Synoptics, and he need have no idea that he shares five quotations with them.

That John shares two-thirds of his Old Testament quotations with no other New Testament writer is in sharp relief with the Synoptics: this applies to only 29% of Matthew's, 23% of Luke's and 4% of Mark's [a].¹ Yet many of theirs are quoted elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts – 38% of Matthew's, 46% of Luke's and 54% of Mark's [b]; while a further 11% of Matthew's and 11.5% of Mark's and Luke's are quoted also (for two of Matthew's, instead) only by John [c]. In other words, 6% of John's Old Testament quotations are quoted elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts, as opposed to 22%, 31% and 19% of Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's respectively [d]; and 28% of John's are quoted in the Synoptics-Acts, as opposed to 67%, 96% and 77% of theirs respectively quoted by each other [e] (see fig. 15a).

A similar picture applies to their Old Testament *texts*. 77% of John's are quoted by no other New Testament writer, as compared to 33% of Matthew's, 30% of Luke's and 13.5% of Mark's [f]. 37.9% of Matthew's, 46.7% of Luke's and 56.8% of Mark's are quoted elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts [g]; and a further 9% of Matthew's, 7% of Luke's and 8% of Mark's are quoted also (for two of Matthew's, instead) only by John [h]. Thus 4%, one, of John's Old Testament texts is quoted elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts, as opposed to 20%, 22% and 17% of Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's respectively [i]; and 19% of John's are quoted in the Synoptics-Acts, as opposed to 64%, 86.5% and 70% of theirs respectively quoted by each other [j] (see fig. 15b).

The Synoptics seem to have little cross-fertilization with non-Synoptic Christian communities. While the New Testament books outside the Gospels-Acts they share Old Testament quotations with cover a fairly broad cross section – Romans,

¹ The information the following figures are derived from is in Appendix II. Supplement to "Other New Testament Appearances". This information is based on UBS⁴ and Appendix I. The letters in square brackets refer to the corresponding sections in the Supplement.

Galatians, Ephesians, James, Hebrews, 1 Peter, 1 Corinthians (Mt, Mk) and 2 Corinthians (Mt) – the quotations comprise a handful of well-worn phrases.¹ Yet John seems to have even less. What affinities he does have lie with the Synoptics themselves. This is not surprising: theirs is the genre his writing is most similar to, theirs is the mind-set he has most in keeping with. Yet even these affinities are short-lived: while both he and Matthew quote Mic 5:1 (Luke may allude to it) and Zch 9:9 (Matthew also alludes to Zch 12:10), John's renderings of both are vastly different.²

Indeed, *none* of John's six shared quotations appear elsewhere in the New Testament in the same form. The nearest is Is 53:1 in Ro 10:16 – but that both writers follow the LXX verbatim explains the anomaly. This is not to present John as a mere maverick – the contexts of all six are the same in his Gospel as elsewhere. Is 6:10 & 53:1 refer to the unbelief of God's people; Is 40:3 declares the mission of the Baptist; Mic 5:1 announces the birthplace of Jesus; Zch 9:9 foretells the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem; Ps 118:25-26a contain the words the crowd welcome Jesus with at the Triumphal Entry. John remains an integral part of early Christianity.

A more accurate picture still must also take into account where the Old Testament texts the Gospels quote are *alluded to* elsewhere in the New Testament [k].³ Precisely half the texts John quotes are not used at all by any other New Testament writer, as compared to 21% of Matthew's, 17% of Luke's and 8% of Mark's [l]. Yet 29% of Matthew's, 33% of Luke's and 35% of Mark's are used elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts [m]; and a further 12% of Matthew's, 10% of Luke's and 13.5% of Mark's are used also (for two of Matthew's, instead) only by John [n]. Thus 19% of John's Old Testament texts are used elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts, as opposed to 38%, 43% and 40% of Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's respectively [o]; and 31% of John's are used in the Synoptics-Acts, as opposed to 70%, 86.5% and 80% of theirs respectively used by each other [p] (see fig. 15c).

¹ These are: some scriptural commandments (Ex 20:12-16; Lv 19:18; Dt 5:16-20; 19:15), a precedent (Gn 2:24) and two Psalms (110:1; 118:22-23).

² This is despite the fact that they both take Mic 5:1 from (albeit different) Christian versions, while Zch 9:9 from the same Christian version if one of them does not work from the other.

³ We use the term 'allusion' to cover 'verbal parallel'. The allusions are those listed in UBS⁴ (plus a few others we especially note in this thesis).

These figures enhance the trends already observed. The number of non-Synoptic New Testament books that use Old Testament texts John quotes rises to three (Ro, 1 Cor, Re); yet this is still paltry, especially when compared to the eleven, ten and nine that use Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's respectively (Ro, 1 Cor, Ga, Eph, Col, Jas, He, 1 Pe, Re, 1 Tm [Mt, Mk], 2 Cor [Mt]). John alludes to Mal 3:1, quoted by all three Synoptics; Zch 13:7, quoted by Matthew and Mark; and Dt 19:15 & Is 7:14, quoted by Matthew. This reciprocates all three Synoptists' allusions to Ps 22:19; Matthew's allusion to Zch 12:10; Mark's allusion to Ps 41:10 & 69:22; and Luke's probable allusion to Mic 5:1. It reiterates John's greater affinity with them; yet this too is comparatively paltry, and equally reiterates his qualitative distinction from them. Moreover, he no longer always keeps the same context: his abandoning of a futurist eschatological setting in Zch 12:10 for a realized setting is reflected in other allusions to Old Testament texts he quotes – Ps 78:24 in Re 2:17, and Zch 14:8 in Re 22:1.¹ This belies his utilitarian view of scripture – that he uses it as suits him best. If that fits in with its use elsewhere, well and good, if not it is not his peccadilloes that suffer.

John's Old Testament quotations offer no evidence that he has direct access to any non-Synoptic New Testament writings, or even that he is aware of any. The evidence can be made to support the assumption that he has access to the Synoptics,² but it is at best circumstantial. Freed eventually makes something of a 'U-turn', and concedes that John's Christian sources include "the traditions of Mt and Lk, *if not the actual gospel passages themselves*".³ We agree. There is no reason why traditions such as the Bethlehem narrative have to be unique to the Synoptic tradition: John may well have independent access to them, and perhaps is not even aware of the Synoptic versions.⁴ One can more easily make the evidence fit the premise proposed back in 1938 by Gardener-Smith, that John has no direct access to the Synoptics at all.⁵

¹ The allusions to Ex 16:4 in Mt 6:34 and to Ex 16:4 & Ps 78:24 in 1 Cor 10:3 are too tenuous and unrelated to John to warrant comparison.

² E.g., Goodwin, "Sources?", 75.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 120, italics mine.

⁴ So Hanson, *Prophetic*, 12f. (cf. 249); Brown, *John I*, xiv; Lindars, *John*, 27; Haenchen, *John I*, 75f.; Schuchard, *Scripture, passim*; Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 82; Dodd, *Historical*, 248-301 (cf. 91).

⁵ See his widely influential *John*. Eus. *H.E.* 3.24.7 (cf. 1.4; 3.39), states that the Synoptics had been written down before and distributed to all including John, but this is hardly compelling.

Hebrew parallelism

John takes all his Old Testament quotations bar 7:37f. from texts that employ the Hebrew poetic device of parallelism. Eight times he quotes only the first half (1:23; ¹ 2:17; 6:45; 10:34; 12:13,15,34; 15:25 ²), twice only the second half (6:31; ³ 19:28,36), and once only the final third (13:18). Twice he abandons the parallel lines altogether (7:42; 19:37). Sometimes he has no choice – Ps 82:6b and the reference to Jerusalem in Zch 9:9b are polemically and christologically unhelpful – the other times he cannot find, or does not see the need to find, a way of having each line fulfilled. He always interprets the line he retains literally: in 13:18 the one who would ‘lift his heel’ against Jesus is eating bread with him; in 19:28 Jesus is given wine-vinegar to drink; in 19:37 the spectators look on the one they have pierced.

This same literal interpretation three times makes him retain the parallelism. In 12:38 Jesus’ words *and* his actions have both been rejected; consequently, in 12:40 the hearts *and* the eyes of unbelievers have both been rendered inoperative (their ears are not relevant); ⁴ and in 19:24 the soldiers divide Jesus’ clothes among themselves *and* cast lots for his tunic.

Other New Testament writers also apply a literal hermeneutic to Hebrew parallelism. Matthew abandons what parallelism there is in Mic 5:1; and he has Jesus riding both donkey *and* foal to accommodate the parallelism in Zch 9:9. Paul quotes only the second half of Ps 69:10, since he is interested not in the Temple but in the Christian enduring persecution; and he quotes only the first half of Is 53:1, since he is interested not in Jesus’ actions but in the heard message. All three Synoptics quote only the first half of Ps 118:26; and while they retain all three clauses in Is 6:10 and the parallelism in Is 40:3, it would seem that they take each line literally. John’s literal treatment of Hebrew parallelism, then, far from being peculiar or un-Jewish, is typical of early Christian Jewish writers. ⁵

¹ He takes εὐθύνετε from the second half.

² His quotation is the first half of Ps 69:5, the second half of Ps 35:19.

³ He takes φάγειν from the first half.

⁴ Is 6:10 may not be a parallelism anyway – the writer may utter three separate statements.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 551: “Hebrew parallelism was little if at all understood at this time”.

John's motivation

Laying contextual concerns, John's penchant for economy, and his freedom of expression to one side, two factors determine how he quotes the Jewish scriptures: polemic and christology.¹ At least nine of his Old Testament quotations are directly affected by polemic. In 1:23 it is directed against the Baptist, hence the addition of ἐγώ and arguably the verb εὐθύνετε. In the other eight it is directed against (Jewish) unbelievers. Hence the use of ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in 6:31; the omission of τοὺς υἱοὺς σου in 6:45; the use of αὐτοῦ in 7:38; the non-use of the second half of the parallelism in 10:34; the non-use of a Davidic reference and the use of Ἰσραήλ in 12:13; the non-reference to Jerusalem in 12:15; the use of both halves of the parallelism in 12:38; and the form of ἐμίσησάν in 15:25. The omission of the hearing motif in 12:40 could also be added, since John singles out the rejection of Jesus' σημεῖα. ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας may appear in 17:12 as a polemic against Christian parousial expectations.

At least twelve are directly affected by christology. Hence the future καταφάγεται in 2:17; the use of ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and φαγεῖν in 6:31; the use of αὐτοῦ in 7:38; the non-use of the second half of the parallelism in 10:34; the non-use of a Davidic reference and the sublimating of the kingship reference in 12:13; the non-reference to Jerusalem in 12:15; the use of ἄρτον and maybe πτέρναν in 13:18; the form of ἐμίσησάν in 15:25; the use of both halves of the parallelism in 19:24; the form of διψῶ in 19:28; the future συντριβήσεται in 19:36; and the change of person in 19:37. The future ἔσονται in 6:45 could also be added. Only 7:42 and 12:34 betray no polemical or christological 'interference'. It is significant that these are the only two John quotes indirectly – already in his own words, they do not need tailoring.

These factors also ultimately determine *why* John quotes the Jewish scriptures. In 1:23 Jesus not the Baptist is the Messiah; in 2:17 he replaces the lost Temple cultus; in 6:31 he not Moses descends from heaven, and *is* the true bread; in 6:45 those taught of God are specifically those who listen to his teaching; in 7:38 he, the true Mosaic

¹ Most scholars cite only the christological aspect. Cf. Freed, *Quotations*, 129, "Theological motives and ideas were [John's] primary concern"; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 155. The same push is behind Menken's articles, while Hanson devotes four chapters of *The Prophetic Gospel* to John's christology.

figure, becomes the epicentre of God’s salvific activity; in 7:42 he fulfils Jewish messianic expectations, despite their being sadly lacking, as well as those of early Christian communities; in 10:34 he makes himself equal with God, and reminds of Ἰουδαῖοι of one of their more difficult scriptures; in 12:13 he is the messianic king (not Davidic) of Israel; in 12:15 he is the messianic king of Zion, though not of unbelieving Jews; in 12:34 he both fulfils and undermines Jewish messianic expectations; in 12:38 the unbelievers cannot believe in his actions or his message because scripture must be fulfilled – their very unbelief authenticates him; in 12:40 God is shown to have preordained their unbelief – it again authenticates Jesus; in 13:18 his messianic identity is validated by the betrayal – he is aware of it, and scripture foretells it; in 15:25 his messianic identity is authenticated by his being hated without cause – God preordained it – and the guilt of those who possess ὁ νόμος is exposed; in 19:24 the crucifixion of the Messiah is foretold in scripture, as are his priestly qualities; in 19:28 he exhibits his Logos-type characteristics and his affinity with the Passover Lamb; in 19:36 his mode of departure is defended as salvific, akin to that of the Passover Lamb; and in 19:37 it is again defended as salvific, akin to that of the brazen serpent, with perhaps the whole of humanity made the recipients of its attention. In 17:12 he successfully tends ‘his own’, while aware of the betrayal and its ‘scriptural’ necessity.

Freed is right: “The form of each quotation is determined by its place in the immediate context of which it is a part and / or its place in the composition of the gospel as a whole”.¹ Yet there is an observable trend. While polemic and christology are of roughly equal importance in the first ‘half’ of the Gospel (7:38; 12:13,15 major on the latter, 12:38,40 on the former), christology is dominant in the second half – polemic is of roughly equal importance only in 15:25. John increasingly highlights what to him is most crucial, christology, as the crucifixion becomes more imminent.

This again exposes the error of hiving off the Passion proof-texts. Such texts would have been entertained earliest by Christian communities, while the priestly

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 126. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 40, strangely denies that John composed his scriptures freely and creatively since “[o]n the contrary, he was under the control of *his own* understanding of scripture” (my italics).

imagery in 19:24, the Passover imagery in 19:28,36 and the brazen serpent imagery in 19:37 may all have a long Johannine history. But that makes them no less typical of John's Old Testament quotations generally. Any crystallizing of christological motifs in them is again because the nub of John's christology – the crucifixion – is now reality.

With christology – that which makes John's Jewish quotations Christian at all (*cf.* 1 Pe 1:10ff.) – together with polemic against predominantly Jewish unbelievers, *the* driving forces behind his scriptural quotations, the versions he uses becomes academic. He is not bound to a copyist mentality anyway. Rather, the originality of his quotations and the fact that he treats them similarly to and alongside his Christian material shows that he adapts them to suit his community's needs. Freed's suggestion – that this “makes the origin of his gospel in an early Christian school extremely likely” – is interesting.¹ Yet for now we refer simply to John's special genius, whatever its *Sitz im Leben*.²

That John uses Jewish scripture as a foil for his message is not to say – as Freed again suggests – that his concern with the quotation itself is secondary. Referring to John's replacement christology, Carson puts it well: John “does not treat the OT with scorn or rejection; he views it with reverence, treating it as the ‘given’ of revelation that anticipates the new revelation occurring in Jesus”.³ One only has to compare Paul's use of Dt 25:4 in 1 Cor 9:9 and 1 Tm 5:18 to make two different points to realize that such was the order of the day (*cf.* 2 Cor 3:6). John and Paul were Jewish products of their time (*cf.* Ga 1:13-14). The ‘embellishing’ scriptural hermeneutic of both Philo and Josephus endorse this view.⁴

This unabashed ‘re-emphasizing’ of Jewish texts cannot be seen through modern Western glasses – John's Christ can still say καὶ οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή (10:35). Brawley convincingly argues that inevitably, “when one text takes on the task

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 130.

² Dodd, *Interpretation*, 6: “Whatever influences may have been present have been masterfully controlled by a powerful and independent mind”. Dodd's attendant warning concerning the search for influences upon John actually enhances our search for Jewish scriptural influences – these are the only ones John explicitly mentions.

³ Carson, “John”, 256.

⁴ See R. Mead, “A Dissenting Opinion About Respect for Context in Old Testament Quotations”, *NTS* 10 (1963-64), 279-289. *Midrash* likewise alludes to biblical texts with no imperative to reflect the original context. See D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1990), 23.

of interpreting by appealing to a precursor, each text expresses something in its own voice even as its voice is also altered by the other ... By the criteria of intertextuality, therefore, the question is no longer how faithful the repetition is to the original ... [but] how the two texts reverberate with each other”.¹ It is equally anachronistic to grade John’s regard for theology above his regard for the Old Testament: they are warp and woof of each other. Nor does he see his Gospel as “primarily a theological and literary composition rather than a historical document”:² for John there is no difference.

We can also finally lay to rest the fallacy – often extrapolated from the fact that some of John’s implicit commentaries on Jewish scripture have a richer content than some of his explicit quotations – that the proof-text methodology is foisted upon him by the wider Christian tradition, while he reserves his real genius for the other. John entrusts some of his greatest treasures to his explicit quotations, often with exceptional genius. Barrett draws particular attention to the Passion Narrative: “John seems to be working quite in the manner of the primitive argument from Scripture”, incorporating *testimonia* that “seem to have no close relation with specifically Johannine theology, and which therefore give a distinctly primitive air to the story”.³ Barrett must concede that John is happy to preserve these ‘vestigial organs’, since he maintains that John consciously uses Mark’s Passion Narrative as a source for his own. But the fact remains that John’s supposed re-adaptation involves a *positive nurturing* of this form of scriptural exegesis. John’s acceptance of these particular Old Testament quotations is total – as with the other quotations, they are an integral part of his message.

John’s use of Jewish scripture to defend the very things that give his Gospel and community their *raison d’être*, shows his high regard for his explicit Old Testament quotations as well as their centrality to his theology. They in turn show that he is a Jew, ‘loud and proud’. Current, often complex, Jewish exegeses (invariably oral if not specifically targumic), detailed Jewish festal practice and imagery, Jewish messianic expectations and Mosaic tradition, consistently provide the vital hermeneutic. Every

¹ Brawley, “Absent”, 429-430. He is speaking about allusions, but since he does so with reference to Jn 19:28 the distinction is not material.

² Freed, *Quotations*, 129.

³ Barrett, “Old Testament”, 161.

facet of the quotations that is not specifically Christian manifests a specifically Jewish mind-set, as his affinities with Qumran exemplify. His method “presupposes and reveals a thorough training in the Jewish scriptures and tradition and a thorough knowledge of their content”.¹ This is not something John is putting up with, let alone trying to get rid of: this is what he is positively advocating. Moreover, since he leaves most of it unexplained, he can only be writing for a thoroughly Jewish readership, persuading and convincing them that the Messiah has come. The significance of this for our question of whether the Gospel is antisemitic is all too apparent.

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 129f.; Schuchard, *Scripture*, 152 (cf. xv & n. 22): “... one observes an exegetical procedure already well-established in first-century Judaism”.

The rest of the Gospel

John's scripture terminology

Outside the formulas, John uses the ἵνα ... πληρώω / τελειόω construction six times (4:34; ¹ 5:36; 15:11; 16:24; 17:13,23). ² Despite the verbal similarities, stylistic tendencies no longer apply and John does not specifically refer to scripture any of these times. Instead he refers to two key motifs: Jesus completing the work(s) the Father has given / sent him to do; and the disciples' complete joy, ³ comprising their oneness with each other and God. These are always spoken by Jesus. John's reserving of this construction for significant announcements is surely what prompts him to use it as he does in the formulas. This underscores his regard for his Old Testament quotations.

He uses γραφή outside the formulas four times (2:22; 5:39; 10:35; 20:9). In 2:22 ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι is an exact repetition of part of the formula in 2:17. Despite the opportunities (*cf.* 12:16; 14:26) John repeats this agreement nowhere else, and the proximity to 2:17 means that it cannot be ignored – the post-resurrection community puts as much store by Jesus' words given in 2:19 (τοῦτο ἔλεγεν) as it puts by Ps 69:10a. Bearing in mind the similarity of the ensuing τῷ λόγῳ ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς to 18:9,32 (where John gives the same import and treatment to the word of Jesus as he does to Jewish scripture), could it be, then, that ἡ γραφή here is actually these words of Jesus (*cf.* 17:12)? This requires only that the καί between τῇ γραφῇ and τῷ λόγῳ is exegetical. And it explains why John uses γραφή here: a scriptural appellation is needed to present Jesus' words as scripture – and only γραφή suffices. ⁴

This also sheds much needed light on the similar 20:9. That γραφή is again singular and concerns the same incident leads most scholars to search for a specific Old Testament text that both 2:22 & 20:9 can refer to. For the latter at least, E.P.

¹ This may allude to Dt 8:3 and the temptation tradition in Q (Mt 4:4 = Lk 4:4). Hanson, *Prophetic*, 63f., refers it back to Is 55:10-11. *Cf.* 6:27,55.

² In 17:4 ἵνα is unrelated to τελειόω. Rather, it comes after it and introduces ποιέω.

³ Even if this motif is Gnostic, it need not be un-Jewish. *Cf.* *Od.Sol.*

⁴ 2:19 and hence γραφή also refer to Ps 69:10a quoted in 2:17 (Hanson, *Prophetic*, 43; *idem*, *Interpretation*, 116f. & nn.); but this is secondary.

Sanders' suggestion of Ps 16:10 is the most likely (*cf.* Ac 2:29ff.), ¹ while NA²⁷'s reference to 1 Kgs 15:4 is the most tenuous. Yet no single text suffices. Of course, since John uses γραφή to refer to a multiplicity of scriptures – even to scripture in general (*cf.* 7:37f.,42) – he could portray with ease the Old Testament generally as speaking of Jesus' resurrection, even on the third day. Indeed, this is little less than axiomatic to his whole scriptural hermeneutic (*cf.* 1:45; 5:39). 2:22, however, provides a more obvious answer. John has the Old Testament in mind on both occasions, even specific texts; but primarily both times γραφή refers to Jesus' words in 2:19. ²

John refers specifically to Jewish scripture in 5:39 – ἐραυνᾶτε is surely primarily an indicative, and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is the subject (v. 16). ³ This is the only time outside the formulas γραφή does not include Christian scripture; and it explains why this time only out of the twelve times John uses γραφή altogether he makes it plural – he is referring to a particular set of scriptures. Irony makes him not use νόμος: he plays on the fact that γραφή will remind his reader of Christian scripture too. Aware that ἐραυνᾶτε can also be imperatival, he makes the subtle point that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι should search these scriptures too since they also testify to Jesus. ⁴

In 10:35, having quoted Ps 82:6a John parenthesizes using γραφή because he has no intention of excluding Christian scripture – not least his own – from this “axiom both of Judaism and of primitive Christianity”. It also shows *us* that he does not think to exclude Jewish scripture – that which belongs to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι – from it. Judaism and primitive Christianity “differed only in their beliefs about the fulfilment of Scripture”. ⁵

¹ That it is not used elsewhere by John (Hanson, *Prophetic*, 43) is immaterial.

² That Jesus died for our sins and rose from the dead *on the third day* κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς (1 Cor 15:3-4) also refers – maybe exclusively – to Christian scripture. Paul uses the plural, since for him the singular *does* imply a specific text. If John is referring to “the Old Testament in a general way” (Barrett, *Gospel*, 201, *cf.* 564) this would mean that, *contra* 17:12, he treats Jesus' words in 2:19 as other than γραφή. γραφή could, however, refer to Jewish *and* Christian scripture in general, the intervening καί in 2:22 still epexegetic: this way John presents Jesus' words as an example of scripture.

³ The verb corresponds to the Hebrew שׂרר, the technical term for biblical study; this, together with study of the oral Torah, was the rabbis' main activity; *cf.* P. 'Abot 2.7. Dodd, *Interpretation*, 329f.; Barrett, *Gospel*, 267, however, go too far to say that *only* the indicative is intended.

⁴ Bultmann, *John*, 267f.; Dodd, “Background”, 335; Barrett, *Gospel*, 268, misrepresent Jesus' sentiments. Despite the presence of δοκέω, the function of the Old Testament remains that of imparting eternal life: it does so by pointing to Jesus.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 385.

John uses γράφω outside the formulas on seven occasions (1:45; 5:46; 8:17; 12:16; 19:19-22; 20:30-31; 21:24-25). The first four times he does so in explicit and exclusive reference to the Jewish scriptures, which he puts in a positive light. The first two times he specifically includes the writings of Moses. Given that he reserves the verb γράφω for scripture too, then, the other three occasions reveal a new twist.

The sudden profusion of γράφω in 19:19-22, where John uses it six times, is unmistakable. From the outset, moreover, when Pilate himself is said to have written the *titulus*, to the finale when he repeats the verb, it is clear that a deeper message lies beneath the surface. The irony is unsurpassed. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are having Jesus killed because they refuse to have him as their king (*cf.* 19:12-16), yet his divine right to be their king is emblazoned for all to read – whether Jew, Roman or Greek – on the very implement of his death. As John’s wording shows, what makes this so damning is that the words οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι cannot accept are in fact scripture – Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Pilate’s refusal to alter what is, by consequence, immutable and unbreakable (*cf.* 5:39) seals the macabre affair.

In 20:30-31 the message is clear: the Gospel John has written (γέγραπται) is scripture – indeed, the many other things Jesus did ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα too comprise the stuff of scripture. This is why John can predicate for the Gospel what he predicates for the Jewish scriptures – they impart life (*cf.* *Od.Sol* 6:10). In 21:24-25 it is re-affirmed that the witness of ‘the writer’ (ὁ γράψας) is true.

So having established for his readers the scriptural connotations of γράφω, and only then referring it to Christian scripture, John ingeniously makes his point. What he ‘exclusively’ reserves for the former, he also reserves for the latter. No fixed canon, no sole rights to the unction of the Spirit, all who write the truth about Jesus – in whatever language, even an unwitting, unregenerate, gentile like Pilate – write scripture.¹ This is the message of 21:25. If all the other things Jesus did were written

¹ The assumption of Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 284, that the Gospel writers work in a culture “within which a canon is agreed”, then, requires nuancing. John’s canon of *Jewish* scripture seems ‘standard’: he – indeed every New Testament writer – quotes only from the Old Testament, while out of his manifold allusions the Wisdom of Solomon is the only apocryphal work he shows any real interest in. As for whether he deems Wisdom part of scripture (Hanson, *Prophetic*, 70; *cf.* 109 n. 48), since he uses it as a pointer to Jesus he surely does.

down (γράφεται), the whole world could not contain τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. John has to have γραφή / γράφω specifically and exclusively include Jewish scripture, Christian versions of Jewish scripture, and Christian scripture, since they all do what for him scripture does: they proclaim Jesus Messiah. This also explains why he never uses γραφή and γράφω together – either one makes the other redundant.¹

John uses προφήτης outside the formulas four times of ‘the’ Prophet (1:21,25; 6:14; 7:40), four times of a prophet (4:19,44; 7:52; ² 9:17), twice of the ancient prophets of renown (8:52,53) and once (1:45) of scripture. In 1:45, οἱ προφήται are distinct to Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ yet parallel to him in that they also wrote scripture. Hence they too are given John’s supreme accolade – they wrote about Jesus.

The first five times John uses νόμος outside the formulas he attributes it to Moses (1:17,45; 7:19,23). In 1:17 it cannot refer to the whole of Jewish scripture since, as John knows, this was not all διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη. It refers either to the whole Pentateuch or to the Decalogue (Ex 20:1 – 23:19), the law given by God to Moses on Sinai. Either way, John’s grammar is not contrastive: he simply elaborates on v. 16 and states a fact. A Jewish reader would perhaps be reminded of Ps 25:10, which a midrash glosses, “Grace; that means God’s acts of love; truth; that means the Law”.³

In 1:45 Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ must refer to the Pentateuch, since it is distinct from yet parallel to the scripture the Prophets write. John’s insistence that both Moses and the Prophets in writing scripture in fact write about Jesus, takes precedence over

¹ That the six times John uses γράφω within the formulas he declines it as γεγραμμένον is clearly no coincidence – this is not his natural choice since he uses it only twice elsewhere (19:19,20). That he uses γέγραπται in 8:17 (Ⲛ is a scribal assimilation to the formulas) & 20:31 proves that his habit in the formulas is purely stylistically motivated.

² ὁ προφήτης (P^{66*} 75vid) should be rejected, not simply as a scribal assimilation to 7:40 (Lindars, *John*, 305) but as an attempt to accommodate the fact that Jonah came from Galilee (2 Kgs 14:25). That the statement is unparalleled in Jewish literature (cf. b. *Sukk* 27b; S. *’Olam Rab.* 21) has produced some strained responses, e.g., J.N. Sanders, *John*, 218; Barrett, *Gospel*, 333. The truth is, as John is gleefully aware, the Pharisees are wrong and in fact demonstrate Jesus’ messiahship – good things *can* come from Galilee.

³ Braude I, 353. So Lindars, *John*, 98; Carson, “John”, 256; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 24; R. Buth, “Oun, De, Kai and Asyndeton (Null) in the Gospel of John”, in D.A. Black *et al.* (eds.), *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation* (Nashville: Broadman, 1993), 144-161, esp. 156. Thus Morris, *John*, 111, struggles with his antithetical interpretation: “We should have expected the contrasting μέν and δέ. But John simply puts the two statements side by side”. A good translation of 1:17 would be, “For the divine blessing started with Moses, who has given us the Law, and has reached its fulness in Jesus Christ, who has given us grace and truth”. Cf. Jos. A. 7.338; P. *’Abot* 1.1; *Sifre Dt* 31:4 §305. Bultmann translates 1:16b as “grace upon grace”, i.e., one gracious act succeeded by another.

the fact that, with the possible exception of Gn 49:10 (*cf.* the allusion in Jn 1:51), there is no genuinely messianic passage in the Pentateuch. The rabbis themselves are hard put to find any.¹

7:19 too must refer to the Pentateuch since it was specifically this Moses gave. Any attempt to narrow νόμος here down to the Decalogue is foiled by v. 23: the post-canonical Jewish legal precedent for circumcising on the Sabbath took its cue from the circumcision laws in the Pentateuch given through *Abraham* (*cf.* v. 22). When the Jews react to Jesus' accusation, Jesus apparently concedes: yes they do keep the law, since they insist on circumcising a boy if the eighth day happens to be a Sabbath. Yet in this concession lies his *coup de grâce*: surely, then, he can give his ability to heal the whole man precedence over the Sabbath laws too (v. 23).

This argument – which appears nowhere else in the New Testament – is *unintelligible* outside the context of later Jewish developments of the law, referring as it does to the casuistry of the Sabbath Law as preserved in the Talmud.² It would seem, then, that these developments have oral progenitors with which John is familiar.³ This is not surprising. John is also aware of the ruling that carrying one's pallet is forbidden on the Sabbath (5:10), which like the legal principles appealed to in the trial in Jn 9 is also preserved in the Talmud. Back in 1935 Dodd maintained that *all* John's allusions to ὁ νόμος would (better, could only) be understood by readers with a Jewish training; and Harvey convincingly shows that John's presentation of Jesus rests on an assumed knowledge of basic Jewish legal procedures.⁴

¹ See A. Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green & co., 1900) II, 710-715. John may be minding the requirement in Dt 19:15 (*cf.* R. Simeon b. Shetach in *b. Mak* 5b).

² Circumcision took precedence over Sabbath laws (Lv 12:3): *m. Ned* 3.11; *b. Ned* 32a; *t. Šabb* 18.3; 19.2 131b. From this it was easy to conclude, קל וחומר, that saving a person's life was permitted on the Sabbath: *b. Šabb* 132a; *t. Šabb* 15.16 134; *b. Yoma* 85b. Significantly, unlike Luke (Lk 14:5; *cf.* Mt 12:11; Lk 13:15) John does not have Jesus countenance the Pharisaic rider that allowed lifting an animal out of the water on the Sabbath (*cf. m. Yoma* 8.6; *Mek.* on Ex 22:2 [*Neziqin* §13]; *b. Šabb* 128b; *Eccl Rab.* 9.7 §1). The second fragment of the recently published 4Q251 (ll. 6-7: see PAM 43.307/8; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 202; Evans, "Recently", 561) shows that, in accordance with other strict rulings at Qumran (*cf.* CD 11.13-17), while Qumran allowed help for humans it did not allow this rider. John's argument also has affinities with Jewish scripture. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 96ff., like many before him, parallels 7:17-19 with Ps 40:8-15, and 7:24 with Is 11:3.

³ See further in this thesis, 222-223.

⁴ Harvey, *Jesus*.

John uses νόμος six other times. In 7:49 he associates it with the Jewish system *sui generis*, but since this is an expression of Jewish scripture the reference ultimately is to the latter. Not to any one part of it – the crowd are ignorant of it all.¹ 7:51 presumes the much later tannaitic ruling that a person should not be condemned without having had opportunity to defend himself in court;² and again John seems to be aware of its oral progenitors. These in turn would be based on Ex 23:1; Dt 1:16; 17:4 (though 7:49 demands that here too νόμος refers to Jewish scripture generally). In 8:17 the many tannaitic writings to cite the ruling that the testimony of only one man is not admissible in a law-court ultimately derive from Dt 17:6; 19:15. The same applies: νόμος here refers to Jewish scripture generally, of which these texts are a part.

In 18:31 Pilate refers νόμος to the Jewish system, though for John the buck again stops with the Jewish scriptures. With typical irony οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are told – by a pagan gentile – to judge Jesus according to the very writings that testify to his messianic identity and therefore innocence: their own scriptures. In 19:7 νόμος *does* refer to a specific text: the many tannaitic embellishments of the הַקֹּדֶשׁ concerning the blaspheming of the Name essentially derive from Lv 24:16.³

As in the formulas, then, John uses νόμος as the rabbis can use the term תּוֹרָה – of the *Jewish scriptures* generally, with no specific reference to the Pentateuch. This helps explain why he as good as always refers to it as being Jewish. Beside the five times he associates it with Moses, seven times he at least implicitly has it belong to Jews: Nicodemus refers to ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν (7:51); Jesus refers τῷ νόμῳ δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ (8:17) and τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν (10:34); John refers τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν (15:25); Pilate refers to τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν (18:31); and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι protest, ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ... (19:7). John never combines the two approaches. The remaining two times, it is too obvious that ὁ νόμος is Jewish to need stating: in 7:49 νόμος can

¹ Perhaps they correspond to the עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ of rabbinic literature. See G.F. Moore, “The Am Ha-Ares (the People of the Land) and the Haberim (Associates)”, in F.J. Foakes-Jackson & K. Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity I* (5 vols.; London: Macmillan & Co., repr. 1939) I, 439-445; Dodd, “Background”, 334f. The parallel Synoptic ‘prophetic criticism’ (cf. Jn 4 with Lk 10:30-37) was certainly based on scripture with which John would be familiar. See Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 333.

² E.g., *Ex Rab.* 21.3. Cf. *Jos. A.* 14.167; *B.* 1.209. Again see further, 222-223.

³ Cf. *m. Sanh* 7.5; *m. Ker* 1.1f. P^{60vid} A Ds Θ 054 f^{1.13} אַ q sy co miss the point and add ἡμῶν after the second νόμος.

only be that which belongs to the Pharisees, as Nicodemus makes plain; and in 12:34 the (Jewish) crowd clearly take νόμος to be theirs. Again, then, νόμος never includes Christian or Christianized scripture. Yet this intrinsically Jewish corpus is the very one that proclaims the clarion message of John's community – Jesus Messiah.

John uses λόγος outside the formulas frequently: of Jesus (1:1,14; 10:35), of specific words of his (2:22; 4:41,50; 6:60; 7:36,40; 10:19; 12:48; 15:20a; 18:9,32?), and of his words generally (5:24; 8:31,37,43,51,52; 14:23,24a; ¹ 15:3,20b). Each time it refers either to scripture (*cf.* Mk 13:31) or to Jesus, scripture's *raison d'être*. Thus while it is believed in (2:22; 4:41,50; 5:24), not believed in (6:60), responded to (7:40), misunderstood (7:36), remained in (8:31 ²), rejected (8:37,43; 12:48), kept (8:51,52; 14:23), not kept (14:24a; 15:20 ³), even causes division (7:40; 10:19), it is spiritual (15:3). Acceptance of it – indicating true discipleship (8:31; 14:23) – brings salvation (4:41), healing (4:50), eternal life (5:24; 8:51,52), the Father's love (14:23), and cleansing (15:3). Rejection of it brings condemnation (12:48 ⁴).

John also has Jesus use λόγος of the Father's word. Each time it either functions as Jesus' word functions, or it refers to Jesus (5:38; 8:55; 14:24b; 17:6,14,17). John also uses it of the word of a Samaritan woman (4:39) and the word of the disciples (17:20). These times too it has the same effect as Jesus' word. The Samaritans ἐπίστευσαν ... διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς γυναικὸς in the same way two verses later ἐπίστευσαν διὰ τὸν λόγον of Jesus; and Jesus prays concerning τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου of the disciples (*cf.* 15:20). The inference – that what is spoken rather than the one who speaks makes the word significant, even life-giving – fits our understanding of what John deems scripture. Thus he is not bound always to put λόγος within a scriptural context.

¹ In 14:23 the one who loves Jesus keeps his *word* (singular); in 14:24a the one who does not love Jesus does not keep his *words* (plural). This puts beyond doubt what Barrett, *Gospel*, 467, 505, suggests: John intends no nuance when he makes λόγος plural (7:40; 10:19; 14:24; 19:13).

² *Cf.* *T. Jos* 1:3 (ἔμεινα ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κυρίου) with this and similar phrases in *Jn* 15.

³ While this 'remnant' mentality was familiar to the Hermetic prophets (*esp.* *C.H.* 1.29), John surely imbibes it from the Old Testament.

⁴ John reflects post-canonical Jewish literature, in which the Law begins to take a more active role in the judging of sinners (*cf.* 2 *Bar* 48:47; 4 *Ezr* 13:38 [*Syr.*]), by predicating the same of Jesus' words. *Cf.* *Wsd* 9:4, where Wisdom is described as τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον, and Philo, *Mos.* 2.53, where ἡ πάρεδρος τῷ θεῷ is used of δίκη.

Twice it is a proverb or saying (4:37; 21:23),¹ the latter being erroneous, and twice it is the word of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (19:8,13) spoken in animosity to Jesus. In 15:20, even Jesus' word has no soteriological or christological significance.

12:48 and 17:6,8 show that John uses λόγος and ῥήματα interchangeably.² John uses the latter both of specific words of Jesus (8:20; 10:21) and of his words in general (3:34; 5:47; 6:63,³ 68; 8:47; 12:47,48; 14:10; 15:7; 17:8), just as he does the former. Yet for both terms there remains no *essential* link with scripture. Thus outside the formulas only two instances of λόγος / ῥήματα are significant in this respect – 2:22, and the secondary application in 10:35. As in the formulas, since John ensures that λόγος is juxtaposed these times to a scriptural appellation, the point is made: the term λόγος *per se* does not suggest scripture and gets no special treatment.⁴

John is thoroughly Jewish, with one added ingredient: Jesus is the Messiah. Thus he fully accepts the Jewish scriptures and sees in them this noblest of truths. Indeed, it is their sharing in this truth that makes them what they are. With his Jewish mind-set and readership already established, his *on-going* sense – indeed, his promoting – of his Jewish identity now seems beyond doubt. It remains to see where else he uses the Jewish scriptures as the source and promoter of his messianic message.

An overview

We can expect John to continue using the Old Testament in a variety of ways.⁵ This is nothing new. Back in 1975 Kysar wrote, “Contemporary research favours a Palestinian, Old Testament, Jewish setting for the thought of the Gospel. Critics have

¹ As often in Greek: see Liddell & Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v.

² John's consistent rendering of ῥήματ in the plural reflects nothing more than stylistic tendency. See Miller, “Origins”, 450 n. 13; *contra* Barrett, *Gospel*, 434.

³ The notion that God's words impart nourishment is Jewish. Cf. Jr 15:16; Eze 2:8 – 3:3; Philo, *L.A.* 3.172f.; also cf. esp. Re 10:9ff. If the ἐγώ is emphatic, 6:63 may be part of John's polemic against the contemporary Jewish exaltation of Moses: cf. Dt 8:3; Ga 3:21; *Mek.* Ex 15:26 (ע"י § I).

⁴ John juxtaposes γραφή, λόγος and νόμος only in 10:34-35. The confusion this caused among subsequent scribes would have been avoided if it had been realized that for John all three terms *are* interchangeable inasmuch as they can all refer to Jewish scripture.

⁵ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 157-176, lists five ways in which the Gospel writers use it on the lips of Jesus alone; Chilton, *Galilean*, 57-147, lists four ways.

elucidated the familiarity of the Evangelist with the Old Testament literature both by his direct and implicit quotations of that literature and his free and frequent resort to that literature for images and analogies”.¹

Nor is it surprising. The notion that the Christ-event provides the correct exegesis for all scripture is hardly discovered by Augustine:² it is abundant in the New Testament – the writer to the Hebrews positively milks it.³ After all, “Judaism was the cradle in which Christianity was born, the source to which it was uniquely indebted”.⁴ John’s scriptural quotations show that he is in the mainstream of first century Christian developments, and hence we can expect little less of him.⁵ What *is* new, however, is the notion that within the matrix of his community’s experience and the wider Christian legacy, John *entirely roots his Gospel in the Old Testament and its derivatives*.

As a bare minimum, John has 69 Old Testament and 7 purely extra-canonical allusions in as many verses.⁶ By comparison, Matthew has 155 Old Testament allusions in 165 verses and 8 purely extra-canonical allusions in 8 verses; Mark has 53 Old Testament allusions in 55 verses and one purely extra-canonical allusion in a single verse; and Luke has 150 Old Testament allusions in 159 verses and 7 purely extra-canonical allusions in 9 verses. This means that 8.8% (8.0%)⁷ of John’s verses are allocated and contain an allusion; 15.3% (14.5%) of Matthew’s verses are allocated one, 16.2% (15.4%) contain one; 8.2% (8.0%) of Mark’s verses are allocated one, 8.5% (8.3%) contain one; and 13.7% (13.1%) of Luke’s verses are allocated one, 14.6% (13.8%) contain one (see fig. 16). We will in fact argue that it would be difficult for *anyone* to make more Old Testament allusions than John does. But for now the point is reiterated: we can expect to find them in John’s Gospel.

¹ Kysar, *Evangelist*, 144.

² See Aug. *Quest in Heptateuch*, LXXIII.

³ I have only now discovered a Ph.D. thesis submitted to Sheffield University in August 1994 by S.K. Stanley, *A New Covenant Hermeneutic: the Use of Scripture in Hebrews 8-10*. Cf. S. Moyses, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (JSNTSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995).

⁴ J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: A. & C. Black, 1977⁵), 6.

⁵ Cf. Lieu, “Blindness”, esp. 86ff.; Young, “Study”, 221: “Knowing the vital role the Old Testament played in the life of the early Church, we would not be surprised if we were to find more direct influence of the Old Testament on John than appears on the surface”.

⁶ See Appendix III: Old Testament (and Extra-Canonical) Allusions in the Gospels. This is based on UBS⁴, save that it omits those texts we deem quoted. It retains UBS’s versification and its occasional references to Greek versions.

⁷ The figures in parenthesis exclude the extra-canonical allusions.

There are undoubtedly reasons for why Matthew's peak in his Passion Narrative, Mark's in his Passion Narrative plus prior two chapters, and Luke's in his special material leading up to Jesus' birth; but otherwise they all distribute their allusions fairly evenly. Much the same applies to John (see figs. 17a – d). We could have anticipated that he would have fewer in his Private Discourse material, since they are no longer so necessary in material that is purely for an 'already persuaded' audience. All four Gospels are also similar in applying not only no Old Testament quotations to the resurrection material but apparently few allusions to it as well.¹

This way, John alludes to twenty-four Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning nineteen: Isaiah in 16 allusions; Deuteronomy, the Psalms in 15; Leviticus in 7; Genesis, Ezekiel in 5; Exodus, Daniel in 4; Joshua, Proverbs in 3; Numbers, Jeremiah, Micah in 2; Samuel (1 & 2), Kings (2), Chronicles (2), Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Ecclesiastes, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Malachi in 1. He also alludes to five other books: Wisdom in 4 allusions; Enoch (1), Maccabees (1), Psalms of Solomon, Tobit in 1.

Matthew alludes to thirty-three Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning twenty-two: Isaiah in 29 allusions; the Psalms in 23; Exodus, Deuteronomy in 15; Daniel in 13; Genesis, Leviticus, Ezekiel in 12; Zechariah in 10; Chronicles (1), Jeremiah in 9; Kings (1) in 8; Chronicles (2) in 7; Numbers in 6; Kings (2), Proverbs in 5; Job, Malachi in 4; Ruth, Samuel (2), Joel, Jonah in 3; Samuel (2), Ezra, Amos, Micah, Haggai in 2; Joshua, Judges, Nehemiah, Esther, Lamentations, Zephaniah in 1. He also alludes to nine other books: Sirach in 5 allusions; Tobit in 3; Wisdom in 2; Esdras (1), Judith, Maccabees (1 & 4), Psalms of Solomon, Susanna in 1.

Mark alludes to twenty-six Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning eighteen: the Psalms in 11 allusions; Isaiah in 10; Deuteronomy, Zechariah in 6; Leviticus in 5; Genesis, Exodus, Kings (2), Ezekiel in 4; Samuel (1), Daniel in 3; Numbers, Joshua, Samuel (2), Kings (1), Chronicles (2), Joel in 2; Esther, Job, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Hosea, Amos, Jonah, Micah, Malachi in 1. He also alludes to Judith and Maccabees (1) in single allusions.

¹ Again, then, it is wrong to deem Jn 21 'un-Johannine' because of its lack of allusions.

Luke alludes to thirty-one Old Testament books, by Jewish reckoning twenty: the Psalms in 34 allusions; Genesis in 27; Isaiah in 26; Exodus in 16; Leviticus, Deuteronomy in 11; Samuel (1), Kings (1 & 2) in 8; Chronicles (1 & 2), Daniel in 6; Proverbs, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Malachi in 5; Judges, Samuel (2), Job, Amos, Micah, Zechariah in 3; Ezra, Hosea, Joel in 2; Numbers, Joshua, Ruth, Jonah, Habakkuk, Haggai in 1. He also alludes to seven other books: Sirach in 4 allusions; Enoch (1), Tobit in 2; Maccabees (1 & 2), Psalms of Solomon, Wisdom in 1 (see figs. 18 & 19).¹

Clearly, John, like the Synoptists, *does* have extensive access to the Old Testament. Hanson notes, “we cannot fail to be impressed by the variety and depth of John’s scriptural store. He ranges from the Pentateuch to the Psalms to Proverbs to Isaiah with the greatest confidence”.² All four writers allude to the more important Old Testament books. They are all familiar with the Pentateuch – they each allude to all five books, with the exception of Numbers to each in at least four allusions.³ Indeed, Deuteronomy now comes a close third to the Psalms and Isaiah as John’s favourite source! They are all familiar with a broad cross section of The Prophets (only Obadiah and Nahum are used by none of them), though John alludes to only four of the ‘Minor’ Prophets: again Isaiah is the most popular. And they are all familiar with a broad cross section of The Writings: only the Song of Solomon would seem to be used by none of them, while again the Psalms is the most popular. John’s only slight use of Kings and Chronicles merely echoes his non-interest in Jesus’ earthly genealogy.

John’s recourse to other material, like Matthew’s and Luke’s, seems appreciable. He appears to allude to no ‘extra-canonical’ book that at least one of the Synoptists does not allude to; but his main interest seems to be in Wisdom, while Matthew’s and Luke’s seems to be in the not dissimilar Sirach. Most noticeable of all – *contra* the Lukan and non-Lukan Paul – all of John’s and the Synoptists’ allusions seem to be to *Jewish* sources.

¹ Including the quotations adds Hosea to Matthew’s complement, and Haggai to Mark’s.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 68. He rightly adds, “... there goes with this wide range and variety a corresponding acquaintance with the exegetical tradition in which the scriptural material is described”.

³ Reim, *Studien*, 109: “Es ist erstaunlich, wieviele Anspielungen aus den Pentateuch Johannes aus der Tradition übernommen hat”.

Some of John's allusions turn out to be Synoptic scriptural quotations "which have been worked into the thematic structure of the Gospel".¹ The theme of Is 29:13 (Mk 7:6-7; Mt 15:8-9) appears in Jn 3:1-15; 5:31-47; 6:26; 7:19-24; 8:38f.; 13:13; 18:28. John's obsession with his christology makes him use the text this way: it is applicable not just to a particular piece of hypocrisy, rather, for John the good thing connected with lip service is a right response to Jesus.

John does not quote Is 56:7 or Jr 7:11 (Mk 11:17, pars.); but since he incorporates the Temple incident and refers to the Temple as ὁ οἶκος (2:16), it is "hard to think that the Markan quotations were not known to the later Evangelist". Rather, by using the term ναός and applying it to Christ's body, John has the conflate "taken away from its original setting, where its meaning is exhausted, and in principle, though not verbally, applied to Christ, who alone ... fulfils the meaning of the Old Testament".² Jesus is the New Temple (*cf. e.g.*, 4:19-26).

Ps 118:22f. was a popular proof-text in the early church (Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10-11; Lk 20:17; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7; Barn 6:4), yet John again leaves it no verbal trace. Instead he sets the theme of human rejection and divine approval as essential to the being of Christ (*e.g.*, 1:10,11). Lv 19:18, Dt 4:35 & 6:4f. (Mk 12:29-33, pars.) too seem to help shape a number of passages in the Gospel (*e.g.*, 1:1; 5:19,23; 10:20; esp. 14 – 16). Indeed, no Old Testament themes influence John's Private Discourse material more than the theme of the divine unity, and the command of love.

We maintain that John can derive this Old Testament material he shares with the Synoptists from a common stock, *viz.* early Christian tradition. Yet Barrett's thrust is right: "John is no less dependent upon the Old Testament than are the Synoptic writers but he uses it with much greater freedom".³ The rumour that John is less interested in the Old Testament than they are is usually based on the fact, invariably exaggerated, that he quotes it less frequently. Among other things, it fails to appreciate the above.

¹ Barrett, "Old Testament", 157.

² *Op. cit.*, 160, 161. John in fact seems to take οἶκος ἐμπορίου from the highly applicable Zch 14:21c Heb: וְלֹא יִהְיֶה ... הַהוֹנָא. See Lindars, *John*, 139; *cf.* Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 176-177; Barrett, *Gospel*, 198; Brown, *John I*, 121; Haenchen, *John I*, 184. *Contra*, Bultmann, *John*, 124n.

³ Barrett, "Old Testament", 162.

Methodology

We are now at the stage where we could expect John to use the Old Testament anywhere. The danger is, of course, that we could see him using it *everywhere* – and perhaps where he is not using it. As we enter the arena of John’s implicit use of the Old Testament, then, the need for a sound methodology becomes critical.

The first criterion needs to be: is it fair to assume that an apparent Old Testament allusion in the Gospel could have been constructed by John? This does not provide a tremendous check, since it is clear that John’s Old Testament usage can be both highly complex and highly subtle. John, however, is not writing to amuse himself, but for the sake of his readers. Hence the second criterion needs to be: is it fair to assume that John’s readers could appreciate the allusion? This does not provide a tremendous check either, since it is equally a given that they can appreciate highly complex and subtle Old Testament usage. John, however, is not writing to amuse them either, but rather to give them a message. Hence the third criterion needs to be: would the allusion convey a meaningful message to John’s readers? If an apparent allusion meets all these criteria, and if there is no other reasonable way of interpreting the evidence, it can be considered valid.

The same criteria apply to the apparent use of targumic, mishnaic, talmudic and midrashic material in the Gospel. There is the added complication, however, that this material is generally late. The Qumran Targum on Job dates back to the early first century CE (*cf. t. Šabb* 13.2); but most of the Targums, for example, are not finally written until the second to seventh century CE.¹ Nevertheless, it is well known that the flow of thinking in rabbinic literature can stretch back to before the turn of the era. Wilcox cites the parallel between Eph 4:8 and *Tg. Ps* 68:18 as but one instance of when the New Testament points “to the earliness of the date of the element of tradition preserved in [the relevant] targum”; Hanson notes the legend of the following rock in the wilderness, now found in Ps.-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, as well as examples at

¹ See B. Chilton, “Targums”, *DJD* (1992), 800-804.

Qumran “of what until recently had been regarded as Tannaitic or even Amoraic methods of scripture interpretation”; and Segal is the first to note the relevance of the ‘rabbinic’ debate on the “two powers in heaven” to early Christian developments.¹

It is legitimate to suppose, then, that when a passage in the Gospel makes real sense only in the light of later rabbinic material John has access to oral progenitors. This has already been noted for such passages as 6:31; 7:19-23,51; 10:34. A parallel between the Gospel and rabbinic material remains significant, however, even if the rabbinic material does not have an ancient pedigree, since it at least suggests that John’s tradition and the rabbinic tradition derive from the same nexus.

The Prologue

In keeping with other early Christian writings (*cf.* Mk 1:1; 1 Jn 1:1), the opening words of John’s Prologue deliberately echo the opening words of Gn 1:1 LXX. John’s reference to Jesus as ὁ λόγος, however, is unique. Explicit only in the Prologue, this motif influences his whole presentation of Jesus (*cf.* 1:14; 2:26; 6:68; 7:46; 10:18; 19:30).² So what, then, are its sources?

The traditional answer has been Greek philosophy, stretching back from the Stoics’ λόγος προφορικός, σπερματικός and ἐνδιάθετος, *via* Epicharmus, to the fifth century BCE Ephesian Heraclitus.³ Heraclitus is the first person recorded as relating the term in any way to a revelation of the unknown God of the universe, while with the Stoics the logos became the rational principle immanent in the universe (*i.e.*, God). Within Stoic philosophy, when someone is in tune with the λόγος they are in tune with their creator – this is all a person needs to make them αὐτάρκης (*cf.* Phm 4:11-13).

¹ M. Wilcox, “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament”, in D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara (eds.), *The Aramaic Bible* (JSOTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 362-378, here 377; *cf.* B. Chilton, “Aramaic and Targumic Antecedents of ‘Justification’”, in the same volume, 379-397, esp. 397; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 20, *cf. passim*; Segal, *Powers*, e.g., 262. Also see Glasson, *Moses*, *passim*.

² Scholars often observe that the Prologue bears every mark of being a preview or summary of the Gospel. See Miller, “Origins”, 446ff.

³ *E.g.*, Dodd, “Background”, 337.

Philo is proof that a *bona fide* Jew could adopt these Greek ideas with ease. He employs the term λόγος over 1200 times, referring to it as the Beginning, the Name of God, the Image of God, *etc.* He thinks of the “word of the Lord” in scripture, by which the world was made and God reveals himself to humanity, as identical with the Stoics’ rational principle and the Platonic world of ideas. Thus a Jewish John could imbibe these Greek precursors as legitimate strands of Jewish exegesis, derived from the sure and certain foundation of scripture.¹ After all, the description of the theophany in the Burning Bush by the Jewish tragedian Ezekiel shows that the use of the term λόγος for a second divine being in Israel’s history was no Christian innovation.² Indeed, John’s λόγος in one sense parallels the growing Jewish controversy over “the two powers”, which would later produce Metatron and the like.³

Fundamentally, however, the term λόγος breathes Hebrew thought at every turn.⁴ Time and again דְּבַר־יְהוָה / λόγος κυρίου appears in Jewish scripture, and was full of meaning to the Jewish mind. It never returns as an unfaithful echo but always fulfils the purpose for which it was spoken (Is 55:11). It does things. It is the authoritative utterance of the Almighty One κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα. When God speaks, action does not *follow* – his speech in itself *is* inevitable action. Indeed, Jn 1:1 alludes to Gn 1:3 (*cf.* vv. 6-7,9,11,14-15,24,29-30) hardly less than to Gn 1:1. This association of Creation with the Word reflects popular contemporary Jewish culture, in which the most generic blessing before eating was שֶׁהַכֹּל נְהִיָּה בְּדַבְּרוֹ.⁵

John also reflects the common tendency in the later targums, especially *Neofiti*, to provide circumlocutions for the mention of God, most frequently God’s מִימְרָא.

¹ Jeremias, “Logos”, 82-85, points out that despite the scarcity of pre-Philonic evidence, these precursors must have played a large part in pre-Christian Hellenistic Judaism, hence John can take for granted what ὁ λόγος of his Prologue means. *Cf.* K. Berger, “Zu ‘Das Wort Ward Fleisch’, *Jon* I, 14a”, *NovT* 16 (1974), 161-166, here 166: “Dazu bediente sich der Evangelist der Kategorien des jüdisch-hellenistisch interpretierten alttestamentlichen Theophanieschemas”.

² Ἡξαγωγῆ, 99: ὁ δ’ ἐκ βατοῦ σοι θεῖος ἐκλάμπει λόγος.

³ See esp. Dodd, *Interpretation*, 320-328. Barker, *Angel*, presents even Yahweh as a second God in first century Palestine.

⁴ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 26, notes that the “primary purpose” of Jn 1:15-18, spoken by the Baptist as “a convenient representative of enlightened prophecy” (28), “seems to be to connect the revelation of the Word securely with the revelation under the old dispensation”. Thus the Baptist, like every Jewish prophet, has no difficulty in appreciating Jesus’ divinity. *Cf.* Loisy, *Quatrième*, 110f.

⁵ *M. Ber* 6.2 provides evidence of just how popular this blessing was.

They do this not least in the Creation accounts. This was strengthened by the connection between ‘wisdom’ and ‘the beginning’ in Pr 3:19; 8:22. Thus the Palestinian targums render Gn 1:1 as "By wisdom God created ...". Rabbinic Torah speculation similarly portrayed the Law as interchangeable with “the word of the Lord”, *i.e.*, as pre-existent *etc.*, and this too may well have had oral origins early enough for John to imbibe.

Of all these influences on John, the primary one is the Wisdom tradition.¹ Like the Memra and Torah, it was never *hypostatized*. Nevertheless, it was frequently *personalized* or at least had the functions of a person (*e.g.*, Ps 33:6,9; Wsd 18:15-16). Most notably, in Pr 8:22-31 Wisdom speaks on her own behalf as having been present at Creation; in Ecclesiasticus, moreover, she is presented as having been with God in the beginning, the creative force through which the world was made, and as having “tabernacled” in Israel, mediating the divine presence with God’s people. Thus Jeremias argues that John’s Logos represents both the breaking of the divine silence (developed from the Jewish yearning for a new prophet, *e.g.*, Ps 74:9; 1 Macc 4:46) and the wisdom image of the Word leaping out of silence (Wsd 18:4).²

Early Christian writers, especially Paul, had already noticed the link between Wisdom and Christ (*e.g.*, 1 Cor 1:30), but John exploits it more than anyone: “All the statements made in the Prologue regarding the “Logos” (except “the Word became flesh”) can be paralleled with statements made in Jewish sources about Wisdom, or the Torah”.³ Ashton re-establishes these links, and his rationale is clear: “The first place to look for the source of any particular element in the Fourth Gospel is in the Jewish Christianity where the Gospel took its rise”.⁴

Bultmann had approached the *Religionsgeschichte* question from the angle of the origin and function of the myth of pre-existence. So he explains John’s Prologue in terms of a pre-Christian gnostic hymn stemming from Baptist circles, subsequently

¹ Brown, *John I*, 524, rejects Hellenistic influences in favour of an indiscriminate converging of Jewish Word / Wisdom, Torah (as supplanted by the Logos) and Memra themes.

² J. Jeremias, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Chemnitz: Max Müller, 1931), 65ff.

³ Dodd, “Background”, 335. Cf. R. Harris, “The Origin of the Prologue to St. John’s Gospel”, *Expositor* 12 (1916), 147-170, 314-320, 388-400, 415-426: this begins and ends with a version of the Prologue, which substitutes σοφία for λόγος. It is supported by an array of Jewish Wisdom texts.

⁴ Ashton, “Transformation”, 162.

taken over by John and adapted. ¹ Ashton offers a different alternative: there was a constant tension in the wisdom tradition between the “accessible” (e.g., Pr 25 – 29) and the “remote” (esp. Job 28); and it is in the latter – the favourite of יהוה, whom he engendered at the beginning of his dominion – that John finds his Logos. Thus Pr 8:22-31 is “the earliest passage in the Bible to show a real affinity with the Johannine Prologue”. ²

We agree. The prevailing view of the Deuteronomist ‘banned’ all alternatives to the revealed Torah (cf. the first section of 1 En) as a threat to Jewish identity (cf. Pr 30:1-4), insisting that Wisdom be equated with it (cf. Dt 4:6; 30:11-14). The ‘remote’ aspect of Wisdom, however, refused to go (cf. Bar 3:9 – 4:4; Sir 1:1, which positively anticipates the Prologue), until in Wsd 9:9-18 it was fully rehabilitated as the active agent in salvation. The stage was at last set for its transformation into John’s Logos. It is for this reason that Bultmann comes so near to the truth. The remote Wisdom – that never found a home among humanity and so remained in heaven – is exemplified in 1 En 42:1-2 (cf. 84:3): and here more than anywhere Wisdom mirrors the career of John’s Logos. Thus, while John, unlike Enoch, takes a positive view of the alternative revelation and presents it as Jesus Christ, he resists any suggestion that the Wisdom who finally finds a home on earth is to be identified with the Torah.

Bultmann’s dubious reconstruction of the Wisdom-myth ³ also pinpoints the key literary question: when does the hymn begin to refer to Jesus? Since as far as v. 14 we are faced with nothing other than a late example of the ‘remote Wisdom’ speculation, the Prologue may have begun life as a hymn in praise of Wisdom – as 1QS 11.11 suggests. ⁴ Lamarche has drawn attention to the relevance of Is 55:8-9 to John’s Logos; ⁵ and the ensuing verses can be seen as an *inclusio* with Is 40:8 at the start of deutero-Isaiah – the word of God is superimposed on *Heilsgeschichte*. In Wsd

¹ Bultmann, “religionsgeschichtliche”, 17-18.

² Ashton, “Transformation”, 164.

³ R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting* (Eng. tr. by R.H. Fuller; London: Thames & Hudson, 1956), 163f.

⁴ Cf. Ashton, “Transformation”, 172.

⁵ P. Lamarche, “Le Prologue de Jean”, *RelSRev* 52 (1964), 497-537. He notes that עֲצַת יְהוָה / מְחַשְׁבוֹת יְהוָה in the Old Testament (e.g., Jr 29:11; 51:29; Mic 4:12; Ps 33:10f.) are conceptually parallel to John’s Logos.

18:15 ὁ λόγος goes on to take the place of σοφία in slaying Egypt's firstborn. And John's Logos continues this process: more than λόγος προφορικός and ἐνδιάθετος, it is the plan of God (*cf.* Col 1:25f.). This way v. 14 provides John's novel insight – the plan of God has taken flesh, and Wisdom has pitched its tent among humanity.

Yet equally the Prologue could be specifically Christian – from start to finish a hymn to the Incarnate Word, encapsulated in the final ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.¹ Ashton is too irenic to see this alternative as a “dialectical enrichment” of the former – they cannot both be right. But his conclusion is inch perfect: “The theme of wisdom in her role as God's agent in revelation is thus taken over, adapted, and made to function as a myth ... But the myth is now purely Christian. The identification of the heavenly figure with a historical individual marks the triumphant outcome of a long and complex midrashic development. The Jewish ancestry of the Prologue is evident, and it shares with Judaism the characteristic which singles out both religions and distinguishes them from all others ... a contingently historical revelation”.²

In hypostatizing the Logos, John is not just unique; he is contrary to all previous Jewish developments. They offer circumlocutions for God and ultimately veil him: John's Logos fully reveals the Father by ‘opening the way’ to Him (1:18; *cf.* 14:6).³ Yet Miller is wrong to use this, and the fact that the Jewish Wisdom figure is nowhere called λόγος, as rebuffs to the significance of Wisdom for John's Logos.⁴ It is untenable that John should miss a parallel figure on his contextual doorstep that is so conducive to his christological message. Rather, John applies his own tradition to this Jewish figure, redeploing a term he takes from other Jewish imagery.⁵

¹ E. Käsemann, “Aufbau und Anliegen des johanneischen Prologs”, in *idem* (ed.), *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) II, 155-180, and Richter, “Fleischwerdung”, are wrong to have the hymn end after v. 13. There *are* Christian hymns that do not mention the incarnation, but the Prologue is incomplete without such a reference – Jesus and the Word / Wisdom are one and the same.

² Ashton, “Transformation”, 181f.

³ See I. de la Potterie, “‘C'est lui qui a ouvert la voie’. La finale du prologue johannique”, *Bib* 69 (1988), 340-370, esp. 358-359, 362-364.

⁴ Miller, “Origins”, 449. It is equally surprising that the recent symposium by L.G. Perdue, B.B. Scott, W.J. Wiseman (eds.), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster, John Knox, 1993), ignores the Gospel.

⁵ Miller concedes that if John's Logos was “reinforced” by other traditions, “it was surely the חָכְמָה / σοφία strain of the biblical tradition that wielded the greatest influence” (456). His argument – that John's Logos originated with the Christian imagery surrounding Jesus' own words, developed *via*

Vv. 14-18

The echoes of Ex 33 – 34 in these verses are too numerous to be coincidental. Dumbrell argues that ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη in v. 17a refers to the second giving of the commandments, while ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια in v. 17b elaborates on the χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας in v. 14b, itself drawn from Ex 34:6 (though the LXX offers πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινὸς for מְרַחֵם וְאֱמֵן).¹ This is perfectly Johannine. What God entertained for all Israel in Ex 19 – 20 has been revealed again in Jesus, “the replacement for the tabernacle of the Old Testament, the new temple, the true focus of worship ... Around him as the new tabernacle, the new point of divine authority, the new community of John 1:12-13 had been formed”.²

Mowvley, however, argues that though καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν in v. 14a is normally referred back to ἡ σκηνή (LXX ἁγιασμός) of Ex 25:8 and thence to the מִשְׁכָּן, it should be referred back to Ex 33:7f. where מוֹעֵד לִקְרָא is inaccurately translated in the LXX by σκηνή μαρτυρίου. This too is perfectly Johannine. Just as Moses met God and heard his word in the σκηνή μαρτυρίου, so humanity may now meet him and hear him in the σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ, because Jesus is the Word made flesh. Like the Tent of Meeting, the frail human Jesus is the locus of God’s communication with humanity.³

It also makes more sense of the rest of Jn 1:14: ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ could echo Ex 33:9, where the cloud descends to hide God’s glory; Ex 33:18f., where Moses sees God’s back after his glory has passed by; and Ex 34:29, where Moses’ face shone (LXX δεδόξασται) and reflected God’s glory whenever he went into the Tent of Meeting (Ex 34:34); πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας could refer to Ex 33:16. It could even involve Jn 1:15, either as a parenthesis based on μαρτύριον (LXX) as a catchword, or as a reminder that it is not Jesus who is a witness but the Baptist.

the tradition reflected in the opening verses of 1 Jn – is problematic (cf. 454 n. 21!). But it is reasonable that John’s understanding of Jesus’ words should have influenced his Logos motif. See e.g., Dodd, *Interpretation*, 265-268; Cullmann, *Christology*, 259-260; Morris, *John*, 88.

¹This is generally agreed. See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 25; Reim, *Studien*, 140; Borgen, “Response”, 72; Borgen, *Bread*, 150-151; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 288 n. 2. Cf. Glasson, *Moses*, 97.

²W.J. Dumbrell, “Law and Grace: The Nature of the Contrast in John 1:17”, *EvQ* 58 (1986), 25-37, here 30, 37.

³Mowvley, “John 1:14-18”.

It pays not to be monophthalmic: John's message is clear – Jesus as the New Temple is the replacement of the Tabernacle *and* the Tent of Meeting.

In v. 14 John applies the favourite targumic circumlocutions for God to Jesus – “word”, “glory”, “dwelling” (cf. e.g., *Tg. Onq.* Ex 24:10; 25:8). This appears to be deliberate, since he uses the rare σκηνώω to translate “dwell”: ¹ the Greek verb is equivalent to the Hebrew / Aramaic root **י-ב-ש**, which is also used (as John is surely aware) of God's tabernacling among his people during the wilderness journey. ²

John's thorough ‘christologizing’ of Jewish scripture is apparent from his implying that it was Jesus as the Word of God who appeared to Moses at Sinai in Ex 34:5-9 (cf. Jn 10:35). ³ Indeed, according to Hanson Jn 1:18 refers specifically to the events of Ex 33:12 – 34:8, in which Moses sees God – in fact God's glory – a revelation “full of mercy and truth” and directly associated with the giving of the Law: “it would be impossible to find a scripture passage which contains more fundamental elements in common with John 1:14-18”. ⁴

The targumic parallels, which incorporate the *Shekinah* (cf. *Tg. Onq.* Ex 33:14; 34:6) and *Memra* (*Tg. Onq.*, *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 33:22; *Tg. Neof.* Ex 33:23 has “the Word of the Glory of my Shekinah”) into the incident, endorse this interpretation. ⁵ Rabbinic teaching also encouraged a healthy distancing from God; indeed, to see God or to utter his name was to die. ⁶ Thus the author of *Sifre* to Numbers argues, on the basis of Ex

¹ The LXX uses it only once for **יבש**, to mean God's indwelling (1 Kgs 8:12). It may be significant, however, that Aq. uses it for **יבש** at Ex 24:16, where it is the glory of God that indwells, as does Th. at Ex 25:8, where God dwells among his people.

² The connection between v. 14 and targumic phraseology has long been noted. See A.D. Macho, “El Logos y el Spiritu Santo”, *Atlántida* 1 (1963), 389-396, esp. 389; McNamara, *Targum*, 103-104. Goppelt, *Typos*, 181, prefers to see ἐσκήνωσεν in v. 14 as influenced by Zch 2:14, where God dwells (**יבש** – LXX κατασκηνώω) among his people; Lausberg, *Jesaja 55:10-11*, reasserts the link with Sir 24:8 (ἐν Ἰακώβ κατασκήνωσον). These are possible as ‘dialectical enrichments’!

³ This is generally accepted: see e.g., Hanson, *Interpretation*, ch. 3. This negates Mowvley, “John 1:14-18”, 137, that John is stating that “man is incapable of seeing the whole of the divine nature in [Jesus]”, and Theobald, *Fleischwerdung*, 25, that for John the Sinai epiphany is “verblasst”.

⁴ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 102. He gives Ps 85:7-10, first propounded by Bernard, *John* I, 21, a secondary role. This presentation of Jn 1:14-18, most of which is imparted by the Baptist – last of the prophets, and inspired interpreter of scripture – mirrors Jeremias, *Theology*, 55, who presents Jn 1:34f. as being in the realm of the Baptist's “scriptural statements about the servant of God”.

⁵ *Tg. Ps.-J.* also contains a piece of *haggada* concerning Ex 33:16, which again refers to the *Shekinah* but also to Moses conversing with the Holy Spirit. Matthew too seems to pick up on the *Shekinah* imagery. See J. Sievers, “‘Where Two or Three ...’: The Rabbinic Concept of *Shekinah* and Matt 18:20”, in Finkel & Frizzell (eds.), *Standing*, 171-182.

⁶ Hence Isaiah's death at the hand of the ungrateful Manasseh, in *b. Yeb* I 49b.

33:20, that Nu 12:8 means that what Moses saw was “the exhibition of the word”.¹ Moreover, the rabbis surmised the thirteen attributes of God from Ex 34:1-8² (the supreme attribute being that of mercy³), which would always be enjoined should Israel read out the passage.⁴ Indeed, it is Mansoor’s opinion that the phrase “God of compassion and grace” in Ex 34:6 was “a well-known formula in Jewish liturgy”.⁵ Thus John’s reading the pre-existent Logos into the narrative of Ex 33 – 34 is “by no means an anomaly”.⁶ It echoes just such a Jewish exegesis.

John repeats this sentiment in 5:37-38. He is surely aware that the biblical tradition of Ex 19 – 20 has God speaking on Sinai (*e.g.*, 19:9). This applies to the LXX especially: it introduces φωνὰι to 19:13,16; renders בְּקוֹל of 19:19 unambiguously as φωνῆ; and renders הַקּוֹלֹת of 20:18a as τῆν φωνῆν. The Deuteronomist (Dt 4:12) is equally in no doubt. Later Jewish writers, however, were embarrassed at such conversing by God with his people *carte blanche*. *Tg. Onq.* has Moses bring the people out of the camp to meet not God (Ex 19:17) but the Word of the Lord; and *Tg. Pal.* introduces similar circumlocutions (Ex 19:5,8,9).⁷ The parallel to Jn 5:37-38 is clear enough.

John is equally aware of the biblical tradition that various people of renown had seen God (esp. Gn 32:24-32; Ex 24:9-11; Nu 12:8; Eze 1). Indeed, one cannot help but see in 5:37 a positive contradiction of Gn 32:31 LXX, which translates פְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים as Εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ. Yet later Jewish writers were equally embarrassed by the notion that God could be seen. *Tg. Onq.* has Jacob see not God but the Angel of the Lord face to face (Gn 32:30), while *Tg. Pal.* has him see the Angels of the Lord.⁸ Positively no-one retains the Hebrew sentiment of Ex 24:10a, which says of Moses and those with him: וַיֵּרְאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The LXX renders it, καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον, οὐ εἰσῆκε

¹ Kuhn (ed.), 269, “das Schauen der Rede”.

² See Hanson, *Interpretation*, 108.

³ So R. Simeon’s comment on Ex 34:8 in the *midrash* on Ps 93:8 (Braude II, 129).

⁴ So R. Johanan and R. Judah, commenting on Ex 34:6-7 in *b. Roš Haš* 17b.

⁵ Mansoor (ed.), *Thanksgiving*, 171 n. 5.

⁶ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 24. Hanson adds that the name of the Logos believed in in Jn 1:12 parallels Moses “proclaiming the name of the Lord” in Ex 34:5b. His suggestion (35) that the Baptist’s pre-existence christology (*i.e.*, vv. 15-18) echoes Is 42:9, however, is more tenuous.

⁷ The talmudic tradition (*e.g.*, *b. Sota* 33a) and the *Midrash on the Psalms* (see on Ps 18:29, Braude I, 260f.) are not so concerned by God speaking directly to Moses; but then John himself nowhere brings the point up.

⁸ *Tg. Neof.* may be singular or plural. *Cf.* Ho 12:4a.

ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ; Philo writes, οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπος τὸν ἀόρατον θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἷξας ἀλαζονεία, “... this place is that of his Logos”;¹ *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* write, “And they saw the Glory of the God of Israel”; while *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* writes, “[they] feasted their eyes upon the Presence”.²

The Hebrew of Nu 12:8a is also too much for the LXX: it substitutes εἶδος for מְרָאָה, and translates יהוה יְהוָה יְהוָה as καὶ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν. *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* are happy for God to speak to Moses, but refuse to budge from their respective limitations that “he shall behold the likeness of the glory of the Lord” and “he beheld the likeness of my Shekinah”; *Sifre* to Numbers, after a lengthy discussion of the passage, invokes Ex 33:20 and Eze 3:12 to conclude that Moses could not possibly have seen God’s face.³ By the time we get to Eze 1:26, this reticence is part of the Hebrew text.⁴ More generally, the rabbis at most conceded that God chooses sometimes to reveal himself and sometimes not.⁵

It is from within this conceptual provenance that John writes 1:18 and 5:37 (& 6:46). He does not wish to contradict scripture;⁶ and he shows a singular lack of interest in angelic beings, fallen or otherwise.⁷ *Contra* Hoskyns, what is presented here is what is presented in 10:35: every appearing of God in scripture – especially that at Sinai – was an appearing of Jesus, the pre-existent Logos, as God.⁸ This is the significance of Jesus’ words in 5:39 (the Jewish scriptures are αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ) and 5:45 (ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς).⁹

¹ Philo, *Supp II, QuaestEx* *37, 78f. (tr. from Armenian by R. Marcus). The Greek is preserved in a brief fragment, Cod. Rupef. f. 55.

² *Tg. Ps.-J.* has only Nadab and Abihu see God’s Glory – and they are later destroyed for doing so. *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*, Piska 26.9 (Braude with Kapstein, 404-406), again has Nabad, Abihu and Dathan later die for, unlike Moses at the Burning Bush, looking at the Presence without restraint.

³ Kuhn (ed.), 269f. Cf. *b. Ber* 7a.

⁴ Even so, R. Yudan in *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*, Piska 4.3 (Braude, 71-72), is anxious that the text not be taken too literally; and while *Tg. Ps.-J.* follows the MT closely, b g f read כְּחִיוֹן כְּמִרְאָה אֲשֶׁר as אֲשֶׁר, “like the vision of a man”.

⁵ E.g., *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*, Suppl 7.1 (Braude, 489).

⁶ Theobald, *Fleischwerdung*, 363-364, makes 5:37 a polemic against Dt 4:12.

⁷ Schlatter, *Johannes*, 157, and Lindars, *John*, 229, recognize the Sinai incident behind Jn 5:37f., but insist that John presents it merely as an angelophany; Brown, *John I*, 225, too recognizes the Sinai incident, but argues that John only has Jesus there in the form of the Law.

⁸ See Borgen, “Response”, 72; *idem*, *Bread*, 151. Cf. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 80ff.

⁹ 5:45 may also refer to the fulfilment of Dt 31:19,21. See Cothenet, “Témoignage”, 373.

Jesus as God

John explicitly calls Jesus θεός three times (1:1,18; 20:28). Mastin is right – “that each of these verses is placed at a significant point in the gospel emphasizes the importance of what they say”.¹ But he misses the point when he explains this Johannine emphasis as the result of controversy with Jews. Reim shows that it is the result of John’s awareness of a pre-Christian messianic understanding of Ps 45. Jn 18:33-37 shows that, unlike Pilate, Jesus believes in a kingdom without war: rather, the king’s task is to bear witness to the truth. This definition of the king’s task is found in Ps 45:1-8. This presents the king’s sword as merely an ornament, the peaceful task of the Messiah being to advocate the truth. The Targum states – and so the LXX seems to understand it – that the king in the Psalm is the Messiah, while Strack & Billerbeck show that the Psalm aroused rabbinic discussion (*Gn R.* 99 63b connects v. 8 with Gn 49:10).² The parallel between Jn 18 and the Psalm, then, is surely more than coincidence: “*What the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel utters before Pilate and what he effects on the people who want to arrest him [18:5-6] is messianic fulfillment of Psalm 45!*”³

The Psalm now becomes an obvious source for John’s high christology – certainly Ps 45:8 is the only Old Testament passage where God speaks to God. Like the Targum, LXX and others (and in keeping with his own christology), John would be translating אֱלֹהֵי ה' and אֱלֹהֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ in vv. 7-8 as “God to whom God speaks”, God speaking to the Messiah, the Messiah as God. After all, that some pre-Christian Jewish interpreters had already translated אֱלֹהֵי ה' here as θεός allowed for this designation of Jesus – the Messiah and Logos – as God, as much an exegetical necessity for John’s community as in He 1:8-9.⁴

¹ B.A. Mastin, “A Neglected Feature of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel”, *NTS* 22 (1975-76), 32-51, here 51.

² Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* III (1954), 679.

³ Reim, “Jesus”, 159 (italics and exclamation his). Haenchen, *John* II, 518, describes the ἐγώ εἰμι utterance of 18:5-6 as “the revelatory formula of the divine man”.

⁴ He 1:8 – the only other instance in the New Testament of when Jesus is explicitly presented as God – is also in direct exegesis of Ps 45. Ps 45 is also the key to the mystery that, while Justin Martyr exhibits many parallels with the Gospel, he has no knowledge of it. His *Dialogue* (D56.14f.) contains a detailed comment on the Psalm, betraying the exegetical background for his ‘Johannine’ statements.

John's textually suspect references to Jesus as the only-begotten of God (1:18; 3:16) may find a Qumran parallel in the recently published 4Q369 1 ii 4-12,¹ which refers to a "first-born prince". Evans makes a good job of presenting this figure as messianic;² but either way, it is easy to argue that John applies Ps 89:21,27-28 to Jesus in precisely the same way 4Q369 applies it to this figure.³ Like the Psalm and John, the Qumran text refers to the central character as God's "first-born" (l. 6); it presents him as a ruler (l. 7); and it speaks of him and God as Son and Father (l. 10).⁴

We are now in the realm of conjecture. But given that John derives a divine Messiah from his unique exegesis of Jewish scripture, a number of other scriptural 'reminiscences' may be significant. It would be too much to argue that these are part of a 'hidden code' John sends to his readers. Rather, they indicate the 'prepositional pool' that John and his community operate within, no doubt at times unconsciously – namely, Jewish scriptural exegesis.

5:17 echoes the sentiments of Wsd 8:2-6, and it is not atypical that here "the Word plays the part of Wisdom".⁵ This in turn helps make sense of 5:18 (*cf.* 10:33), where οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι accuse Jesus of making himself equal with God. It is also possible to see here the stuff of Hab 1:5 LXX. This text would be especially relevant for 'unbelieving Jews' since it reads בְּנִימַם as הַבְּנוֹתָיִם, to render οἱ καταφρονηταί in the first line.⁶

Is 43:9 LXX, ... τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ταῦτα; ἢ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν; may offer something of a solution to the still unresolved debate over the meaning of Jn 8:25, ... τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. John offers a serious answer here to the rhetorical question: the Logos, as God, proclaimed these things to Isaiah, as he does now in Jesus to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι – "(I am) at the beginning what I am now saying to you"

¹ PAM 41.418, 42.834, 43.357; B.Z. Wacholder & M.G. Abegg (recons. & ed.), *Preliminary II*, 233. For a "tentative translation" of 1 ii 4-12, see Evans, "Recently", 556.

² Evans, "Recently", 556f.

³ In the Old Testament, בְּנוֹתָיִם occurs elsewhere only a few times (*e.g.*, Ex 4:22); and of the three biblical characters spoken of as God's elect, בְּנוֹתָיִם is used only of David, here.

⁴ *Cf.* Collins, "Son", 79.

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 70. Also see Reim, *Studien*, 194.

⁶ So K. Elliger, *BHS*. It is quoted by Luke's Paul in Ac 13:41 as the conclusion to his gospel message to the Jews of Pisidian Antioch.

(cf. Paul's use of Is 40:13 in Ro 11:34-35; 1 Cor 2:16).¹ If this is the case, John's perception of *Heilsgeschichte* is as clear here as it is anywhere. Indeed, this is all the more so, since there now emerges a parallel to Wsd 9:9a – the pre-existent Logos, finally present in Jesus, is again identified with Wisdom.² It may also explain the divine implication of 8:58f., where the integral link is with ἐγὼ εἰμί spoken by Jesus, since this too builds on Is 43:9f.³

Hoskyns sees Is 43:11-13 in Jn 10:28-30, and Hanson argues that John (like the LXX) translates this passage from a Hebrew version that reads מְעוֹלָם אֲנִי הוּא in place of מִיָּוִם אֲנִי הוּא (v. 13a).⁴ This certainly resonates with John's ἐγὼ εἰμι christology more than the LXX's ἔτι ἄπ' ἀρχῆς ... does. Bultmann, in turn, notes the reminiscence between Is 46:9-10 and Jesus' ἐγὼ εἰμι statement in Jn 13:19. The reference to God putting salvation in Zion (Is 46:13) – indeed, a saviour in Zion if the Targum has its way⁵ – again certainly resonates with John's christology. Freed cogently makes the more general point that John incorporates the Jewish concept of the Messiah's hiddenness (which amounts to pre-existence) into Jesus as ἐγὼ εἰμι, especially in ch. 8. "By using ἐγὼ εἰμι three times (8:24,28,58) in a section of marked controversy with the Jews, the writer characteristically has developed his presentation of Jesus as the Messiah hidden to Jewish understanding".⁶

As for Thomas's cry in Jn 20:28, Bultmann's reference to Domitian's claim (*dominus et deus noster*)⁷ and Suggit's appeal to a liturgical setting⁸ do not negate the primary scriptural background first noted by Westcott, of Ps 34:23 LXX.⁹

¹ See Hanson, *Interpretation*, 82f.; *idem*, *Prophetic*, 120ff. Scholars, inc. Barrett, Holtzmann, Hoskyns, Lindars, Schlatter and Schnackenburg, have in fact long seen a connection between Jn 8:25 and Is 40:13 / 43:9. E. Delebeque, "Autour du verbe eimi, 'je suis', dans le quatrième évangile", *RevThom* 86 (1986), 83-89, esp. 88, offers an equally attractive suggestion that Jesus gives a Christian version of Ex 3:14 LXX.

² Hanson, *Interpretation*, 172, notes the verbal parallels between Jn 8:29 and Wsd 9:9-10.

³ E.g., see Reim, *Studien*, 171f.

⁴ Hoskyns, *Fourth II*, 450f.; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 143f. n. 28.

⁵ See tr. by B.D. Chilton, *AB* 11, 92.

⁶ E.D. Freed, "Who or What was Before Abraham in John 8:58", *JSNT* 17 (1983), 52-59, here 57.

⁷ Bultmann, *John*, 695. He notes the various juxtapositions of κύριος and θεός in the LXX.

⁸ J. Suggit, "The Eucharistic Significance of John 20.19-20", *Journal of Theology for South Africa* 16 (1976), 52-59.

⁹ Westcott, *John II* (1880), 356. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 232f., also compares Ps 34:27cd LXX, Μεγαλυνθήτω ... δούλου αὐτοῦ, with Jn 20:19,21,26.

1:19-51

John has the Baptist refer to Jesus as ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (1:29; cf. 1:36). This terminology contains a wealth of Old Testament imagery. Given the virtually unanimous Christian application of Is 53 to Jesus' work and person, John can hardly be unaware of the association it offers with the figure of speech applied in Is 53:7 to the Suffering Servant (cf. Jr 11:19). Indeed, Hanson's suggestion is highly likely: John conflates Is 53:4, οὗτος ... φέρει, with Is 53:7, ὡς πρόβατον ... ἄφωνος (either translating v. 4 from the Hebrew or changing the φέρει of the LXX to ὁ αἴρων), and takes the phrase τοῦ κόσμου from the universal scope of vv. 4b (LXX), 6c. ¹ John's portrayal of how Jesus prays suggests that he is also aware of – and influenced by – the tradition preserved in *Tg. Is 53:4,7*. ²

The universalism in the Baptist's statement also mirrors the Servant Song of Is 42:1-7. That John is aware of this (and assumes his readers will be) is more likely in view of the fact that the wider Christian tradition associated Is 42:1 with Jesus' baptism (Mk 1:11, pars.; cf. Mt 17:5) – the implicit context here – while Matthew applies at least most of the Song to Jesus (Mt 12:17-21). ³ Indeed, assuming that the *lectio difficilior* of Jn 1:34 – ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ (P⁵ N* b e ff²* sy^{s.c}) – is the original reading, John typically seems to retain the Is 42:1 *testimonium* as an allusion. ⁴

In Jn 10:11 John capitalizes further on the association of shepherd and suffering in the final Servant Song: Jesus as the Servant saves the sheep by his ultimate sacrifice for them. John is not the only one to note the parallel ⁵ – he again

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 33, 35. Cf. Westcott, *John*, 20f.; Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 61f.; Lindars, *John*, 109.

² “Then he will beseech concerning our sins and our iniquities for his sake will be forgiven ... He beseeches, and he is answered, and before he opens his mouth he is accepted”.

³ See Rochfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 145.

⁴ See Barrett, *Gospel*, 178; Jeremias, *Theology I*, 53-55; Sanders, *John*, 95; Brown, *John I*, 66-67. Jeremias notes that the LXX substitutes ‘given’ for ‘put’ and continues, ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει. He adds, “in the Judaism of [John's] period, it was regularly the custom to quote only the beginning of a passage, even if its continuation were kept in mind” (55). Only Haenchen, *John I*, 154, positively rejects the *lectio difficilior*.

⁵ Cf. Ac 8:32f.; 1 Pe 2:25, where Jesus is referred to as ποιμήν at the end of a passage (vv. 22-25) that is distinctly reminiscent of Is 53 and in which again he saves the sheep through his own death.

simply takes it further than anyone else. This association also seems to rub off on the later editors' presentation of the threefold restitution of Peter (21:15-19).

John's preoccupation with the Jewish festal system – which Guilding is not the first to suggest acts as a framework to his entire message¹ – is well known and rightly accepted. John is surely aware, then, of the parallels to be had between the Baptist's statement and facets of contemporary Jewish cultus. The two annual festivals where lambs were sacrificed were Passover and the Day of Atonement. At the latter, a lamb or goat was sacrificed and its blood was applied to the **כַּפֶּרֶת** / ἱλαστήριον of the Ark of the Covenant; another lamb or goat had the sins of Israel confessed over its head and, with the sin transferred to it, was sent **אֶל-מִדְבָּר** / ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς to die in the desert, carrying on itself (**עָלָיו ... וְנָשָׂא** / λήψεται ... ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ) the sins of the people (Lv 16:15ff.).

The parallel John establishes between the saving qualities of Jesus as the Lamb of God and the slain Passover lamb of Ex 12 is all too apparent. Others had already used this theme (*cf.* 1 Cor 5:7; 1 Pe 1:18-19; Re 5:6), but John goes so far as to weave it into his entire Gospel. It enables him to present Jesus as effecting the second exodus, hence his use of much of the dramatic imagery of the first exodus (*cf.* 1:14; 3:14; 6:31; 7:37; 8:12). He explicitly sets Jesus' cleansing of the Temple (2:12-22; *cf.* v. 23), his feeding of the 5,000 followed by the manna discourse (6:1-13,26-58), and his initiating of a New Covenant (13 – 17; *e.g.*, 13:34; 15:16) within a Passover perspective. He seems to think of the Christian eucharist as replacing the lost ritual (*cf.* esp. 6:51-58). Unlike Mark and Matthew, he pushes Jesus' anointing (12:1-8) to six days before Passover, “to conclude the great and final week of Jesus' life on earth with the scene of his exaltation on the seventh day, John's Passover Feast”.² And he has Jesus die at three o'clock on the eve of Passover – at the time the representative Passover lamb is offered in the Temple, so close to the scene of the crucifixion (*cf.* 19:28,36).

¹ Guilding, *Worship*. She is, however, the most comprehensive. *Cf.* R. Morgan, “Fulfillment in the Fourth Gospel: The Old Testament Foundations”, *IBC* 2 (1957), 155-165; and the more introductory, Gale A. Yee, *Jewish Feasts and the Gospel of John* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1989).

² McHugh, “Life”, 156. McHugh makes much of John's presentation of Jesus as inaugurating the second exodus.

John may also see a parallel between Jesus and the evening and morning sacrifice of the *Tamid*. He is surely aware of this practice, whereby two lambs were sacrificed on a daily basis. And though it was not atoning, it was a symbol of God being with his people. Moreover, it was paid for by the Temple tax – which according to Ex 30:15-16 was **לְכַפֵּר עַל־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם** (LXX ἐξιλάσασθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν). It is not difficult to argue that, with the loss of the Temple cultus, John presents Jesus here as replacing this sacrifice too. Since the tax was obligatory for all Jewish male adults, discretionary for Jewish women and children, but positively non-payable by non-Jews, this message would resonate particularly with a Jewish readership.

John’s language also seems to lay claim to targumic *Akedah* tradition that interpreted the binding of Isaac in Gn 22 as providing atonement for the sins of Israel.¹ One can at least suspect that John and his readers are aware of the biblical account, in which God provides a sacrificial ram to take Isaac’s place.

None of these Jewish images, however, fully accommodates John’s christology, including those that are *cruces* in it. In Is 53 only the sheep is killed – the lamb is simply shorn. The Passover offering was not called ἀμνός but πρόβατον τέλειον, ἄρσεν, ἐνιαύσιον ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων (Ex 12:5), and while it was atropaic and commemorative it was not expiatory. The “taking / bearing away” of sins is clearest in the Day of Atonement; yet Lv 17 uses λαμβάνω rather than αἴρω, and in practice the animal was usually a goat. Hence it is best to see John’s lamb imagery as the specifically Christian *percolation* of these scriptural precedents and their contemporary, frequently cultic, developments: So Barrett: “The Evangelist has made up not a mosaic of fragments but a unitary picture, the separate features of which can for the most part be recognized in the Old Testament, though they are fitted into a quite distinctly Christian framework”.²

¹ Vermes, Le Déaut, Dahl and others show how many New Testament writers engage with (and subvert) this developing tradition. See esp. J. Dunhill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SNTS 75; Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 172-198; *contra* Wright, *New Testament*, 273-274 (cf. n. 120). G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 193-227, relates the significance of the “Binding of Isaac” in Judaism. See on Jn 19:17.

² Barrett, “Old Testament”, 164. Thus in Jn 10, ὁ εἰσερχόμενος ... ἀναβαίνων ἀλλαχόθεν may arise out of the community’s experiences (cf. Mk 13:22 & pars.; Ac 20:29; 1 Jn 2:18-22; 4:1-6); the shepherd εἰσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς θύρας and ὁ θυρωρὸς may derive from tradition preserved in Q

It is easy to see in John's call narrative (1:35-51) the new covenant promised in the Old Testament (Jr 31:31-39), which would be established through a Redeemer (Is 59:20-21) and involve God's Spirit in his people (Eze 11:19-20; 36:27). It is impossible to determine how deliberate the parallel is, but one could expect John to have the new covenant fulfilled in the relationship between Jesus and the disciples. Indeed, Palatty itemizes four words that recur in scriptures referring to the new covenant – 'hearing', 'following', 'seeking', 'finding' – and notes that they are central to John's discipleship terminology, especially here (*cf.* Jn 10:3-5).¹ Palatty goes too far when he makes these words *the* key to unlocking John's theology of covenant and discipleship – John does not single them out for particular attention and neither should we. But they *do* reaffirm John's Jewish scriptural background.

Nathanael's call, culminating in Jesus' closing words in v. 51, is more telling. To what is Jesus referring? An obvious function of the angels, which are otherwise absent from the Gospel, is to draw attention to the enigmatic Bethel narrative of Gn 28:10-22. Here Jacob sees **סָלָם מֵצֵב אֲרָצָה וְרֹאשׁוֹ מִנִּיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם** and **מִלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים וְיֹרְדִים בּוֹ** (v. 12).² Schnackenburg suggests that the angels are ascending to God with Jacob's prayers and descending to Jacob to serve him,³ while *Tg. Onq.* suggests that they are descending simply to look at Jacob. Both assume what the LXX assumes, that they go up and down $\epsilon\pi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, *i.e.*, the ladder ($\kappa\lambda\iota\mu\alpha\xi$). Yet this does little to accommodate Jn 1:51.

More helpful is the fact that while the Hebrew equivalent to the Greek pronoun, **בו**, was originally intended as a reference to the ladder,⁴ grammatically it can be taken as a reference to Jacob: the angels go up and down on *him*. This happens in later rabbinic exegesis. In *Gn R.* 68.18 (*cf.* 69.7), while R. Hiyya takes it as a

(Mt 7:13f.; Lk 13:24); the shepherd giving his life for the sheep is an understandable Johannine addition; while the sheep $\alpha \sigma\kappa \acute{\alpha} \sigma\upsilon\kappa \epsilon \sigma\tau\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \tau\eta\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ may envisage the gentile mission. John is surely aware of all the Jewish parallels. See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar II, in loc.*; Bernard, *John I*, 43f.; Brown, *John I*, 61f.

¹ P. Palatty, "Discipleship and the Covenant", *Biblehashyam* 13.3 (1987), 199-227.

² It is not true, however, that the angels are there "merely to identify the link with Genesis 28" (Hanson, *Prophetic*, 37). They also serve to identify the link with other Christian eschatological expectations.

³ Schnackenburg, *John I*, 321.

⁴ *Contra* D.A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 163.

reference to the ladder, R. Yannai (citing Is 49:3 as being addressed to the image of Jacob in heaven while Jacob's body slept below) takes it as a reference to Jacob, the movement of the angels emphasizing the relationship between his two forms.¹

Both rabbis are too late to have influenced John; but this is not to say that R. Yannai's exegesis does not go back to New Testament times – there was an extreme reluctance before c. 200 CE for rabbis to write their teachings down, since such action involved the dangers of adding to scripture (and of making their own teaching expendable!). Moreover, Philo, *Som.* 1.69-71, 115-119, 133-152 (esp. 146-147) shows that Gn 28:12 had already been given a thorough cosmological symbolic interpretation in the Diaspora of the first century CE. It would resonate perfectly with what we already know if John were aware of the exegesis that surfaces in R. Yannai's teaching, and used it as the basis for Jesus' words: the angels traverse along Jesus, who as both Son of Man (1:49) and Son of God (1:51) provides the genuine interface between humanity and God (*cf.* 3:13; ² 6:33,38,41f.,50f.).³

Hanson is wrong to disparage this explanation.⁴ It need not be intrinsically gnostic;⁵ John does not have to typify Jesus as Jacob for it to work; and Hanson's hang-up over the pre-existent Logos is purely his own. More importantly, it makes positive sense of Jesus' remarkable substituting of the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for the title given him by Nathanael, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The parallel between John's exegesis and that of the later rabbis does not prove that there is a direct link between them; but it does show that John's exegesis is perfectly Jewish.

¹ See Odeberg, *Fourth*, 33-35, for these and other rabbinic texts on Gn 28. In *idem* (ed.), *3 Enoch* (Cambridge: CUP, 1928), §13, Odeberg illustrates how Metatron presents himself as being the Jacob's ladder of communication between heaven and earth.

² Perhaps the textual variant, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, is an attempt by some scribes to take this imagery yet further.

³ This explanation is not new. *Cf.* Lightfoot, *John*, 104; Dodd, *Interpretation*, 254ff.; Bultmann, *John*, 105n (he also sees gnostic influence); Barrett, *Gospel*, 187; Lindars, *John*, 122. H. Maillot, "Au-Dessus de ou 'Sur' (Jn 1/51)", *ETR* 59.2 (1984), 207-213, here 210-211, offers a subtle variation – that the angels are traversing from the Father to the Son.

⁴ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 112. He still has John equate the Logos with "the Lord" at the top of the ladder, and Jesus with the ladder itself

⁵ *Tg. Pal.* argues that both Isaiah's Temple-vision (Is 6) and Ezekiel's chariot-vision (Eze 1) were visions not of God but of his "Offenbarungsgestalt" (G. Quispel, "Nathanael und der Menschen-Sohn (Jon 1:51)", *ZNW* 47 [1956], 281-283, here 282), and that since Ezekiel's was in fact a vision of one like Jacob, the Bethel-vision was the manifestation of a heavenly and an earthly image of Jacob (*cf. b. Hul* 91b). Indeed, Quispel is one of many to suggest that John was in touch with *Merkabah* mysticism, particularly that associated with Eze 1.

Either way, only the Bethel narrative makes real sense of Nathanael's call.¹ The Old Testament eschatological hope involved the righteous man dwelling under his own fig tree; but more significantly, in rabbinic usage to sit under one's fig tree was a euphemism for studying תורה.² Nathanael has been studying the scriptures – to be precise Gn 28 concerning deceitful, false Jacob who has not yet been made 'true Israel'. Jesus knows this, and makes Nathanael aware that he knows first by contrasting him with Jacob – he is ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης ἐν ᾧ δόλος οὐκ ἔστιν – and then by using the fig tree euphemism. It is Jesus' exhibiting of his Logos-type qualities that convinces Nathanael that he is from God. Nathanael in turn calls him the King of that true Israel; and Jesus concludes by proclaiming (ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν...) that the Gn 28 incident will be surpassed – the angels will ascend and descend on himself.³

None of this is surprising. V. 51 is addressed to a wider audience than just Nathanael. *I.e.*, John has reached a climax in his narrative, and we have come to expect him to turn to Jewish scripture at such points. Indeed, Gn 28 may not be his only place of scriptural recourse. Reim suggests that this passage also belongs to the same Jewish-Christian dialogue 1:1,18; 20:28; He 1:8 belong to. In 1:1 Jesus is portrayed as being in the beginning (the angels are created on the second day of creation); and here he is to be distinguished from angels, for God's angels serve him, the Son of Man.⁴

John's greatest other recourse is to the wider Christian tradition: "... it may be best to see in [the angels] a relic of the old synoptic saying about the coming of the Son of Man accompanied by the angels adapted to the new framework provided by the story of Jacob".⁵ While there is doubt over a *pre-Christian* Jewish eschatological Son of Man figure, over such an *early Christian* figure there is none: he would return

¹ See esp. Hanson, *Interpretation*, 110-114; *cf. idem, Prophetic*, 36-41. In *Interpretation*, 110f., Hanson argues that the Baptist's admission to not knowing the Christ in 1:31 (*cf.* 1:33) has already drawn attention to the narrative, by echoing Jacob's similar admission in Gn 28:16.

² Hoskyns, Strachan, Bultmann, Lindars and Barrett accept this as the point of the fig tree.

³ J. Fritsch, "'Videtur angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes super Filium Hominis' (Jn 1:15)", *VD* 37.1 (1959), 3-11, esp. 8,9,11, goes beyond the evidence when he equates the disciples with Israel; Theobald, *Fleischwerdung*, 288, is wrong to equate Bethel with the old dispensation (scripture included), now surpassed by Jesus. J. Suggit, "John 19:5. 'Behold the man'", *ExpTim* 94 (1982-83), 333-334, convincingly presents both titles in 1:49,51 as being acknowledged in 19:5,14.

⁴ Reim, "Jesus", 160.

⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 186f.

with the angels at the Parousia (*cf.* Mk 13:26; 14:62, *pars.*). John reroutes three other Old Testament texts (Ps 78:24; Zch 12:10; 14:8) – texts that are used within wider Christian tradition in a futurist context – to suit the new, realized parameters of his own community needs (*cf.* 21:20f.). And the first two are very much concerned with the traditional setting of the Son of Man. He can do the same here.

Given his access to Zch 12:10 *via* its already Christian setting, quite possibly a *testimonium* – indeed, given that all his quotations from Zechariah are ‘Christianized’ – it is all the more likely that John uses the same technique here that he uses in 19:37. *I.e.*, He lifts the already established Christian interpretations of Dn 7:13 (with its ‘son of man’ motif) and Zch 12:10 (with its ‘you shall see’ motif) from their traditional futurist eschatological setting, fuses them together, and recasts them into a new realized eschatological setting based on Gn 28:12. ¹ Again he suits the Jewish scriptures to his needs, replacing the standard *theologia gloriae* with a *theologia crucis*.²

2 – 3

Despite his admittance of “Dionysiac colouring” in 2:1-11, Hengel is right to deem an Old Testament and Jewish background as being vital to this narrative. Jesus transforms the water in the six Jewish purification jars into the finest of wine on the seventh day of the week (*cf.* 2:1), just as he transforms the Old Mosaic Covenant into the New Messianic Covenant based on blood (*cf.* Jn 6:53-56).³ Olsson has particularly the Sinai epic in mind when he calls this passage “a symbolic narrative text with many allusive elements”.⁴ Other ‘allusive elements’ are also worth noting: the wine / blood

¹ Since 1:51 bears no other similarity to Dn 7:13, it seems that John’s concern with the text here (as with Zch 12:10, indeed, the complete Son of Man tradition) is purely secondary: he inherits it from the wider Christian tradition.

² Glasson, *Moses*, 34f., adds Jn 1:50f. to the support of 3:14f., that the crucified Son of Man is the exclusive means of salvation. *Cf.* Lindars, *Jesus*, 155: “The Son of Man in John is the agent of the revelation which is disclosed in the cross”.

³ Hengel, “Interpretation”, esp. 108ff.; *cf.* Augustine, *Tract. in Ioannem* IX, 5; J. Marsh, *Saint John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 141ff.; McHugh, “Life”, 126: “the ancient traditions of Israel acquire through [Jesus] a new, exhilarating interpretation”.

⁴ Olsson, *Structure*, 114; *cf.* 103-104: the people at Sinai arrive on the third day (*cf.* 2:1); they promise to obey (*cf.* 2:5); and the elders see God’s glory (*cf.* 2:11).

motif in Gn 49:10-12, and the later tradition that blood came from the rock when it was first struck in the wilderness, would further enhance John's eucharistic overtones.¹ (These passages were both often given a christological interpretation in the early church.) And Mary's command to the servants in 2:5 echoes Pharaoh's command to his servants in Gn 41:55b LXX, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπη ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε.²

While in 3:14 the Son of Man is not said to be delivered up or to die, the context shows that more is intended than the natural interpretation of "lifted up". John begins by referring to the brazen serpent that Moses set on a stake (Nu 21:8f.). The point of the comparison is the "lifting up" on a stake; and the application can only be to Jesus' crucifixion (using the ὑψώω language of Is 52:13b LXX), John's ultimate σημειον (cf. 2:18-21; 6:30-33).³ It now becomes noteworthy that the LXX translates the Hebrew word for 'pole', **טֵלָה**, as σημειον (Nu 21:9).⁴ Just as the serpent was raised so that πᾶς ὁ δεδηγμένος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται (Nu 21:8 LXX), so the crucifixion of Jesus will have the result that πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον (Jn 3:15).⁵ John encapsulates the fulfilment of the *theologia gloriae* in the *theologia crucis* by a deft use of this single Jewish *double entendre*.

One wonders whether perhaps John is also aware of the targumic tradition reflected in the later *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Nu 21:9, where the snake is set on **אתר תלי**. This allows a wordplay with the Hebrew **תְּלִי**, which is used in Dt 21:23 of a hanged man. Paul certainly uses this imagery of the crucified Jesus (Ga 3:13), and John seems to have access to other targumic traditions. Hanson is in no doubt: "John was well acquainted with the targumic traditions concerning Numbers 21:4-9".⁶

¹ Hengel, "Interpretation", 100 (cf. 89); Glasson, *Moses*, 26.

² P. Boismard, *Baptême*, 154; Schlatter, *Johannes*, 68. *Contra*, Olsson, *Structure*, 46. If this opening σημειον is intended as a "thematic and structural preview of the whole gospel" (Roth, "Coding", 7), its Old Testament imagery becomes all the more significant.

³ H. Hollis, "The Root of the Johannine Pun – 'ΥΨΩΘΗΝΑΙ'", *NTS* 35 (1989), 475-478, suggests that the pun comes from Jesus' own use of the Hebrew of Gn 40:20-22, where **טֵלָה** is used of both the elevating of the butler and the hanging of the baker. (The LXX does not repeat the pun.)

⁴ See P. Boismard, *Baptême*, 114; Glasson, *Moses*, 38. They also note Is 11:10-12, where the root of Jesse is to raise an ensign (**טֵלָה** / σημειον) for the nations.

⁵ See Maneschg, *Erzählung*, 404, for a synopsis of Nu 21:8-9 LXX and Jn 3:14-15.

⁶ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 49. Maneschg, *Erzählung*, 389f. (cf. Odeburg, *Fourth*, 110-111), proposes that John adopts the targumic and rabbinic practice of denying the salvific import of the snake and of emphasizing instead that of "setting one's heart on God" (cf. Wsd 16:6-7). This is not the case. If

Hanson suggests that 3:31-36 is at least partly inspired by Is 26:12-21 LXX. John here repeats themes present in 3:1-15, which makes the reference to baptism *via* the mention of a seal in v. 33 (*cf.* v. 5) more likely.¹ Hanson uses this to argue that from here John alludes back to Is 26:13b LXX, κύριε, ἐκτὸς ... ὀνομάζομεν.² The link is weak. John could take τῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου in Is 26:17b LXX, which refers to birth, as a reference to Jesus; he could deduce God's giving Jesus the Spirit without measure (3:34b) from the somewhat cryptic Is 26:18b LXX, πνεῦμα ... γῆς; he could have the notion in Is 26:19a LXX, of those ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις being resurrected, fulfilled in the ζωὴν αἰώνιον of 3:36 (*cf.* 5:25-28); and he could take his stark contrast between those who believe in the Son and those who reject him from the contrast in Is 26:18,21 between Israel and οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.³ This all remains rather tenuous; and if John *is* aware of the parallels, he does nothing to make his readers aware of them. Nevertheless, it does seem that the Isaiah passage forms part of his conceptual background. Is 26:20b LXX turns the Hebrew עַד-יַעֲבֹר-רַגְלֵךְ into ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου, which corresponds almost exactly with the phrase in 3:36 that John uses nowhere else – ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ. It comes as no surprise that John gives this eschatological concept a realized setting.

4:1-42

Olsson is right that there is a parallel here to the account of Moses at the Midian well (Ex 2:15-21), especially bearing in mind the additions in Jos. A. 2.256-258: Moses fled διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ... ἀπορός τε ὦν τροφῆς ἀπηλλάττετο τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταφρονῶν, εἷς τε πόλιν ... καθεσθεις ἐπὶ τινος φρέατος ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἡμέρει, μεσημβρίας οὔσης οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, where he

anything, John makes a point of *not* following this Jewish practice: Jesus, the source of salvation, *like the snake* is lifted up. John makes no further reference to the snake, because he is happy to apply scriptural allusions to make his point and then drop them; he uses the verb πιστεύω rather than ὁράω because it suits his overall soteriology more.

¹ See Dodd, *Interpretation*, 308-310; Hoskyns, *Fourth I*, 250; Brown, *John I*, 158.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 51.

³ Schlatter, *Johannes*, 112; Bultmann, *John*, 166 n. 4, see an echo of Is 26:14 in Jn 3:31-36.

rescued ἐπὶ παρθένοι ἀδελφαί, ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρες. ¹ This may again merely betray John's conceptual background, but it is more likely that the parallel is deliberate. As part of his realized eschatology as well as his polemic against Moses, John shows how Jesus repeats and surpasses Moses' feat, and so declares the New Age of the Messiah. ²

As the provider of living water as a permanent thirst-quencher (vv. 13-15; cf. 7:37-38), Jesus offers what had been yearned for in the scriptures. Isaiah stressed the need for the people to cleanse themselves in water (Is 1:16 – cf. Ps 51:7); Jeremiah considered it the people's two great sins that they had forsaken God, the fountain of living waters, and hewn for themselves cisterns that cannot hold water (Jr 2:13); and Ezekiel's fantastic vision of an abundance of waters ἐξύβριζεν ὡς χειμάρρου flowing from the Temple (Eze 47:1ff., cf. 36:25) prompted the prophets to look forward to the fountain of divine cleansing that ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἐξελεύσεται (Jl 3:18; cf. Zch 14:8). Zechariah's prophecy of a fountain opened for the house of David to cleanse them from sin and unrighteousness (Zch 13:1) is here at last fulfilled. ³

John's Jewish readers, moreover, would not miss the allusion to the "Well Song" of Nu 21:16-18 – especially coming, as it does, so soon after the episode of the bronze serpent (Nu 21:8-9) referred to in Jn 3:14. ⁴ The application of this well at Qumran ⁵ gives John's eschatological application of it to the Messiah the perfect Jewish precedent. And if the connection the targums make between this well dug by the elders and those dug by the patriarchs ⁶ goes back to John's time, it may help explain the otherwise problematic Jn 4:12.

¹ Bernard, *John* I, 136. Olsson, *Structure*, 151, notes that Philo, *Mos.* 1.51,53 and *Jos. A.* 2.258,263 translate τὰ πρόβατα (LXX) as τὰ θρέμματα. This word occurs nowhere in the LXX, but appears in Jn 4:12!

² Carmichael, "Marriage", 338-339, notes Jr 2:13 LXX, which refers to God as πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς (cf. Jn 4:7,21), and makes the association with rabbinic tradition that identified Jeremiah with the prophet of Dt 18:15. He suggests that John makes Jesus the Jeremiah of the New Age.

³ Olsson, *Structure*, 244, 256, also notes Is 11:11-16; 60:4; Zch 10:6f. (cf. Carmichael, "Marriage", 343-344). See on Jn 7:37f. – much of the material applies to both passages. Haenchen, *John*, 240, makes special mention of Pr 13:14; 18:4; Lindars, *John*, 183, adds Ps 36:10; Is 55:1 and others.

⁴ Olsson, *Structure*, 163ff., 216; cf. Glasson, *Moses*, 55.

⁵ See Haenchen, *John*, 240.

⁶ So *Tg. Ps.-J. & Tg. Onq.* (Etheridge, *Targums* II, 412-413). Olsson, *Structure*, 165, notes these, as does Le Déaut (Macho, I, *in loc.*).

Hanson is also right to draw attention to Is 12 – “Almost every verse ... would be meaningful to John”.¹ Especially relevant is the drawing from the wells of salvation in v. 3 (*cf.* Jn 4:42), the universalism of vv. 4-5 (*cf.* Jn 4:21-25), and the use of ὕψοῦν in vv. 4-6 LXX (esp. v. 6b). For John to regard Is 12 as messianic is perfectly in line with the then current Jewish tradition.² Yet it is wrong to take the analogy too far. Whatever the link with Jr 2:13 and the like, if John wanted to refer to the Torah as “dead” water³ he would do so, and not contradict himself elsewhere.

The woman asks Jesus, “Are you greater than our father Jacob?” (v. 12). Only one person from the Pentateuch could answer this description – the one who, having “nothing to draw with”, gave Israel “living water” (Ex 17:1-7; Nu 20:1-18) when “water came forth abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their cattle” (Nu 20:11). The Qumran evidence (CD 3.16f.; 6.4-11) suggests that the many stories about the patriarchs and their wells were now being steadily interpreted in terms of the one great well that provided the water of life in inexhaustible profusion, the Torah. So perhaps the Samaritan woman “is implicitly inquiring, “Are you the prophet like Moses?” (Dt 18:15,18-19), and the evangelist is hinting that Jesus is about to offer a gift superior to anything which Moses had offered ...”.⁴

The location is at Jacob’s well, near Sychar (4:5), the successor to Shechem, where Abraham built his first altar in the geographical centre of the Promised Land (Gn 12:6-7). Hence, it is where true worship began.⁵ John, then, may also be showing that, with the Temple gone, Jesus extends the lawful place of worship to encompass all the earth (*cf.* Ps 24:1). Hanson notes the play on מִקְדָּשׁ and מִקְדָּשׁ in the *Midrash* on Ps 4:9 (*cf.* Jr 2:13), and the ensuing words, “when you cannot go to the synagogue in your city, pray in the open field ...” (*cf.* Jn 4:21). John similarly concludes that Jesus, as the source of living water, “also enables his new community to worship anywhere ...”.⁶

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 62.

² See the *Midrash* on Ps 18:35 (Braude I, 269).

³ Dodd, *Interpretation*, 311-314; *cf.* Lightfoot, *John*, 212ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 132.

⁵ G.A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931²⁵), 115-121.

⁶ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 57f.; *cf.* Braude (ed.), *Midrash I*, 73. On the statement about praying anywhere, *cf.* *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. Piska 24.4 (Braude & Kapstein, 367).

Carmichael sees a marriage motif here.¹ Marriages are often associated with wells in the Old Testament (*e.g.*, Gn 24; 29; Ex 2:15-21), and the Baptist has recently referred to Jesus as the bridegroom (3:29). Indeed, Jesus' request for a drink echoes the amorous description of the bride in Sol 4:15 LXX as φρέαρ ὕδατος ζῶντος.² Certainly John's scene is closely parallel to that in Gn 24 (where Abraham's servant meets Rebekah), and to that in Gn 29 (where Jacob finds Rachel, at the village well). Moreover, Gn 24 has frequent references to the requesting and giving of a drink of water (vv. 14,17,18,43-45), while both Rebekah and Rachel are presented as beautiful young maidens (24:16; 29:17). Samaria, by contrast, had been corrupted by the deported people of five cities, each with their own patron god (2 Kgs 17:24).

John's general scriptural background is clear; and given that he alludes to Ex 2:15-21 here, this scriptural motif may be intended. He presents the story of a bridegroom seeking a bride – here the Samaritans – at a well.³ McHugh goes further. Jesus woos Samaria in fulfilment of Eze 16:36 and Ho 2:19; his uncharacteristic exhaustion (4:6) shows that, as with Hosea, “there is no limit to the distance the Son of God is prepared to travel to meet the sinner”.⁴

Betz powerfully argues that John bases 4:22c, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν, on Gn 49:10, especially the Hebrew, עֵד כִּי־יָבֹא שִׁילֹה. Although it is lost in the LXX and Vulgate, by John's time this apparent reference to Shiloh was recognized as being messianic.⁵ Thus John has the Samaritan woman recognize the reference (οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, 4:25), while he has the whole town recognize the implicit pun on Jesus' name when they call him ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (4:42).

¹ Carmichael, “Marriage”, 336f.; *cf.* Glasson, *Moses*, 57.

² Bernard, *John*, 139.

³ See F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien III: Sa Théologie. I Le Mystère de Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Gabalda, 1966), 90-95; G. Bienaimé, *Mose et le Don de l'Eau dans la Tradition Juive Ancienne: targum et midrash* (AnBib 98; Rome: PIB, 1984), esp. 154-199 *passim*, 278-281.

⁴ McHugh, “Life”, 131, *cf.* 133. In this connection, he notes the invitation to members of the Baptist sect in 3:22-36 (130) and to “Gentiles living on the edge of Judaism” (134) in 4:43-54. However, John alters the Synoptic ἑκατοντάρχης to βασιλικός, “because he did not wish to introduce at this stage a message for a Gentile as such”.

⁵ 4QPatr 1-7, which Vermes dates in the first half of the first century BCE, reads this line as “until the Messiah of Righteousness comes, the Branch of David” (Vermes, *Dead*, 260). Le Déaut, (Macho I, *in loc.*), remarks that all the targums (esp. *Tg. Neof.*) use *gematria* to interpret “Shiloh” here in a messianic sense. *Cf. b. Sanh* 98b. John may also refer to both the text and the targumic tradition associated with it in 9:7.

Betz also suggests that John derives ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ (4:23a) from Jos 24:14, “Now fear the Lord and serve him **תַּבְּיָמָי וּבְאֵמֶת**” (LXX ἐν εὐθύτητι καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ – presumably John works from the Hebrew), ¹ which Joshua too speaks at Shechem (cf. Jn 4:5). ² And he suggests that John paraphrases καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν (4:23b) from Ps 43:3a – Christ is the New Temple of the New Age. ³

The startling announcement of the Samaritans as the finale to the episode – οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου (4:42) – for all its echoes of Imperial Rome, is perfectly Jewish, and parallels 4 Ezr 13:25b-26a. ⁴ The parallel is hardly deliberate, but again it shows John’s Jewish scriptural background. In a similar vein, Wsd 16:7 (part of the passage concerning the brazen serpent) refers to God as τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα; Is 43:3 refers to him as ὁ σφύζων σε; ⁵ and Is 45:21 refers to him as δίκαιος καὶ σωτῆρ, within a singularly universal context. ⁶

5 – 12

John nowhere has a formal trial of Jesus by the Sanhedrin. McHugh notes, however, that “if the words in Jn 18:20 (“I taught always in a synagogue or in the Temple”) are taken as a cross-reference back to the teaching in chapters 5-10, then it is permissible to see these chapters as embodying the Johannine version of the Jewish

¹ Betz, ““Worship””, 59. He also notes the parallel with Qumran texts (esp. 1QpHab 7.10-12), where “the concept “truth” occupied the foreground in divine worship” (62).

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 60-61, adds Gn 33:19, where Jacob buys some land at Shechem, and Gn 48:22, where he gives Joseph a mountain slope (MT **בְּקֶמֶץ**; LXX Σικιμά). He also suggests a link with *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Pal.*, which had “moralised” the conflict with the Amorites.

³ Betz, ““Worship””, 61-62. Since John equates Jesus with God’s dwelling, this connection (cf. **מִשְׁכְּנֵנוֹתָיִךְ** / σκηνώματά) is perhaps not so unlikely. Beutler, “Psalm 42/3”, presents Jn 11:33,35,38 (cf. 12:27) as a *midrash* on Ps 42-43.

⁴ See Lagrange, *Evangile*, 122; cf. Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II (1961), 441. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: TPI, 1981), esp. 292, dates 4 Ezra as c. 100 CE, and presents its Messiah as pre-existent.

⁵ Cf. Lindars, *John*, 198.

⁶ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 66 n. 37, notes that the Hebrew **מוֹשִׁיעַ** has the same roots as “Jesus”. The Targum reduces the universalism to the Diaspora, but its Memra-language (**אֲתַפְּנֵנוּ לְמִימְרֵי וְאֲתַפְּרִיקֵנוּ** ... [Stenning, *Targum*, 157]) is significant, especially since Is 45:25 LXX allows for John’s Logos christology. (The Targum refers to the *Memra* here too.)

legal process ... This then becomes the major section of the Gospel as far as Judaism is concerned".¹ We will argue that in fact Jn 1 – 12 has a specifically Jewish evangelistic intent, but John *does* employ a Jewish legal framework here. As well as calling on his works, his Father, and (his) scriptures as witnesses to support his claims (5:36-40), Jesus calls on two human witnesses: the Baptist (5:33-35) and Moses (5:45-47).

Hanson argues that John bases 5:35 on scripture. Jesus says that the Baptist was ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων, taking καιώ from Ex 27:20-21 LXX, where it appears twice (Hanson makes it three times). He continues, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἠθελήσατε ἀγαλλιαθῆναι πρὸς ὥραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ, echoing Ps 131:16b LXX, καὶ οἱ ὅσοι αὐτῆς ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται. These echoes would serve John's christology: in Ex 27:20-21 Moses is to place lamps (נֵרִים = λύχνος) in the tent of meeting outside the veil that hangs before the tabernacle, where they are to burn all night; while in the psalm we read (v. 17b), ἠτοίμασα λύχνον [נֵרִים] τῷ χριστῷ μου. But they remain essentially weak. καιώ is hardly rare in the LXX, and the theme of Ps 131:16b is not uncommon (*cf.* Ps 20:5,7; 21:5; 32:11, *etc.*, all with ἀγαλλιάομαι). One could counter that Jesus' statement in 5:34 (ταῦτα λέγω ἵνα ὑμεῖς σωθῆτε) echoes the reference in Ps 131:16b to σωτηρίαν (MT עֲשֵׂה); and the *Midrash* on Ps 75:5 associates the budding of David's horn in v. 17a with the messianic age.² But it is best to see the echoes simply as a result of John's scriptural background, and that neither he nor his readers are particularly aware of them.³

John's Jewish exegetical presuppositions continue. 5:19-47 is his commentary on 5:17,⁴ which surely presumes upon the Jewish tradition that though God completed creation on the sixth day, this does not mean that He ceased from activity (*cf.* Ps 121:4) – it means only that He ceased from producing new kinds of animals.

¹ McHugh, "Life", 135; *cf.* 137, 155.

² Braude II, 12.

³ *Cf.* F. Neugebauer, "Miszelle zu Joh 5:35", *ZNW* 52 (1961), 130; A.T. Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (London: SPCK, 1968), 12-15; *idem*, *Prophetic*, 71ff.; *contra* Haenchen, *John I*, 263, "... such allusions do not belong to the style of the Evangelist". Augustine was the first to appeal to Ps 132:8a: see M.-F. Berrouard [ed. & tr.], *Homélie sur L'Évangile de Saint Jean* (2 vols.; Paris: Desclée, 1969), I.V.14 (324); I.VII.21 (454); I.XXXV.2.

⁴ McHugh, "Life", 136. Dodd, *More*, ch. 3; P. Gächter, "Zur Form von Joh. 5:19-30", in J. Binzler, O. Küss & F. Mussner (eds.), *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1969), 65-68, note that here we have a parable of a father instructing his son in his hereditary craft.

Billerbeck shows that this tradition was popular among later rabbis, ¹ while Philo, *Leg.* 1.5 provides evidence that it dates back to John's time.

The reference to Passover in 6:4 sets 6:4-58 within the context of the exodus: John compares the gift of loaves to the gift of manna, and makes Jesus (the provider of the loaves) the bread of life. Yet unlike the manna – which as with all earthly food was to perish (*cf.* Gn 3:19; Ex 16:35; Lv 26:25-26) – as the bread from heaven Jesus sustains spiritual life forever. This again identifies him with the word of God (*cf.* Dt 8:3; Am 8:11-13; Is 55:1-3,10-11) and the wisdom of God (*cf.* Pr 9:1-6; Sir 15:3; 24:19-22; Wsd 16:20-29): both had been embodied in the Torah, and are now embodied in Jesus.

John's drawing of attention to his exegesis in 6:4 makes more plausible McHugh's suggestion that he repeats the words of 7:34 in 7:36 because, "not content to give the cross-reference, [he] wants to write out in large letters, "See Proverbs 1:28 and the whole context"". ² After all, John's mind *is* on scripture (*cf.* 7:37ff.).

In contrast to the ethos and rituals of Tabernacles, which are essential to Jn 7 – 9, John's progression of thought from a bread (Jn 6) to a water (Jn 7) to a light motif (Jn 8) is overt. Jesus, the Messiah, inaugurates the messianic age by again providing the manna, and an abundance of water and light first provided by Moses. Hanson notes a "whole series of connections" between 8:12-30 and Is 43 (esp. LXX vv. 8,9,10,26). ³ Many of these are tenuous. But it is perhaps significant that *b. 'Abod. Zar* 1-5 (2a-b) interprets Is 43:9-10 as the rejection of the nations at the last judgement since they rejected the Torah when it was offered them. If John were aware of an earlier version of this tradition it would be typical of him to repeat it, replacing the Torah with Jesus in a new realized eschatological setting (esp. 8:24).

The most evocative words in these verses are those Jesus speaks in 8:12, ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Bernard, Brown and Lindars note the parallel with

¹ Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar*³ II, 461-462. *Cf.* a modern rabbinic commentary by Rabbi M. Zlotovitz, *Bereishis: Genesis, A New Translation with a commentary anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* (Brooklyn, New York: Mesorah Publications, 1977), 82-84.

² McHugh, "Life", 139, 140.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 119f. Barrett, Bernard and Lindars all see the influence of Is 43:9-10, though Bultmann, *Johannes* (1950), 212 n. 6, rejects it: "Anspielung auf Jes. 43:10 liegt nicht vor". Hanson has John allude to Is 43:10 also in Jn 6:69f.; 16:8-11.

the messianic Zch 14:7, especially the closing words, **וְהָיָה לְעֵת-עָרֵב יְהִי־אֹר** / **καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔσται φῶς**, which *Pesiq. R.* takes as referring to eternal life – “The kind of day on which light will continue even though evening has come”.¹ In the same context *Pesiq. R.* quotes Is 60:19, and Bernard notes the parallel with this passage – especially v. 19b LXX, which is particularly susceptible to John’s christology. Brown and Schnackenburg note the parallel with Job 33:28b (*cf.* v. 30b), **וְהָיָה אֹר בְּאֵזְרֵי בְּרָאִיִּי** / **καὶ ἡ ζωὴ μου φῶς ὄψεται**,² while Schnackenburg makes much of Ps 36:10. McHugh, meanwhile, has John send the reader direct to the only prophetic text to mention Galilee and also celebrate the birth of an heir to David’s throne, Is 9:2-7. Indeed, if Is 9:2ff. points back to Is 7:14f., John’s “most obvious” allusion is to the Servant of the Lord (*esp.* Is 42:6; 49:6) – “a prophet from Galilee is destined to be the light of the entire world”.³

This general scriptural association of light and life – often in what are at least later taken to be messianic texts – surely prompts John’s christological statement. Moreover, given that John makes explicit use of Zch 14:8 in the previous chapter, this parallel at least is deliberate: just as the water-ceremony in the Temple foreshadowed the life-giving water of the Spirit, so the lighting in the Temple courts is a symbol of the light streaming outward from the New Temple to the world. Ps 36:10 too seems particularly relevant. John may allude to it in 4:10ff. & 7:37f., and later Jewish writings certainly offer it a messianic association: *Pesiq. R.* identifies **חַיִּים מְקוֹר** (v. 10a) with the Torah, and refers **בְּאֵזְרֵי בְּרָאִיִּי** (v. 10b) to the Messiah; the *Midrash* on v. 10 uses it as proof that only Israel will achieve the age to come; and the Talmud uses it as proof of life after death (*b. Hag* 12b).⁴

This association of light and life also occurs at Qumran. 1QS 3.18ff. is well-known for its antithesis of light as salvation and darkness as damnation; and 1.7 contains the phrase **אֹר הַחַיִּים**. Barrett deems this insignificant. Yet it surely betrays

¹ Piska 8.4 (Braude I, 152f.).

² The author of one of the Qumran *Hodayoth* opens by adapting Job 33:28a to refer to his salvation (1QH 3.19).

³ McHugh, “Life”, 142.

⁴ Braude I, 417f.; *cf. Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*, Piska 21.3.

a contemporary Jewish parallel to John's thought, especially since the Qumranians understood the phrase as their interpretation of the Torah.

Reim notes the reference in 8:35 to Gn 21:1-14, where Ishmael is expelled.¹ The rabbis went to great pains to better represent Abraham's and Sarah's involvement. *Tg. Neof.* says that Sarah saw Ishmael "doing improper actions, such as jesting in a foreign cult", a sentiment *Tg. Ps.-J.* repeats; while *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Onq.* note that Sarah was a prophetess. In the Talmud (*b. Sanh* 569f. 89b), God is said to demonstrate Abraham's willingness to offer Isaac as a rebuff to Satan's comment that Abraham had given a great feast for his entourage upon Isaac's weaning yet nothing to God himself. In the Tosefta (*t. Sot* 6.6), R. Simeon b. Yohai reports R. Akiba and others as believing that Sarah saw Ishmael tempting Isaac (to sacrifice locusts for idolatry and commit sexual immorality) and shooting arrows at him.² With such a flurry of rabbinic activity, John is surely aware of the story of Gn 21 – Paul is (*cf.* Ga 4:21 – 5:1) – and uses it to present Jesus as the true Isaac, the son who stays in the house forever.³

With inimitable irony, John rounds off this Jewish progression with one of Jesus' confrontations with οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (8:39-59). With Abraham having been brought to mind, John shows that, as with Moses, Jesus is superior to him. What Abraham did was, like Moses, to believe in Jesus (v. 39; *cf.* Ro 4) – the very opposite of what οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are doing now (v. 40). McHugh refers vv. 51ff. to *T. Abraham*, "certainly of Jewish origin ... almost certainly current at the time the Fourth Gospel was taking shape". Here Abraham tries to put off the archangel Michael who has been sent to volunteer his soul from him, upon whose second visit God reminds Abraham that He could always send Death anyway, as He has done with everyone else, including the prophets; at this, Abraham reluctantly concedes. Thus Jesus' words in v. 51 mean, "whoever keeps Jesus' words ... will not, like Abraham in the story, strive by every means to escape the ending of earthly life, as if this departure inevitably

¹ Reim, *Studien*, 98. Barrett, Brown, Hoskyns, Lindars and Sanders all do the same.

² *Cf.* Bonsirven, *Textes*, 389, no. 1491; Hammer, *Sifre*, 55-56, inserts this passage into *Sifre Dt* Piska 31. *Pesiq. R. Piska* 48 (Braude II, 817) repeats the claim that Ishmael shot arrows at Isaac.

³ Both writers suit the incident to their circumstances: John addresses οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, and is concerned with christology; Paul addresses Judaizing Christians, and is concerned with soteriology.

entailed a terrifying death and a most severe judgment”.¹ McHugh has no proof that John works from this tradition; but if he is right, this has the added bonus of making the retort of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in vv. 52-53 more understandable.

To the non-Jewish mind, Jesus’ reply in v. 56 is obscure. One solution has been to revamp it. On the basis of an Aramaic *Grundschrift* to the Gospel, Burney suggests that it should read, “Abraham longed to see my day”; while Torrey suggests that the first א has been carelessly omitted from בעא אברהם, “Abraham prayed ...”.² Both suggestions are ineffectual: any such purely conjectural *Grundschrift* is useless as an exegetical tool. Chase argues from the Greek that a primitive error corrupted what had been ἐγωνίσσατο (cf. 18:36), “Abraham yearned ...”. This is no better, since ἡγαλλιάσατο (cf. 5:35) is universally attested. Yet it is not just that these suggestions shed no real light on Jesus’ reply: they are unnecessary. In this *Jewish* setting Jesus’ reply surely has a *Jewish* precedent, which makes it intelligible to the intended reader. The only solution is to interpret it in the light of contemporary Jewish exegesis.³

Westcott’s suggestion – that Jesus’ reply should be interpreted using the tradition reflected in He 11:17-19, which appears to speak of the binding (*Akedah*) of Isaac in terms of death and resurrection – is ingenious but irrelevant.⁴ The key text is Gn 24:1, where Abraham בְּבִימָיו, *i.e.*, “was advanced in years”. Rabbinic interpretation based itself on the literal meaning: Abraham entered by prophetic vision into all the coming days. This belief, that the secrets of the age to come were disclosed to Abraham, purports to be at least as old as R. Akiba. In *Gn R.* 44.25, R. Akiba contends against R. Johanan b. Zakkai that God revealed to Abraham the secrets both of this age and the age to come. That this includes the days of the Messiah is precisely what is deduced from Gn 24:1 in *Tanhuma B* (חיי שרה), §6 (60a).⁵

¹ McHugh, “Life”, 145-146. Cf. E.P. Sanders, in Charlesworth (ed.), *Pseudepigrapha* I, 875.

² Burney, *Aramaic*, 111; C.C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936), 144, 148.

³ Cf. Dodd, “Background”, 334, who presents Jesus’ reply as providing a well-known example of John’s unexplained allusions to Rabbinic doctrines and interpretations of the Old Testament; Barrett, *Gospel*, 351-352.

⁴ B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Macmillan, 1920³), 369.

⁵ Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 525. *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* interprets “my holy one” in Ps 60:8a (which John applies to Jesus in Jn 6:69) as referring to Abraham being shown the Messiah’s kingdom. Cf. S. Calvaletti, “La Visione Messianica di’ Abramo”, *BeO* 3.5 (1961), 179-181.

As Dodd recognized back in 1935, apart from such a background Jesus' reply makes little sense. John takes this Jewish exegesis, and gives it a specifically Christian application: Abraham is privy (*cf.* Barn 7:7, προβλέψας) to the coming of Jesus. That this caused him to rejoice, moreover, John can easily deduce from contemporary Jewish exegesis of Gn 17:17: Philo, *Mut.* 154-169 interprets the text as rejoicing rather than as incredulity; *Jub* 16:19 similarly has Abraham rejoice at the announcement of Sarah's son; ¹ and *T. Levi* 18:14 reads that ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις (v. 5) of the new priest "... shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult (ἀγαλλιάσεται)". Thus Mörchen argues that the word ἡγαλλίασατο in 8:56 refers to joy over the fulfilment of prophecy, and that the whole passage is a "Christian midrash" on Gn 17:1f.; 18:18. ² Bearing in mind the imagery of 8:35, the assonance between ἡγαλλίασατο and ἐγέλασεν (Gn 17:17 LXX) suggests that John also makes an incidental play on the name 'Isaac'.

Hanson refuses to accept the obvious when he rejects the above. His alternative explanation, however, which stretches back to Baldensperger (1898), provides a wonderful accompaniment. ³ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι take Jesus' response in v. 56 as meaning that Abraham and he saw each other, to which Jesus retorts that he actually existed before Abraham (v. 58). Indeed, in vv. 39-40 a strict parallel requires that, unlike οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Abraham accepted the truth from Jesus. Hanson is right: this fits beautifully with Gn 18:1-15, where Abraham entertains three visitors.

The biblical tradition presents one of the visitors as heavenly – he is יהוה / κύριος (18:1 [LXX θεός], 3, 13, 17, 20, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33 [3, 27-32 MT יהוה]), and appears in total command, even of the coming judgement upon Sodom. It implies the same of the others – in Gn 19:1 they are המלאכים / οἱ ἄγγελοι, ⁴ and strike the men of Sodom with blindness. Jewish tradition as far back as Philo and Josephus underscores this theme, often noting that the visitors do not actually eat or drink. ⁵

¹ See Lagrange, *Evangile*, 254f.

² R. Mörchen, "Johannisches 'Jubeln'", *BZ* 30.2 (1986), 248-250.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 126ff.; *idem*, *Interpretation*, 165.

⁴ J. Barton, *The Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London: DLT, 1986), 289 n. 43: "Gen 19:1 implies that of the three men who visit Abraham, one is Yahweh and the other two are "angels"."

⁵ Philo, *Mig.* 113 (in § 108 Abraham is πληρωθεὶς μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν χάρας when the angels accept his invitation: *cf.* Jn 8:56); *Quaest. Gn.* 4.270f., 273; *Jos. A.* 1.11, 40.2f. (ἐν δὲ δόξαν αὐτῶ)

The point of the story is that the one Abraham seems to worship (vv. 2-3, $\text{הַיְיָ} / \text{προσκυνέω}$), and perhaps even calls “my Lord”, tells him that the next year Sarah will have a son. For John – aware of this *haggadah* and perhaps the targumic tradition that associated the “Lord” with God’s *Shekinah* or *Memra*¹ – this “Lord” is the pre-existent Logos. τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν in v. 56 refers not only to Abraham entering the day of the Messiah, but to the pre-existent Logos entering the day of Abraham!²

And none of this mentions the specific role that contemporary Jewish traditions about Cain play in vv. 41-47. Most remarkable of all is Jesus’ parting shot, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί, for which he almost gets lynched by οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. The Jewish background to John’s use of ἐγὼ εἰμι is well known: to the Jew, “ἐγὼ εἰμι ist Gottesname”.³ Again John speaks of Jesus as the locus of God’s presence on earth: he is the replacement for the lost Temple.

In 10:1-21 John uses various Jewish scriptures to expand a number of Christian themes (cf. e.g., Jn 10:17-18; Mk 10:45; Lk 12:32) – Manns calls this passage a “Christian midrash” on the theme of the shepherd.⁴ Bultmann is the exception to the rule when he fails to see any parallels here with Ezekiel. The denunciation of false shepherds in Eze 34:1-10 is in keeping with the statements on the ἀλλαχόθεν, κλέπτῃς, ληστῆς and μισθωτός in 10:1,8,10,12-13; while God himself as the shepherd who saves (Eze 34:14-15,22,31), whose κατασκήνωσις (Eze 37:27 LXX) will be with his people, aligns with Jesus as the Messiah (Eze 34:23; 37:24).

Other scriptures offer similar parallels. In Jr 23:1-6 the careless shepherds are denounced; God will gather his flock and set caring shepherds over them; and

πάρεσχον ἐσθιόντων); *Tg. Onq.* (only the central visitor acquiesces to the offer of food); *Tg. Neof.* (Abraham calls the angels “Yahve”); *b. B. Mes* 498f. 87b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Piska 5.8 (Braude with Kapstein, 102f.); *Pesiq. R.* Piska 25.2 (Braude II, 521f.).

¹ In *Tg. Ps.-J.* Abraham pleads, “let not the Glory of your Shekinah go up”; he does the same in *Tg. Neof.*, where the “Word of the Lord” is revealed to him; cf. Le Déaut, Macho I, *in loc.* In *b. Šabb* 632 127a, Abraham is said to have made the *Shekinah* wait; cf. *b. Šeb* 35b.

² Cf. Odeburg, *Fourth*, 306; E. Delebeque, “Jesus Contemporain d’Abraham selon Jean 8,57”, *RB* 93.1 (1986), 85-92. Baldensperger went so far as to suggest that John deems the Son promised to Abraham to be Jesus. Loisy, *Quatrième*, 304f., prefers Gn 17:1ff. as the source.

³ J. Brinktrine, “Die Selbstaussage Jesu Ἐγὼ εἰμι”, *TGI* 47 (1959), 36. Cf. Schnackenburg, *John II*, 79-89.

⁴ Manns, “Traditions”, 145. Manns makes much of the targumic expansions of Old Testament ‘restoration’ passages, which invariably present the *Memra* as the central figure.

ἀναστήσω τῷ Δαυιδ ἀνατολὴν δικαίαν as king (v. 5 LXX; cf. Jn 10:17).¹ In Nu 27:16-17 Ἰησοῦς, who follows Moses, will be the necessary shepherd of ἡ συναγωγὴ κυρίου, appointed by God to do precisely what Jesus does (v. 17 LXX; cf. Jn 10:3b-4). *Tg. Ps.-J.* makes God's command to Moses in Nu 27:18 yet more 'Johannine': "Take to yourself Joshua bar Nun, a man on whom rests the spirit of prophecy ... And you will confer a ray of brightness upon him ...".² And Ps 80:2 refers to the Shepherd of Israel who leads Joseph like a flock.³ (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.* takes this to mean that God will lead his flock just as Joseph forgave his injurious brothers.⁴)

It is unlikely that John and his readers are not aware of at least some of these parallels⁵ (especially those involving the passages in Ezekiel), which are all quoted by later Jewish writers.⁶ And McHugh is surely right to use the Ezekiel passages as evidence for John's Jewish overtures: "There are few more powerful images of Jesus as fulfilling the role both of Yahweh himself, and of the new Davidic king, at the end of time, by assembling both Israel and all the Gentiles into one sheepfold, with one shepherd (Jn 10:16; cf. Ezek 34:11-16, 23-24) ... the evangelist is declaring to the Pharisees ... that it is God's will that Jews and Gentiles should be united, under a new David, in an everlasting covenant of peace, with his sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore (Ezek 37:24-28)".⁷

Other scriptural parallels further reveal the conceptual matrix from which John – whether consciously or unconsciously – draws his imagery. In Zch 3:5-10 LXX the high priest Ἰησοῦς, whose opponent is ὁ διάβολος (cf. Jn 6:70; 8:44; 13:2), is cleansed of his sin and promised responsibility over God's people if he remains obedient to God. Furthermore, v. 7a, ... καὶ ἐὰν διαφυλάξης καὶ γε τὴν αὐλήν μου [MT יִצְרִי], is echoed in the αὐλή of Jn 10:1; while John could use the connection

¹ 4QPatr 1.7 applies Jr 23:5 to the Messiah, the Branch of David. See Vermes, *Dead*, 260.

² Cf. *Tg. Neof.*: "... upon whom a holy spirit from before the Lord rests" (Macho IV, 609).

³ John also speaks of his community as a vine (Jn 15:1-17), just as the psalm speaks of Israel (vv. 8ff.).

⁴ Suppl 2.2 (Braude with Kapstein, 478).

⁵ Barrett, "Old Testament", 163, lists fifteen other texts not mentioned here, including 1 Sa 17:34-37; Ps 23; Jr 10:21; 12:10.

⁶ See the *Midrash* on Ps 119:123 (Braude II, 280), which links Eze 34:22 with Is 43:3; *Sifre Nu* (Kuhn, 6.27); *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Piska 16.9 (Braude, 298), which links Eze 34:31 with Is 40:1.

⁷ McHugh, "Life", 151.

with v. 7b, ... καὶ δώσω σοι ἀναστρεφόμενους [MT מְהִלְכִים] ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἔσθηκότων τούτων, to suggest to his readers “that God was promising Jesus converts among the Jews ...”.¹

Hanson argues that John takes his κλέπτῃς / ληστής terminology from Ho 7:1ef LXX (καὶ κλέπτῃς [MT נָבֵב] πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελεύσεται, ἐκδιδύσκων ληστής [MT נִדְוֵד] ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ). He also argues that John takes μισθωτός from the *inclusio* of Is 28:1,3 LXX (οἱ μισθωτοὶ [the LXX misreads שְׂכָרִי, ‘drunkards’, as שְׂכִירִי] (τοῦ) Ἐφραϊμ).² The context of Ho 7 would certainly suit John; while Is 28 was equally certainly used by early Christian writers³ (Is 28:2 in particular was open to messianic interpretation⁴). However, it is probably best to regard these two passages as being at best ‘subliminal influences’ on John.

Given the presentation of Jesus as the Suffering Servant in 10:11, the parallel between 10:17-18 and Is 53:10 (first noted by Westcott and Lagrange) is more compelling.⁵ Most compelling is that between Jn 10:17, ἐγὼ τίθημι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, and specifically the Hebrew of Is 53:10c, אֲנִי-תָשִׁים אֶשְׁמֵי נַפְשִׁי, which the Targum applies to the righteous remnant and the Talmud applies to the righteous individual.⁶

There is an even greater chance that John is aware of the parallel between his gate imagery and Ps 118:20, noted by Schlatter and Brown. The Psalm was popular among early Christians: Lk 20:17, Ac 4:11, 1 Pe 2:7 and Barn 6:4 quote v. 22; Mt 21:42 and Mk 12:10-11 quote vv. 22-23 (a ‘capstone’ passage); and all four Gospels quote vv. 25 / 26. Moreover, John may also allude to v. 11 LXX in 10:24⁷ and to v. 21a in 11:41, while v. 17a would remind him of the resurrection. Indeed, given both his awareness of the Psalm’s setting in the Feast of Tabernacles and the associated *Hallel*, as well as later Jewish exegesis of it, perhaps John uses the parallel to strengthen his

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 136 (cf. 135). His appeals to Zch 3:8 are less convincing.

² *Op. cit.*, 140f.

³ Vv. 12-13 are quoted as part of a conflate in 1 Cor 14:21. V. 16 is the ‘cornerstone’ passage quoted in Ro 9:33; 10:11; 1 Cor 3:11; Eph 2:20; 1 Pe 2:4,6.

⁴ Cf. the *Midrash* on Ps 47:1-2 (Braude I, 458).

⁵ Moo, *Passion*, 146-147, extends the parallel to include Jn 10:11,15 and Zch 13:7.

⁶ See Stenning, *Targum*, 180; *b. Ber* 18 5a.

⁷ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 167; *idem*, *Prophetic*, 142f.; cf. Lindars, *John*, 367.

own realized eschatology and replacement christology: “the door of righteousness, the door of Yahweh” is Jesus, by which the Israelite can enter into the New Temple and dwelling-place of God on earth (*cf.* Jn 1:14; 14:6).¹

John’s account of the raising of Lazarus (11:1-44) – not least in how he stresses that Lazarus really is dead (two days, four days, *etc.*) – shows that he shares the contemporary Pharisaic understanding of resurrection (*cf.* Dn 12:2,9,13). As McHugh notes, this understanding was “almost exactly the opposite of the Platonic concept of the immortal soul ...”.² Moreover, John’s presentation may again be influenced by a number of Jewish scriptures. Brown and Schnackenburg argue that vv. 9-10 are influenced by Jr 13:16a. This is by no means certain; but if John is aware of the Jewish tradition that this text was in fact spoken by God,³ it would make sense that it should be repeated by God’s Son and Word. Hanson argues that in v. 11 John deliberately echoes Job 14:12 as a statement of contemporary belief, and Job 14:14-15a LXX as a prophecy of the resurrection of Lazarus, Jesus and the Christian.⁴ He is overconfident but not necessarily wrong, especially since Job 14:14c LXX may influence Jn 3:3,7. Indeed, perhaps Jesus delays this sign (v. 6) in fulfilment of Job 14:6a LXX, ἀπόστα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἡσυχάσῃ.⁵

Beutler argues that 11:33,35,38 and 12:27 constitute a *midrash* on Ps 42/43 (LXX 41/42): 11:35 echoes Ps 42:4 (δάκρυα), while 11:33 (ἐνεβριμήσατο ... ἑαυτὸν, *cf.* v. 38) and 12:27 (νῦν ... τετάρακται) echo Ps 42:6,12; 43:5 (ἵνα τί ... συνταράσσεις με; *cf.* 42:7).⁶ Moreover, 12:31 (*cf.* 13:21,27) refers to the adversary of Ps 42:10; 43:2.⁷ Hanson goes further: Jesus’ prayers referred to in 11:41-42 and

¹ The *Midrash* on Ps 118:20 (Braude II, 243) equates the gate with the Age to come, while *Sifre Lv* uses the text as proof that “le goy qui accomplit la Tora est comme le grand prêtre” (Bonsirven, *Textes*, 42, no. 187). Hanson, “Lazarus”, contrasts John’s realised setting with the futurist setting of both the *Midrash* on Ps 118:11-12 (Braude II, 239-240) and Re 20:8-9. *Cf.* McHugh, “Life”, 151.

² McHugh, “Life”, 152.

³ *Pesiq. R. Piska* 33.11 (Braude II, 652).

⁴ Hanson, “Lazarus”, 252-254.

⁵ John would need to work from the LXX anyway: v. 14a Heb positively rejects the notion of resurrection, while v. 6a Heb is irrelevant. The phrase “born again” too is exclusive to v. 14c LXX.

⁶ Beutler, “Psalm 42/3”. He has John take over and extend the allusions to the Psalms noted by Dodd in the Gethsemane tradition (*e.g.*, Mk 14:34).

⁷ For further parallels, see Hanson, *Prophetic*, 157. The adversary motif is supported by John’s strange use of ἐμβριμάομαι (11:33,38), which may be a vestigial remain of an original exorcism story – the Synoptists always use the term in such a context (*cf.* 11:44b, λύσατε αὐτὸν ...).

12:27-32 are the very prayers of David in these psalms.¹ Both scholars are left with the burden of proof; but they receive support from the fact that whether the prayers of Jesus are pretence, the expression of God's will, the 'official' version of an unrecorded prayer, or whatever,² they are prayers of 'deliberate certainty' – as befits the Logos of God. In this respect John may also apply Is 65:24 to Jesus as the true Israelite.

Bearing in mind the messianic interpretation applied to Ps 118 by most early Christian writers (John included), 11:41b, εὐχαριστῶ ... μου, may also be influenced in some way by Ps 118:21a, כִּי עָנִיתִנִּי אֲדָרָךְ / ἔξομολογήσομαί ... μου.³ Indeed, Jesus' words resemble *Tg.* Ps 118:21a: "I give thanks before that you have received my prayer".⁴ Boismard suggests that the description of Lazarus in 11:44f. is intended to evoke the many descriptions in the Psalms of a person held captive by the bonds of death.⁵

Brown and Schnackenburg see a reference in 11:52 to Is 11:12. The text's messianic leanings – its suggestion of the eschatological gathering of not just the nations⁶ but specifically the Jewish people, and the juxtaposed reference to the Root of Jesse (v. 10, quoted in Ro 15:12) – make this a distinct possibility. Certainly John sees the death of Jesus as bringing about the restoration of the fortunes of both the Jewish people (*cf.* 11:50-52; 18:14; 19:37) as well as others (*cf.* 10:16). Moreover, the LXX uses language (ἀρεῖ σημεῖον) that would be reminiscent to John of the crucifixion / resurrection: John views this final work of Christ, which involves Jesus being "lifted up" (3:14; 8:28; 12:32,34 – John may prefer ὑψόω to ἀΐρω in deference to Is 53:13 LXX), as the ultimate σημεῖον (*cf.* 2:18-19).

Hanson argues that John bases 12:1-8 (Mary's anointing of Jesus) on the prophecy given to Ἰησοῦς in Hag 2:6-9: the Temple filled with God's glory (v. 7)

¹ *Ibid* – the psalms make the Lazarus incident a portent of Jesus' own resurrection (161f.).

² McHugh, "Life", 154, prefers the first alternative.

³ See Hanson, "Lazarus", 254; McHugh, "Life", 155. McHugh also notes the relevance of Ps 118:22: "Jesus' self-defence ... is complete, and it is now time for the verdict and judgment" – "The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone".

⁴ *Cf.* *Tg.* Is 53:4,7a. See M. Wilcox, "The 'Prayer' of Jesus in John XI.41b-2", *NTS* 24 (1977-78), 128-134, here 131.

⁵ Boismard *et al.*, *Synopse 3*, 293. McHugh, "Life", 155, singles out Ps 18:4,5,19; 116:3,16; 118:16-19 (*esp.*).

⁶ *Cf.* *Pesiq. R. Piska* 14.15 (Braude, 295); *Pesiq. Rab Kah. Piska* 4.10.

refers to the house filled with fragrance in 12:3; the silver and gold (v. 8) refers to Judas's hypocritical opposition in 12:5 (*cf. b. Sanh 97b; b. 'Abod. Zar 2b*); while the unique cadence of καὶ εἰρήνην ... τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον (v. 9 LXX) refers to the resurrection of Jesus' "body-temple" (*cf. Jn 2:17-22*).¹ There is no proof for this. But the messianic hint of v. 7 Heb, וּבָאוּ הַמְדִת כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם,² and the general theme that the glory of the present Temple is greater than that of the former Temple (v. 9), would support John's presentation of Jesus as the New Temple. It now becomes more possible that the reference to the shaking of the heavens (v. 6) influences his presentation of the *bath-kol* of 12:28-29, and that the coming of τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν (v. 7 LXX) influences his reference to the Greeks in 12:20.

It is also possible to see a parallel between 12:19-20, which recounts the Pharisees' unconscious prophecy and the request of the Greeks, and Job 21:32-33 LXX. Certainly John could take v. 32b, καὶ ἐπὶ σορῶ ἠγρούπησεν (*gal* perfect וַיִּקְוֶה becomes an aorist active), as prophetic of the resurrection; and in this case v. 33b, καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπελεύσεται, would justify the fear of the Pharisees perfectly.

Lindars and Schlatter see an echo of Ps 86:12b (LXX 85:12b, καὶ δοξάσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) in Jn 12:28, πάτερ, δόξασόν σου τὸ ὄνομα. Indeed, there are a number of parallels between this Psalm and Jn 12:27-32: Ps 86:2 (LXX σῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου) is inverted by Jesus in 12:27; Ps 86:9 is re-enacted by the Greeks in 12:21; Ps 85:14b LXX, καὶ συναγωγή ... τὴν ψυχὴν μου, parallels Jesus' enemies; a re-pointed Ps 86:16c (*via* Mansoor), לְהוֹשִׁיעַה לְבִן־אֲמִתָּה, echoes John's christology; and Ps 85:17 LXX, ποιήσον ... σημεῖον (MT אֵיטֶן), is answered in the *bath-kol* of 12:28 and the cross / resurrection (12:32). Hanson concludes, "In Psalm 86 according to John's interpretation the Son is praying to the Father".³ At the very least, these parallels should be accepted as further evidence of the Jewish scriptural conceptual matrix within which John works.

¹ Hanson, *Interpretation*, 118-121.

² Unlike the Targum, the Vulgate notes and emphasizes the messianic allusion (v. 8, *desideratus cunctis gentibus*); but this is probably under Christian influence.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 160.

13 – 17

This pivotal and palpably ‘private’ section of the Gospel displays “various points of contact with Deuteronomy”.¹ A number of other points of contact with Jewish scripture are perhaps too implicit to be consciously intended; but they provide yet more evidence that John continues to think along Jewish scriptural lines.

Hanson has 13:1-2 allude to Ps 109:4-6. This passage refers to the author’s love and prayer for his people, and their repaying him evil with the help of ἰαβώ / διάβολος (v. 6b). The parallel is not perfect, since only one of τοὺς ἰδίους (13:1) – Judas – really repays Jesus evil for good.² Yet in its favour is the fact that if John is familiar with the Psalm, he surely takes vv. 1-3 as prophetic of the betrayal since v. 3b cannot but remind him of Ps 35:19 / 69:5 – which Jesus cites prophetically of it in 13:18. It is worth adding that Luke quotes v. 8b LXX in connection with Judas (Ac 1:20b).³

Philip’s request in 14:8 (δεῖξον) and the question by Judas (not Iscariot) in 14:22 (ἐμφανίζειν – used by John only here) echo Moses’ request to see God in Ex 33:13,18 LXX: ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν ... δεῖξόν [B ἐμφάνισόν] μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν.⁴ Indeed, perhaps John is aware of the echo. His point from the passage – that Jesus (and only Jesus) can see the Father, and that Jesus (and only Jesus) reveals the Father – would suit his Moses polemic (cf. 1:18). Moreover, it would have a Jewish precursor in Philo, *L.A.* 3.100-101: Ἔστι δέ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς ... ὅστις ... ἔμφασιν ἐναργῆ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει ... οὗτός ἐστι Μωσῆς ὁ λέγων Ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω σε [Ex 33:13]: μὴ γὰρ ἐμφανισθείης μοι δι’ ... τινος ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν γενέσει, ... αἱ γὰρ ἐν γενητοῖς ἐμφάσεις διαλύονται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι καὶ αἰδίοι [ἂν] διατελοῖεν.

¹ See Glasson, *Moses*, 74ff., for these.

² John surely includes Judas in their number, since he is among those to whom Jesus now shows the full extent of his love by washing their feet (13:10b; cf. 1:11). Further, the scriptural quotation in 13:18 is intended to show that he is none other than Jesus’ close friend. Cf. Barrett, *John*, 438.

³ A.T. Hanson, *The Paradox of the Cross in the Thought of St. Paul* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 28-30, uses the fact that both John and Luke refer to the demonic possession of Judas to argue that they had access to the same early Christian tradition – which connected the betrayal with Ps 109.

⁴ Cf. Westcott, *John*, 203; Brown, *John II*, 632, 647; Schnackenburg, *John III*, 68; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 179f. Westcott also draws attention to Is 40:5.

The scriptural roots of John's vine motif (15:1-8) are widespread. A possible root is Ps 80:9-20. Like Jn 15, the Psalm refers to ἄμπελος (vv. 9,15 LXX; MT אֲמֵלֹס) and κλήματα (v. 12 LXX); and immediately after referring to υἱός ἀνθρώπου (v. 18), it makes what John could take as a plea for resurrection. John would surely also take the famous song of God's vineyard in Is 5:1-7 as being fulfilled in the community abiding in ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή (15:1). Jr 2:21, which reads like a précised form of Is 5:1-7, is also relevant, especially v. 21a LXX, ἐγὼ ... ἄμπελον ... ἀληθινήν.¹

It is likely that John constructs the parallel with Is 5:1-7 at least. The use by the Synoptists of Is 5:1-7 LXX, not to mention the Targum, is widely recognized;² Qumran too is aware of the text (see 4Q500); and its eucharistic possibilities (v. 2 MT שִׁרְק; LXX ἄμπελον σωρήξ)³ make the parallel yet more poignant (*cf.* Jn 2:1-10; 6:53-56). Moreover, John's commentary fits later rabbinic tradition – *b. Sukk* takes the vine as the Temple, the tower as the altar, and the vat as the pits of Gehenna;⁴ the *Midrash* on Ps 75:11 takes the “beloved” (v. 1) as Abraham; and *Sifre Dt* takes him as God.⁵

Barrett puts it well. While the verbal parallels between Jn 15:1-8 and these scriptural passages are minimal, “John, moved again perhaps by Synoptic examples, has taken an O.T. symbol, ridded it of local associations and worked it up in a new and original Christian form; there is no use of testimonies, but the N.T. Gospel is (as it were) spoken through the O.T.”⁶

It is also significant that 1QH 8.4-37 describes the Qumran community as a garden planted and protected (8.11) by God. It is tended by the author of the hymn –

¹ *Cf.* Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 254, who notes that in Didache 9:2 Jesus is called “der heilige Weinstock Davids” – an explicit reference to Ps 80; Dodd, *Interpretation*, 411f.; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 183-185. Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 559ff., adds Eze 15:1-6; 17:5-10; 19:10-14, and infers a eucharistic meaning from Sir 24:17-21 (here Wisdom compares herself to a vine, and calls her disciples to drink from her); Guilding, *Worship*, 158, adds Ho 14:5-7, which was part of the Tabernacles lectionary; Barrett, “Old Testament”, 164, adds Ho 10:1.

² Mk 12:1-11 & pars.; Mt 20:1-16. See W.L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 415-421; Chilton, *Galilean*, 111-112. Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 280, see the four Gospel writers' use of Is 5:1-7 as reflecting their “marked preference for the book of Isaiah”.

³ The Hebrew occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Jr 2:21a. W. Rudolph, *BHS*, suggests that אֲמֵלֹס in v. 21d is a corruption of אֲמֵלֹס לְסוּרֵיהָ.

⁴ *b. Sukk* 230, 49.1b. *Tg.* Is 5:2 refers to the sanctuary and the altar as part of God's preparation of the vineyard. On the dating of this interpretation, see Chilton, *Galilean*, 112-113.

⁵ Braude II, §5, 11; *Sifre Dt* Piska 352 (Hammer, 364f.).

⁶ Barrett, “Old Testament”, 164.

whether the original Teacher of Righteousness or his successor – who waters it by his truthful teaching until he is struck down (8.16ff.), after which it is trodden down by passers by (8.8). The hymn’s primary source is Gn 2; but the parallel to John’s description of his community in 15:1-8 is uncanny.¹

15:18-19 parallels Is 66:5 – especially the LXX, which substitutes ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν for אֶחָיוֹתָם and εὐφροσύνη αὐτῶν for בְּשִׂמְחַתְכֶם. Jesus, like God, refers to those who will cast out their faithful brothers and hate them, only to fulfil their brothers’ joy and bring glory to God while themselves being put to shame. Guilding makes much of this, since Is 66:5 formed part of the prophetic lectionary at Tabernacles with which John is familiar.² It also suits John’s presentation of a divine Messiah. And it fits into the later Jewish eschatological / messianic interpretation of Is 66:5ff.: *Sifre Nu* associates the “uproar from the city” in v. 6 with the trumpet the Lord blows on the day of judgement,³ while the Targum presents the woman in v. 7 as giving birth to the Messiah (“her king will be revealed”).

Most commentators see an echo of Is 66:7f. and its Targum in Jn 16:21. It would certainly be typical of John to reapply the birth of a new nation by Zion to the birth of his messianic community. In a similar way the later rabbis developed from this text the belief in הַבְּלִי הַמְּשִׁיחַ, which would precede the age to come (*cf.* Mk 13, pars.). 1QH 3.7-12 also describes the labour of a woman “who conceived a נִבְרָה” (3.9) – whom Delcor takes to be the Messiah and relates to Is 66:7 (*cf.* Re 12:1ff.).⁴ Holtzmann and Schnackenburg further refer to Is 26:17-19. Here the writer compares Israel to a pregnant woman, and has as explicit a reference to the hope of the resurrection as any passage has in the Hebrew Bible.⁵

16:32 contains an allusion to Zch 13:7c (וְהָיָה יוֹמָם ... הַצִּיָּאֵן / πατάξατε ... πρόβατα). The only known early Jewish citation of this text is in CD 19.8, which agrees with the

¹ See Mansoor (ed.), *Thanksgiving*, 38-39, and for a translation, 153-158.

² Guilding, *Worship*, 158. Guilding also draws attention to Gn 37:4.

³ *Sifre Nu* 10:10. See Kuhn, 198.

⁴ Delcor (ed.), *Hymnes, in loc.*, describes him as פְּלֵא יוֹעֵץ (Lohse, *Qumran*), verbally paralleling the messianic Is 9:5. *Cf.* J.N. Sanders, *John*, 359; Lindars, *John*, 509; Stendahl, “Scrolls”, 12. *Contra* Barrett, *John*, 493, the *Hodayoth* passage is relevant to the Jewishness of John’s imagery.

⁵ *Cf.* b. *Ketub* 716f., 111a; b. *Sanh* 106 (n), 90b; *Pesiq. R.* Piska 1.6, 45.

MT save that the more predestinarian **וְהַתְּפִיץ־נְדָה** takes the place of **וְהַתְּפִיץ־י** (the context is anyway different to John's ¹). The real evidence is provided by Mk 14:27 (cf. Mt 26:31), which quotes a unique version of the text in a virtually identical context to John's. John at least shares Mark's tradition if he is not aware of Mark's Gospel; and it is beyond reasonable doubt that he does here what he does elsewhere – retain a Synoptic *testimonium* (albeit as an allusion). It would be unlike him to refer to the text merely out of “obligation”. ² Rather, as often, allusion is all that he feels is needed to make his readers aware of the relevant scripture.

The ‘high priestly’ nature of Jesus' prayer in Jn 17 has become proverbial. Suffice to say that John and his readers are hardly unaware of the high priest's role, especially as on the Day of Atonement; and it is surely significant that having used the verb **ἀγιάζω** (which has strong sacerdotal associations in the LXX) only once elsewhere (10:36), John has Jesus use it three times in 17:17,19. Hanson goes further: “It is possible that John here is influenced by the words of Psalm 110 in some non-LXX version”. ³ The Psalm is about a non-Levitical priesthood; and though John never uses priestly *language* of Jesus, he certainly has him replace the Temple cultus (and uses priestly *imagery* of him in 19:24). The parallel is exaggerated in the Greek: Aq. renders v. 3b as **ἐν διαπρεπείαις ἡγιασμέναις**, while the LXX renders the obscure Hebrew of v. 3c as **ἐκ γαστροῦ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε** (this would be highly applicable to a pre-existent Jesus). Further, v. 8 LXX reads, **ἐκ χειμάρρου ἐν ὁδῷ πίεται, διὰ τοῦτο ὑψώσει κεφαλὴν** – and John exclusively associates the verb **ὑψώω** with Jesus' death / resurrection. One also wonders whether or not this verse could consciously or unconsciously trigger his use of **χειμάρρου** immediately after Jesus' prayer (18:1) – this word appears nowhere else in the New Testament. ⁴

¹ See J. de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 37f. Waard is unsure as to whether the shepherd is the Teacher of Righteousness or not, while the scattered sheep appear to be the reprobate.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 197. Cf. e.g., Westcott, *John*, 236; Bernard, *John II*, 523; Lindars, *John*, 514. Given that John is aware of Zch 13:7, the parallels between his presentation of the betrayal and Zch 13:6a seem more than fortuitous, as do those between his account of Jesus appearing to Thomas (20:24ff.) and Zch 13:6b LXX, **Τί αἱ πληγαὶ αὐταὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν χειρῶν σου;**

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 199.

⁴ Later rabbis took Ps 110:1 as an indication that originally Abraham was given the priesthood: see *b. Ned* 99, 32b; cf. *b. Sanh* 747, 108b-109a; *Midrash* on Ps 110 (Braude II, 205ff.). This may be

Perhaps most striking in this section of the Gospel are the passages concerning the Spirit (14:15-17,25-26; 15:26-7; 16:7-15). These passages have spawned various nominations for John's ideological provenance. Dodd followed the traditional line by considering that John's πνεῦμα bears all the hallmarks of being most comfortable in a Hellenistic setting.¹ John is unique in referring to the Spirit as ὁ παρόκλητος (the term is used elsewhere in the New Testament only in 1 Jn 2:1 – of Jesus himself); and Bultmann suggested that this figure is an adaptation of *Yawar* (“Helper”), one of a number of heavenly revealers in Mandaean thought.² More recent attentions, however, have turned to the Old Testament and its Jewish protégés.

Discoveries at Qumran have been instrumental in this. Here the sectarians walk in the way of the synonymous ‘spirit of truth’ – “the only pre-Christian instance of the title”³ – and have been cleansed by God's holy spirit, which unites them to God's truth (1QS 3.6-7; cf. e.g., Jn 14:17). Indeed, the spirit of truth leads them in their struggle against the forces of evil, who are under the spirit of falsehood: “Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood struggle in the hearts of men, and they walk in both wisdom and folly” (1QS 4.23-24). The Qumranian spirit of truth is not the same as John's, not least in its dualism and its association with other titles; but as both angel and way of life, it offers John's thought and distinctive terminology a Jewish context.

In line 13 of the third fragment of the recently published 4Q287, a few words can be made out: ... גַּתָּה עַל מְשִׁיחוֹ רוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ. ⁴ The reconstruction גַּתָּה is inspired by Is 11:2, וְנָתַתָּה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה, which the fragment probably alludes to.⁵ *Tg. Is* 11:1-2a similarly reads, “And a king shall come forth from the sons of Jesse, and the Messiah [מְשִׁיחָא] shall be exalted from the sons of his sons. And a spirit before the Lord shall rest [וְתִשְׁרֵי] upon him ...” (cf. b. *Sanh* 39a). In a similar fashion,

significant in that John presents Jesus as superior to Abraham (8:39-59) – other Christian communities had already applied the text to Jesus (Mk 12:35ff., pars.).

¹ Dodd, *Interpretation*, 213-227.

² See esp. Bultmann, *John*, 566-572.

³ Brown, *John* II, 1138. He also notes *T. Jud.* 20:1-5.

⁴ See PAM 43.314; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 222-228, esp. 228. Cf. J.T. Milik, “Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens”, *JJS* 23 (1972), 95-144, esp. 130-135; P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington: Cath. Bib. Ass., 1981), 42-48.

⁵ Evans, “Recently”, 556, is unsure about this; but the Qumranians certainly interpret Is 11:2 messianically elsewhere: cf. 4QpIsa^a 7-10 ii 15,23; 1QSb 5.25.

John has the Baptist note that the Spirit rested upon Jesus as proof that he was the Messiah (1:32f.) – in fact, John jettisons the entire baptism incident except for this one point. It could be, then, that John applies to Is 11:1f. the same pneumatic, messianic interpretation that Qumran and the Targum do.

Philo too offers a degree of contemporary Jewish parallel to John's thought and terminology. According to *Praem.* 166f., sinners receive God's καταλλαγή by means of three παράκλητοι – indeed, in *Spec.* 1.237 the παράκλητος of the repentant sinner is κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔλεγχος. According to *Mos.* 2.134 the high priest takes God's son, the κόσμος, as his παράκλητος when he prays to God for the χωρηγία ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν (*cf. Op.* 165).¹

Brown gives four pieces of evidence for the Jewish background to John's pneumatology. First, "In the Old Testament we find examples of a tandem relationship wherein a principal figure dies and leaves another to take his place".² In each pair the second figure, under the auspices of the Spirit of God, is patterned on the first: Joshua is filled with the spirit of wisdom as Moses lays his hands upon him (Dt 34:9); and Elisha receives a double share of Elijah's spirit (2 Kgs 2:9,25). Indeed, Jesus himself receives the Spirit while being observed by the Baptist (Jn 1:32f.).³ It is difficult to conceive that John is not aware of this scriptural pattern when he has Jesus pass his work and character on to the Spirit as Paraclete (*e.g.*, 14:16).

Isaacs understates the parallel between 20:22 – where Jesus finally brings about the continuation of his Spirit-anointed ministry in the post-resurrection community – and the relationship between Moses and Joshua: "... the figure of Moses may also lie behind John's description of Jesus bequeathing his Spirit to the disciples ... Besides endowing the seventy elders with his self-same spirit of prophecy (Nu 11:24f.), at the end of his farewell discourse he hands on his spirit to his successor, Joshua".⁴ The parallel is unrivalled. Indeed, Russell is right that John's Mosaic imagery comes to a

¹ Philo uses παραυτητής in the same mediatorial sense, both of the pious (*Mut.* 129), of Moses (*Mos.* 2.166), and of the high priest (*Spec.* 1.244). *Cf. T. Levi* 5:6; *T. Dan.* 6:2.

² Brown, *John* II, 1137.

³ John may see the link between the Hebrew names of the second figures (Joshua, Elisha, Jesus).

⁴ Marie E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of πνεῦμα in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monograph 1; London: London Uni., 1976), 133f.

climax here. The second and greater prophet than Moses – the eschatological Prophet – now bequeaths not just the temporary Spirit of prophecy (as his predecessor did), but the abiding, eschatological gift of the Holy Spirit. He will enable the new community to testify to the New Moses (*cf.* Jl 2:28-32; Ac 2:1-21).¹

Second, the Old Testament concept of the prophetic spirit – the spirit of God coming upon the prophets so that they speak God’s thoughts – “may offer background for the Paraclete as the teacher of the disciples who moves them to bear witness”.² This too is an understatement. The concept certainly provides the background for Luke’s picture of Pentecost in Ac 2, as the reference to Joel makes clear; and it is unlikely that the John we have discovered imbibes it any less.

Third, “[l]ate Jewish angelology offers the best parallel for the forensic character of the Johannine Paraclete”.³ The angels were frequently called πνεῦμα; and from the primitive belief in the angelic heavenly court there developed the belief in a particular angel or spirit who did the work of God on earth (*e.g.*, Job 1:6-12; Zch 3:1-5). This developed further into the belief in an evil tempter (the satan) and a good angel (for example, Michael in Dn 10:13). Indeed, in the late *Tg. Job* the *mal’ak melis* who will vindicate Job after his death (19:25-27) is referred to as פרקליט.⁴ The passing of these tasks on to the Spirit was already happening in Jewish literature. In Wsd 1:7-9 the Spirit of the Lord hunts down evil in the world and condemns it, as the heavenly satan seems to in Job; and in Jub 1:24 the evil Belial (Vermes consistently mistranslates the same term at Qumran as ‘Satan’) is opposed not by an angel but by God’s holy spirit within people. Even some of the Rabbis speak of the Spirit of God as “advocate” (ס[ו]ר[ו]ג[ו]ר: this is a transliteration of συνέργος).⁵

Fourth, “the figure of personified Wisdom ... offers background for the Paraclete”.⁶ Wisdom comes from God to dwell with God’s chosen people (Sir 24:12; *cf.* Jn 14:16; 16:7), bringing them the gift of understanding and promising to bequeath

¹ W. Russell, “Holy”, 238.

² Brown, *John II*, 1138.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This is one of a number of Greek loan-words in the Targum.

⁵ See Howard, *Christianity*, 75.

⁶ Brown, *John II*, 1139.

teaching to “all future generations” (Sir 24:26-27,33; cf. Jn 14:26; 16:13f.); yet she is rejected by people (1 En 42:2; cf. Jn 14:17). Given the impact this figure has on John’s christology, that it also influences his pneumatology is incontestable. A ‘missing link’ in this evolution may be observed in that the role of the Paraclete in Jn 15:26-27 is no different to that of the Spirit in Mt 10:19-20, given to the disciples so that they can speak before hostile tribunals; yet the parallel passage in Lk 21:14-15 suggests that this role was originally predicated not of the Spirit but of Wisdom.

John, like Luke, also draws on Old Testament eschatological / messianic expectation.¹ The later prophets frequently mention the inauguration of a new age by an outpouring of God’s Spirit,² which both writers centre in the Messiah and his eschatological programme. John in particular emphasizes Jesus’ baptizing of his disciples with the Holy Spirit as distinguishing the present age from the messianic age to come: nothing stresses Jesus’ superiority over the Baptist more than when his permanent possession of the Spirit and his baptizing of others with it signals the beginning of this new age (1:32-33; 20:22f.). This surely marks the true significance of the transfer of loyalty by the Baptist’s disciples from their master to Jesus in 1:35ff. Thus it is only fitting that the finally Spirit-empowered believers should engage in the promised ‘prophetic’ and universal ministry of proclaiming God’s forgiveness.

There are also other, more direct, scriptural parallels to John’s teaching on the Spirit. One of these is Job 16:19-20a (רְעִי ... גַּם־עֵתָהּ / καὶ νῦν ... κύριον³). Certainly the *Midrash* on Ps 9:5 takes both “my witness” and “my advocate” here as referring to God,⁴ while the late *Tg. Job* again renders מְלִיצִי as פֶּרְקָלִיט. Jn 14:16 in particular (where John first mentions the Paraclete) echoes Job 16:21.⁵ The first part of Job 16:21 also parallels Jesus as υἱός praying to the Father (cf. 13:31), while the second part parallels his dealings with Judas (cf. 13:18). It would be wrong to

¹ See esp. W. Russell, “Holy”.

² E.g., Is 11:1-2; 42:1; 44:1-5; 59:21; 61:1-2; Eze 18:31; 36:25-27; 37:14,39; Jl 12:28-32.

³ G. Beer (*BHS*) reconstructs a generally accepted Hebrew for v. 20a, יִמְצֵא לִי רְעִי.

⁴ Braude I, 137. F. Horst, *Hiob* I (BKAT 16.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968), 252, translates συνίστωρ as “(Prozeß-)Bevollmächtigte”, while G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob* (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1989), 290, views God’s role here as “Zeuge und Burge”.

⁵ Some Hebrew mss have the yet more evocative וְכִי־אֶרְדָּם. See G. Beer (*BHS*).

make too much of such parallels.¹ Nevertheless, once more they are suggestive of John's conceptual provenance – namely, Jewish exegesis of Jewish scriptures.

14:25-31, which Hanson describes as a “meditation” on Ps 85:8-11, also finds a parallel in Is 48:16-18. This passage refers to God's Spirit, has God showing Israel how to find the way (v. 17b LXX renders קָרַבְתִּיךָ as $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}$ σοι; cf. Jn 14:8-9,21-22); and notes that obedience would have brought Israel peace.² Another parallel passage is Is 57:16-19 (esp. v. 19: this is also applied to Jesus in Eph 2:17), where God promises peace. The LXX is particularly compliant: v. 16c refers to πνεῦμα, while v. 18b reads, καὶ παρεκάλεσα [Αἴ καθοδήγησα] ... παράκλησιν ἀληθινήν.³

Holtzmann tentatively puts forward Wsd 1:3-9 as John's inspiration for the obscure role given to the Paraclete in 16:8-11: Wisdom refutes (ἐλέγχει) the foolish (v. 3); reference is made to ἅγιον πνεῦμα παιδείας (v. 5); while the ungodly εἰς ἔλεγχον ἀνομημάτων αὐτοῦ (v. 9).⁴ Another possible influence is Is 42:1-9 LXX, where τὸ πνεῦμα is given to ὁ παῖς μου (v. 1) and God reveals future events (v. 9). At least one other early Christian writer is familiar with this passage (Mt 12:18-21). And if John derives the Paraclete's three functions from vv. 5, 6 (cf. 2), 8 respectively, this would explain why he puts them in the order he does, and why he uses δικαιοσύνη in the second clause when he uses the term nowhere else.⁵ The passage also bears an affinity with Jn 16:12-13, where the Spirit ὀδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ... καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν (cf. 16:6,9).⁶ John certainly has in mind here the Spirit's recording of truth in scripture, not least in his own work.⁷

¹ Hanson, for example, may go too far (*Prophetic*, 177f.): “... John has found in the Book of Job at least one of the sources for his doctrine of the Paraclete”.

² In *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Piska 23.7 (Braude, 356f.), R. Hanina quotes Is 48:12 to argue that Israel should appeal to the merits of the fathers, since a man should seek the best advocate so as to win the case before his father.

³ Cf. Lagrange, *Evangile*, 393f.; Barrett, *Gospel*, 468.

⁴ Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 262 – “und auch Test. Jud. 20”. Cf. Potterie, *Vérité* I, 399-421.

⁵ Cf. 1 Tm 3:16, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι (see Schnackenburg, *John* III, 131). The presence of γλυπτί in Is 42:8b may also suggest that John understands ἕτερος in v. 8a as ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (cf. 1 Cor 10:19-21). Late rabbinic sources (*Midrash Ps.*; *Pesiq. R.*; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.*) take the ἕτερος to be an קַוֵּן .

⁶ Potterie, *Vérité* I, 434 (like Holtzmann, Schlatter, Bernard and J.N. Sanders), notes Ps 24:5 LXX, ὀδήγησόν με ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 193f., notes Ps 51:12,14 (cf. v. 13b).

⁷ See Cothenet, “Témoignage”, 372. Cf. R. Schnackenburg, “Die johanneische Gemeinde und ihre Geisterfahrung”, in *idem et al.* (eds.), *Die Kirche des Anfangs* (ETS 38; Freiburg, etc.: Herder,

That this section of John’s Gospel (Jn 13 – 17 is intended purely for ‘private’, internal community consumption) should be so ‘Jewish’ is telling. But perhaps it is less surprising in view of the recently published 4Q434/436.¹ In what appears to be a series of hymns, the covenanters give thanks to God for comforting them and revealing to them His truth. Similarly in 4Q215 (4.2-10), part of the Hebrew version of *T. Naph*, the covenanters are told to anticipate the time when “righteousness has come, and the earth will be full of knowledge and praise of God” (l. 4; *cf.* Jn 16:8-11); this will be an “era of peace”, when the laws of truth and the testimony of righteousness “will be taught to all humanity” (l. 5; *cf.* Jesus’ prayer for his disciples) and God will have “raised up the throne of the [Messiah]” (l. 9; *cf.* John’s ‘lifting-up’ motif).²

18 – 21

Jn 18:1-11 (the account of Jesus’ arrest) seems to be influenced by a number of scriptures. Harvey notes the echo of Ps 109:6b LXX (*cf.* Jn 13:1-2) and Zch 3:1 LXX, where Satan stands at the right hand of the high priest Ἰησοῦς – especially in 18:5 where we read, εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας. Beyond the rich Old Testament background to ἐγὼ εἶμι, 18:6 finds a parallel in Ps 56 (esp. v. 10 LXX: it contains εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω – this is otherwise redundant in 18:6 – and θεός μου εἶ σύ), which passes from the author’s appeal to God for rescue from his enemies to what John would take as a reference to the resurrection. The same applies to Ps 27 (esp. v. 2 LXX, οἱ ἐχθροί ... ἔπεσαν), which too refers to the author’s victory over his enemies and closes with what John would take as a reference to the resurrection. John may retain mention of the cup from the Gethsemane tradition (18:11) because of its extensive scriptural background as a figure of both God’s judgement and his salvation (*e.g.*, Ps 116:13; *cf.* vv. 15f.).³

1978), 277-306, here 289; E. Franck, *Revelation Taught. The Paraclete in John’s Gospel* (ConBNT 14; Lund: Gleerup, 1985), 110.

¹ PAM 43.528; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 239. *Cf.* Evans, “Recently”, 558.

² PAM 41.915; 43.237. See Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 159-160 (*cf.* 156-159).

³ *Cf.* Harvey, *Trial*, 38; Barrett, *Gospel*, 520; Haenchen, *John II*, 165 – he also notes Ps 35; A.T. Hanson, *The Wrath of the Lamb* (London: SPCK, 1957), 27ff.; *idem*, *Prophetic*, 201-203.

In Jn 19, “we find ourselves surrounded by a constellation of references to scripture, explicit and implicit”.¹ In 19:1-5 Jesus is crowned with thorns and mockingly proclaimed king, only for Pilate to present him to the crowd with the words ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. This bears a striking resemblance to Zch 6:12, where the prophet is to crown the high priest Ἰησοῦς and say to him on God’s behalf, Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος, Ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (LXX = MT).² And John hardly misses the final Servant Song (Is 52:13 – 53:12), with which he is familiar and which was virtually unanimously applied to the crucifixion by early Christian writers. Here God’s servant is scourged and presented as a public spectacle (esp. Is 52:14; 53:3).

In 19:13 John uses the word λιθόστρωτος (which appears nowhere else in the New Testament) of the bench on which Jesus or Pilate sits³ to pronounce judgement. And he seems deliberately to highlight the word by offering a rare, unnecessary translation. It is arguable, then, that he is deliberately drawing his readers’ attention to 2 Chr 7:3 LXX. Here, after Solomon has dedicated the Temple, Israel acknowledge it by prostrating themselves ἐπὶ τὸ λιθόστρωτον. Coupled with the text’s descending language, this fits perfectly with John’s presentation of Jesus as the New Temple, now offered to his people – especially if Jesus really is the one judging. It could also convey the message that Jesus is a greater king than Solomon, just as he is greater than Moses and Abraham. If this is the case, it may be cautiously suggested that John is also alluding to Sol 3:10-11, which too contains the word λιθόστρωτος.⁴

John, unlike the Synoptists, has Jesus carry (βαστάζων, 19:17) his own cross. This has nothing to do with any proto-Basilides polemic, and it has little didactic value. Westcott’s suggestion is better, that John again builds on the *Akedah* atonement theology associated with the binding of Isaac.⁵ Lightfoot’s similar suggestion – that

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 203.

² Philo, *Conf.* 62, quotes the text: ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ᾧ ὄνομα ἀνατολή. See Bernard, *John* II, 616; Barrett, *Gospel*, 541; Brown, *John* II, 876; Lindars, *John*, 566; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 204; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 70. Meeks also notes Nu 24:17 LXX, ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ.

³ Loisy, *Quatrième*, 479; Haenchen, *John* II, 183; Gardner-Smith, *John*, 67, take Jesus as the subject of ἐκάθισεν. Cf. Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 290; Lightfoot, *John*, 325; Barrett, *John*, 544.

⁴ Cf. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 205f.

⁵ Westcott, *John* II, 308. Philo, *Abr.* 171, comments on the incident, αὐτὸ δικαίως τὸ ἱερεῖον τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπηχθίσθαι; *Gn R.* 56.4 comments on Gn 22:6, “... as one bears the cross on his shoulder”. Westcott also sees *Akedah* theology in the binding of Jesus in Jn 18:12.

John is thinking of 1:29¹ – is equally good. This in turn could remind John of Is 53:11c (Aq. translates לְסַבֵּל as βασιτάσει). Indeed, since the lamb motif – which is central to John’s presentation of the crucifixion – links these scriptures, there is no reason why John need not have all three in mind. It now becomes more likely that John sees Is 53:12d behind Jesus being crucified between two criminals (19:18),² and Is 53:12c Heb (וְנִפְשָׁו ... תַּחַת) behind the fact that Jesus παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (19:30).³ John seems to be giving not-so-subtle reminders to his readers that Jesus really is the suffering servant Isaiah so prophetically spoke about.

Bernard also sees an allusion in Jesus’ dying word in 19:30, τετέλεσται, to Ps 31(30):11a Aq, ὅτι ἐτελέσθησαν ἐν μερίμνῃ ἡ ζωὴ μου.⁴ This is not improbable, given John’s awareness of Synoptic *testimonia* and his affinities with Luke – who in precisely the same context has Jesus quote Ps 31:6 (Lk 23:46). Hanson’s reference to Job 19:26-27 LXX – “John has a weakness for obscure passages in Job”⁵ – has little to commend itself. Ps 22(21):32 LXX (ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος), however, is tantalising.⁶

John’s remarkable introduction of Rabbi Nicodemus to the account of Jesus’ burial (19:38-42) seems to convey a particular scriptural message. Nicodemus brings μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης (v. 39); and John’s rare mention of historical detail – these weigh ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν – draws extra attention to the fact. In Ps 45 (which we have suggested directly influences John’s presentation of Jesus as recently as in the arrest of Jesus and his trial before Pilate) אֶהְלֹת קְצִיעוֹת / σμύρνα καὶ στακτὴ perfume the crown prince (v. 9). Moreover, in 2 Chr 16:14 Asa is buried on a bier καὶ ἔπλησαν ἄρωμάτων καὶ γένη μύρων μυρεψῶν.⁷ That later Jews noted the association of such

¹ Lightfoot, *John*, 315.

² *Contra* Bultmann, *John*, 669 n. 1; Barrett, *Gospel*, 548. This need not interfere with Glasson’s suggestion (*Moses*, 41), that ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν is an echo of Ex 17:12 LXX. Here Aaron and Hur hold up Moses’ hands, ἐντεῦθεν εἶς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἶς.

³ Bernard, *John II*, 641. This confirms that Jesus is handing his life back to the Father, not bequeathing the Spirit. Cf. Php 2:7 ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν; Tg. Is 53:12c נִפְשָׁה לְמוֹתָא נִפְשָׁה.

⁴ *Ibid.* Hanson, *Prophetic*, 215, notes the resurrection motif given to Ps 31:6 in *Sifre Dt.*

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 217.

⁶ John alludes to the *last* verse of Ps 22; the Synoptics (Mk 15:34, pars.) quote the *first* verse.

⁷ Cf. Westcott, *John II*, 323; Schlatter, *Johannes*, 355; Brown, *John II*, 940-941; Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 300. Schlatter, Brown and Hanson (*Prophetic*, 225) also draw attention to Sol 4:14b. Sol 4:15a, πηγὴ κήπων, φρέαρ ὕδατος ζῶντος, could influence John’s adding of κήπος to the Passion tradition and to his christological imagery – *Pesiq. R. Piska* 5.5 (Braude I, 102) equates the garden with the garden of Eden, while the *Midrash* on Ps 23:4 (Braude I, 331) equates the well with God.

imagery with royal burials is confirmed by the story of a rabbi who burns more than 80 *Minen* of spices upon the death of Gamaliel (I); he defends his action with reference to Jr 34:5 and the retort, “is Gamaliel not worth more than a hundred kings?”¹ John’s message seems clear: as befits ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (18:33,39; 19:3,19,21; cf. 1:49; 12:13,15; 18:36-37; 19:14-15), Jesus is buried as a king – even the king of Ps 45 – by a Jew, according to Jewish customs (cf. Jn 12:1-8)!²

It has been intimated that Jn 20 – 21 contains few scriptural allusions. Yet this is not altogether the case. In 20:1-18, while it is still dark Mary comes to the tomb to find the body of Jesus. She abandons the task when she presumes that the body has been taken away, encounters angels and tells them that she cannot find her Lord, finds him, and has to be told to stop holding on to him (μή μου ἅπτου). Despite the lack of “contacts terminologiques”, the resemblance of this story to that in Sol 3:1-4 is uncanny. Here the bride, as the night passes, searches for her lover through the holy city. She fails to find him, encounters guards, asks them if they have seen him, finds him, seizes him, and will not let him go.³ It is unlikely that John “custom-built” his version from any such texts (Hanson), since he makes so little of it. But the existence of what Stibbe refers to as “intertextual echoes” is beyond reasonable doubt.

Beyond the association Jn 20:22 has with Jesus as the New Moses, it is hard to imagine that Jesus’ breathing of the Spirit into his disciples does not remind John and his readers of no less an incident than God’s breathing of life (Gn 2:7, נְשַׁמַּת הַיִּים / πνοήν ζωῆς) into the first human.⁴ The message this would convey about the nature of both Jesus and the new community (cf. 2 Cor 5:17) is all too apparent. Certainly Gn 2:7 was associated by later Jews with resurrection.⁵ *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gn 2:7 is yet more conducive: “... and the breath became in the body of Adam a spirit capable of speech”.

¹ Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar* II, 584 (my translation).

² Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 640, sees an allusion here to Is 11:10 LXX. The link is not strong; but certainly Paul quotes it with reference to Jesus (Ro 15:12), while Is 11 was well-known among both Jews and Christians as a messianic passage (cf. 1QSb 5.22-25).

³ M. Cambe, “L’influence du Cantique de Cantiques sur le Nouveau Testament”, *RevThom* 62 (1962), 5-26, here 17-18. Also see Holtzmann, *Evangelium*, 304; Stibbe, *John*, 205; Hanson, *Prophetic*, 227-230; Dorothy Lee, “Partnership in Easter Faith”, *JSNT* 58 (1995), 37-49, here 42.

⁴ M. Wojciechowski, “Le don de l’Esprit Saint dans Jean 20.22”, *NTS* 33 (1987), 289-292.

⁵ *Midrash* on Ps 2:9 (Braude I, §11, 43).

All the targums give the endowment of speech to Adam here, to help distinguish his creation from that of the animals;¹ and perhaps this tradition influences John's next statement, that the disciples are now to proclaim forgiveness. Indeed, perhaps John is prompted by the tradition preserved in *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gn 4:7: "If you perform your deeds well your guilt will be forgiven you. But if you do not perform your deeds well in this world your sin will be retained for the day of great judgment".²

As equally powerful a message is conveyed if John alludes to Eze 37:1-14, where the קִיָּוָה / $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ of God brings life to the "house of Israel". John is surely aware of such an important passage – which incidentally also accommodates the theme of resurrection (*cf.* v. 13) – and he is more than willing to play on the two possible meanings of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ elsewhere (3:8). Perhaps he is making the point that Jesus is greater than Ezekiel too! The influence of Ezekiel here also adds weight to the well-known suggestion of a esoteric, rabbinic-esque connection in the later appendix between the *gematria* involving the 153 fish (21:11) and Eze 47:10, part of Ezekiel's impressive vision about the New Temple.³

John and Moses

Of all the Old Testament influences upon John, two have recurred with particular regularity: the figures of Moses and Isaiah. Allison has recently demonstrated Matthew's all-pervading presentation of Jesus as the New Moses.⁴ In doing so he provides the perfect parallel for John, who similarly engages a range of Mosaic motifs. It is a mark of John's genius that he encapsulates them in a single scriptural quotation, 6:31. This quotation prompts Menken to suggest that the Gospel is directed against a

¹ See McNamara, *AB* 1A, 57 n. 14.

² McNamara, *Targum*, 129-130, has long argued that the logion behind Mt 16:19; 18:18 is based upon the tradition found here. J.A. Emerton, "Binding and Loosing – Bringing and Retaining", *JTS* 13 (1962), 325-331, argues that Jn 20:23 is also inspired by Is 22:22; *cf.* Schlatter, *Johannes*, 360.

³ See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 233. G.A. Brooke, at the 1995 British New Testament Conference ("The Scrolls and the New Testament"), suggested a link between Jn 21:11 and 4Q252 col. 1 fr. 1-2, which calculates from Gn 8 that the doors of the Ark opened 153 days after the flood began.

⁴ D.C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1993).

kind of Judaism in which Moses has central position: ¹ thus, for example, 5:37-38 is directed against claims that Moses participated in the Sinai theophany. We agree.

Divergent sources indicate various Jewish (and Samaritan) milieux with a Moses-centred piety, in which there was a tendency toward deifying Moses. ² John reacts against this, and offers Jesus in Moses' place. John surely has the Mosaic prophet promised in Dt 18:15-19 in mind when he recites Philip's claim to Nathanael (1:45). ³ His account of the Temple cleansing echoes Ps 8: the unique reference to τὰ τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας (2:15) parallels Ps 8:8a LXX, where υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (v. 5b) has dominion over πρόβατα καὶ βόας πάσας; and the enemies of Jesus parallel the ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν (v. 3c) whom the children's praise will destroy. ⁴ If these parallels are more than fortuitous (*cf.* 1 Cor 15:27; He 2:6-8), it could be that John relates the Psalm to Jesus because he is aware of precursors to the later Jewish tradition that relates it to Moses: ⁵ Jesus again takes the place Moses had come to fill.

Jn 3:13 is part of John's "polemic against the ascents of Moses and of all others who are said to have ascended into heaven" (*cf.* 1:17-18; 6:46; 7:22). ⁶ John applies the motif instead to Jesus, reversing the order of ascent and descent to suit the pre-existence of the Logos (*cf.* Eph 4:7-10). Scholars have frequently noted that Dt 30:12 provides part of the background to 3:13. This passage becomes yet more relevant if John is aware of the tradition reflected in the Palestinian Targums that associates it with Moses. ⁷ Either way the allusion in 3:14-15 to Moses' action in Nu 21:8 (*cf.* Wsd

¹ Menken, "Provenance", esp. 48-49.

² *E.g.*, Philo, *Mos.* 1.158; *Memar Marqah* (c. 2nd – 4th C. CE).

³ See P. Boismard, *Baptême*, 92. The inference behind 9:29 is the same: since God does more than speak to Jesus, Jesus can only be *the* prophet like Moses (*cf.* 9:17).

⁴ See Lightfoot, *John*, 112; J.D.M. Derrett, "The Zeal of the House and the Cleansing of the Temple", *DR* 95 (1977), 79-94, here 91. Since Matthew has children crying out "Hosanna ..."
(*cf.* Mt 21:16), Hanson, *Prophetic*, 44, suggests that the Psalm "was connected with the cleansing of the Temple in early Christian tradition".

⁵ In *b. Šabb* 88b, when Moses enters heaven to receive the Torah the ministering angels protest, "What is man ..."; *b. Roš. Haš* 21b and *b. Ned* 38a apply "You have made him a little lower than a God" (v. 6c) to Moses.

⁶ P. Borgen, "Some Jewish Exegetical Traditions as Background for the Son of Man sayings in John's Gospel (John 3:13-14 and context)", in de Jonge (ed.), *L'Évangile*, 243-258.

⁷ *Tg. Neof.*: "The law is not in the heavens, that one should say: Would that we had one like Moses the prophet who would go up to heaven and fetch it for us ..." (Macho V, 554). *Cf.* M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch according to their Extant Sources* (Rome: PIB, 1980), II, 84, *cf.* 181.

16:7,12) “follows smoothly as a second statement by the Christian community addressed specifically to Judaism”.¹

The Mosaic identity of Jesus established in 6:31f. continues in vv. 41-51, which offers further parallels to the wilderness wanderings. Ἐγόγγυζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (v. 41) at Jesus’ claim to be the bread that came down from heaven, echoing Ps 106:25 (where the Israelites in the desert murmur [גִּגְגְּוּ] / ἐγόγγυσσαν] and disobey the Lord) and Ex 16 itself, where murmuring is a recurring motif (vv. 2,7,8,9,12: גִּגְגְּוּ; διαγογγύζειν / γογγυσμός).² If v. 51 too refers to these passages, John clearly constructs an *inclusio* here.³ This presentation of Jesus also parallels the presentation of the leader of the Qumran desert community, who speaks of himself as a source of murmuring (גִּגְגְּוּ) to his companions (1QH 5.23).⁴

John’s portrayal of Jesus as the New Moses may have a yet greater influence on the final shape of the Gospel. Clark’s albeit misguided presentation of *Wisdom* as supplying a “hermeneutical key to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel as a whole”⁵ reveals a significant fact. In Wsd 11:2 – 19:22 the ten plagues of Exodus are reduced to six σημεῖα (10:16), each comprising a plague on the Egyptians and a balancing benefit to the Israelites (see esp. 11:5).⁶ The seventh (19:1-9: drowning in / passing over the sea) is the reality towards which all the others point, that fulfils and surpasses them. The parallel with John’s seven recorded σημεῖα⁷ – the last being Jesus’ crucifixion and resurrection, to which all the others point – is uncanny.

¹ McHugh, “Life”, 129-130.

² Most Johannine scholars (including Barrett, Bernard, Brown, Hoskyns, Lagrange, Lindars, J.N. Sanders and Schnackenburg) make this point.

³ Glasson, *Moses*, 101, suggests the link with Ex 16; Freed, *Quotations*, 19, suggests the link with Ps 106:25. Cf. R. Beauvery, “Le Fils de Joseph! Manne Descendue du Ciel?”, *Assemblés du Seigneur* 50 (1974), 43-49; Schnackenburg, *John II*, 52: “The structural background [of 6:46] is probably the Sinai theophany”.

⁴ Mansoor (ed.), *Thanksgiving*, 136, argues that the leader here is inspired by Ex 16:11. The leader immediately continues by quoting Ps 41:10 of himself (cf. Jn 13:18).

⁵ Clark, “Signs”, 201-202.

⁶ See M. Gilbert, *Introduction au livre de la Sagesse* (Rome: PIB, 1976), 23.

⁷ John uses the term σημεῖον only of the first two miracles of Jesus he records (2:11; 4:54); he also refers to the death and resurrection of Jesus using this term (2:18-21; 6:30-33). It is implicit, however, that he views *all* Jesus’ earthly miracles this way (cf. 2:23; 6:26; 20:30). How do we count *seven* signs? (John altogether records *nine* miracles.) Clark is right to count Jesus’ feeding of the 5,000 and his walking on water in 6:1-66 as one (cf. Mk 6:30-56, pars.); and the miraculous catch of fish in 21:2-13 should not be counted as a ‘sign’ – it is part of the later appendix, and is ‘post-resurrection’.

It is too much to say that John deliberately bases his Gospel's structure on this version of the exodus events.¹ But it is surely more than fortuitous that *Wisdom* – which is certainly contemporaneous with the Gospel² – employs the same schemata and terminology to recount the work of the first Moses.³ Indeed, John may well take his *midrash* on Nu 21:8ff. (3:13-15) from Wsd 16:5-14, “by far the earliest commentary which we have on this brazen serpent passage”.⁴ Wsd 11 – 19 does more than exhibit the same literary structure and high regard for Jewish scripture as John – as “perhaps the best single example in the Bible of a Midrash”,⁵ it provides an impressive parallel to his Jewish scriptural technique.

John and Isaiah

Griffiths is right as far as he goes: John has more in common with Deutero-Isaiah than with any other Old Testament work. In both writings “the polemical emphasis ... is more pronounced than in earlier literature of their own type”, while “the awareness of a mission of universal scope is more forcibly expressed ... with a clearer apprehension of its consummation through suffering”.⁶ In this affinity with the Isaianic corpus, John bears a striking similarity to the Qumran sectarians. The two complete texts of Isaiah found among their writings, the fact that 1QS is considerably influenced by Isaiah, and (if Young has his way) even the sectarians' understanding of

¹ Clark concedes that the link between the second signs (Jn 4:46-54 // Wsd 11:5; 16:1-4) is remote, while that between the third signs (Jn 5:1-17 // Wsd 16:5-14) is purely “verbal” (206). Besides, since John does little to make the reader aware of the structural parallel, it would effectively require that, having finished with this ill-fitting key, he throws it away.

² D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 20-25, dates it in Caligula's reign (37-41 CE), and dubs it a current “best seller” in the Diaspora. This certainly helps explain its use by many early Christian writers. Cf. A.G. Wright, *NJBC*, 510 (33:2).

³ Perhaps this pattern of six ‘ordinary’ entities followed by a seventh ‘extra-ordinary’ entity derives from the pattern of the Jewish week (cf. the account of creation by P).

⁴ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 47. Maneschg, *Erzählung*, 122f., notes the parallels.

⁵ A.G. Wright, *JBC*, 563 (34:31). He misses this out of the later edition, but writes instead: *Wisdom* “seems to have been addressed to *Jewish* students and intellectuals who shared the author's wide background. *Only they* would have been able to grasp the allusions, and *only they* would have been disposed to follow the presentation” (*NJBC*, 511 [33:5], my italics).

⁶ Griffiths, “Deutero-Isaiah”, 358-359. Cf. Young, “Study”, 231: “... the author of the Fourth Gospel was one of a group who related themselves to Isaiah in a unique way and drew upon this book for religious inspiration”.

their technical term for entering the covenant (עבר בברית),¹ all show that they too had a special relationship with both book and prophet. While they adopt the standard point of interest, however, *viz.* futurist eschatological expectation (*e.g.*, 1QS 9.9-10), John adapts it to his realized eschatology, *i.e.*, his christology.

Young goes further. The theme of the name of God is frequent in the Old Testament; but Isaiah associates certain words and meanings to it (*e.g.*, 52:6; 55:13; 62:2; 65:15) with which John bears a “striking similarity in phraseology” (*e.g.*, 5:43). Thus Jn 6:25-26; 17:3,11 seem to be a literal fulfilment of Is 52:6 (*cf.* Jn 4:25); while, more generally, Jesus himself is the σημεῖον of the only true God. John’s use of ἀναγγέλειν with τὰ ἐρχόμενα (16:13) – virtually the same as ἀναγγέλειν with τὰ ἐπερχόμενα in Isaiah (*cf.* Sir 48:25) – also shows that he “consciously utilized Isaiah as a source of language and ideology in his own effort to interpret the meaning of Jesus Christ in the Gospel which he produced”.² Young may make too much of the evidence, but it *is* the case that this cluster of words occurs only in these writings.

Jn 9:7 is particularly significant. John seems deliberately to draw attention to the name of the pool Jesus tells the blind man to go and wash in – Σιλωάμ – by again offering a rare translation. The name of the pool also appears in Is 8:6, which refers to אֶת מֵי הַשְּׁלֵחַ הַהֲלֹכִים לְאֵט / τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σιλωαμ τὸ πορευόμενον ἡσυχῆ and which in rabbinic tradition was connected to Gn 49:10 Heb., ... עַד כִּי־יִבֹא שִׁילָה. Eus. *Dem. Ev.* also links the two texts, reading the שִׁלָּח of Is 8:6 in Gn 49:10 rather than שִׁילָה. For sure John’s translation is part of his own “Sendungschristologie”; but given the probable allusion to the by now messianic Gn 49:10 Heb. in Jn 4, it would seem that John is drawing attention to these texts.³

Grigsby quotes various rabbinic texts that highly regarded Siloam as a source of natural purity, and others that connected “sending out” language with the Messiah. These texts, he suggests, show that John uses his translation to turn Jesus’ command into “a universal command to all believers to wash in the fountain of the cleansing

¹ *Op. cit.*, 219. Young’s publication intended to defend this (n. 15), however, never materialized.

² Young, “Study”, 222-223 (*cf.* 219).

³ K. Müller, “Jon 9,7 und das jüdische Verständnis des Siloh-Spruches”, *BZ* 13 (1969), 251-256. Müller notes that rabbinic exegesis allowed the substitution of פ for ה.

waters at Calvary”.¹ But Hanson may well be right to be more specific. He suggests that John sees in Gn 49:10 *via* Is 8:6 the reference to the Messiah in the name Siloam, and so applies the name “Sent” to it, “foreshadowing the sending of the Word or eternal Son by the Father”; furthermore, Is 8:6 portends the disbelief of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι at the coming of the Messiah (*cf.* Is 8:8).²

John’s gloss also betrays a link with *Lives of the Prophets*. Here a miracle of water issuing for Jews but not for gentiles is attributed to Isaiah (1:2f.). The pool the water issues from is a perpetual memory of this σῆμειον, and its name is σιλωάμ – which is translated just as in Jn 9:7, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ἀπεσταλμένος.³ Even if *Lives* is dependent on John, a comparison especially of Jn 9:39 with Jn 12:38-40 shows that John is aware of a wider tradition that associated the pool with Isaiah. Young’s conclusion – that John stands in the line of a mystical strand of theology within Judaism stretching back to Deutero-Isaiah, in which the book of Isaiah played a unique role – remains unproven. But John is certainly aware of Isaiah as already interpreted and understood in legendary and symbolic terms.

The influence of the Suffering Servant figure too on John’s christology is not surprising. North notes that “whereas prophets like Jeremiah suffered in the course of, or as a result of, their witness, for both the Servant and Jesus suffering is the means whereby they fulfil their mission and bring it to a triumphant conclusion. This conception is unique in the Old Testament”.⁴ Nor is it unusual for such an early christological development.⁵ Yet nowhere is the universal mission of Jesus as the Servant expressed more than in John’s *theologia crucis* (*cf.* Jn 12:20-36; Is 49:6).

¹ B.H. Grigsby, “Washing in the Pool of Siloam – a thematic anticipation of the Johannine cross”, *NovT* 27 (1985), 227-235, here 227. Dodd, *Tradition*, 183, like many others, inc. Brown, Hoskyns, Lindars, Loisy and J.N. Sanders, understands it as primarily a reference to baptism.

² Hanson, *Prophetic*, 133-134. *Cf.* Tg. Is 8:6: “Because this people despised the kingdom of the house of David which leads them gently as the waters of Shiloah that flow gently ...”.

³ C.C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets* (JBLMS 1; Philadelphia: SBL, 1946), 10, broke with convention to argue that the sketch of Isaiah is free from Christian additions and pre-80 CE. Young, “Study”, 219, argues that the whole book is originally Jewish with later Christian additions.

⁴ C.R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: OUP, 1950), 208.

⁵ With good reason, one of the four chapters in J.H. Charlesworth & W.P. Weaver (eds.), *The Old and New Testaments. Their Relationship and the “Intertestamental” Literature* (Faith and Scholarship Colloquies; Valley Forge, PA: TPI, 1993) is devoted to “Christ the Servant of the Lord” (R.F. Johnson, 107-136).

John's regular combining of the ideas of suffering and triumph – central to which is his unique 'lifting-up-of-the-Son-of-Man' motif (3:14; 8:28; 12:32,34) – is highly reminiscent of the final Servant Song. As already mooted, the double meaning in the verb ὑψωθῆναι may be traced to the well-known ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται language of Is 52:13 LXX. John's use of the verb would certainly convey to his Jewish readers the meaning he intends. Kittel first drew attention to the Aramaic ܘܨܘܘܢ lying behind ὑψόω, which is well attested as referring to impaling, hanging or crucifying. And Bertram has long since noted the *double entendre* in the Greek – it refers to Jesus being exalted both on the cross and into heaven and glory.¹ Thus it is reasonable to argue that the verb would remind John's readers of the Isaianic passage. Indeed, as if to make the reminiscence sure John uses δοξάζω to describe Jesus' death / resurrection in 12:16,23, just before using ὑψόω to the same end in 12:32,34. It can hardly be an accident that the LXX translation of the Song begins with the same words. C.R. Smith puts it well: "It seems plain that John had long pondered the Song, and it may confidently be deduced that he identified the Son of Man with the Servant".²

John and recent Qumran publications

It is incomprehensible now that Teeple could dismiss the parallels between John and Qumran. "The Gospel of John is full of evidence that the author was a Gentile Christian ... John's parallels differ from Qumran thought ... usually ... in a direction away from primitive Christianity and towards the Hellenistic background and the later church".³ More recently Brown can affirm: "The critical import of the parallels between the Scrolls and John is that one can no longer insist that the abstract language spoken by Jesus in the Fourth Gospel must have been composed in the

¹ G. Kittel, "ܘܨܘܘܢ = ὑψωθῆναι = gekreuzigt werden", *ZNW* 35 (1936), 282-285. Bertram, *TDNT* 8, 608, refers to "bewubt doppelsinnig gebraucht".

² C.R. Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation* (rev. ed., London: Epworth, 1955), 253. *Contra* Moo, *Passion*, 356: "John evidences little interest in the Servant conception".

³ Teeple, "Qumran", 24. Teeple ignores John's use of the Old Testament.

Greek world of the early second century AD. What Jesus says in John would have been quite intelligible in the sectarian background of first century Palestine”.¹

John’s dualism,² his use of the Psalms and Isaiah, even his dating of the Last Supper,³ all reflect Brown’s point. It is generally recognised that the recounting of Jesus’ final prayer in Jn 17 conforms to Jewish scriptural biographical custom (*cf.* Gn 49; Dt 33; 1 Sa 12; Ac 20).⁴ More specifically, the content of the prayer has much in keeping with 1QH 15.⁵ Both are prayers to God by a religious leader for his community; both stress the reciprocal love between God and the community; and both include reference to eschatology, God’s glory (Jn 17:4f.; 1QH 15.16-17), predestination (Jn 17:12; 1QH 15.17-20), and consecration of the community to God (Jn 17:19; 1QH 15.23-24). With the publication of the remaining scrolls from Cave 4 almost fifty years after the first discovery,⁶ the Jewishness of John’s material generally – not least his christology – is clearer still.⁷

John’s messianic interpretation of Gn 49:10 is repeated in 4Q252 5.1-7, which is now known to be just the fifth column of the much larger, non-messianic, 4QPatrBles (a commentary on Genesis).⁸ Its promise לְוִלְזָרְעוּ, moreover – which is fulfilled in the appearing of the “branch of David” – probably alludes to 2 Sa 7:12

¹ Brown, *John* I, lxii-lxiv. *Cf.* La Sor, *Dead*, 205.

² See J.H. Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3.13 – 4.26 and the ‘Dualism’ Contained in the Gospel of John”, in *idem* (ed.), *John and Qumran* (London: Chapman, 1972), 76-106; Kysar, *Evangelist*, 215-221.

³ See La Sor, *Dead*, 201-205.

⁴ Lindars, *John*, 516.

⁵ See A.T. Hanson, “*Hodayoth* XV and John 17: a Comparison of Content and Form”, *Hermathena* 118 (1974), 48-58. He also notes passages in other *Hodayoth* where the leader refers to himself as the father of the community.

⁶ See R.H. Eisenman & J.M. Robinson (eds.), *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols., Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991); Wacholder & Abegg (eds.), *Preliminary*; J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck]; Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1991); Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, and its reviews: A.S. van der Woude, *JSJ* 24 (1993), 298-299; D.J. Harrington & J. Strugnell, “Qumran Cave 4 Texts: a New Publication”, *JBL* 112 (1993), 491-499. For impending publications, see Evans, “Recently”, 547 n. 1.

⁷ That this is also the case for other New Testament writings has provided the impetus for various recent reprints, *e.g.*, Stendahl (ed.), *Scrolls*; Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus*; J. Murphy-O’Conner (ed.), *Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1991). *Cf.* “The Scrolls and the Gospel”, esp. 156-174, in E.M. Cook, *Solving*; Evans, “Recently”.

⁸ For the text, see Wacholder & Abegg (eds.), *Preliminary* II, 212-215: they call it “Peshet Genesis^a” (212); Eisenman and Wise, *Uncovered*, 86-87: they call it a “Genesis Florilegium” (77). For a pointed text of the fifth column, see Lohse, *Qumran*, 246.

(cf. Jn 7:42; 4QFlor 1-2 i 10-13),¹ while its messianic epithets (משיח הצדק צמח דויד) too derive from the Old Testament.²

The fragmentary text 4QpsDan ar^a (= 4Q246) gives a prophecy to a distressed king. He is to have a son who will be hailed as “Son of God” and “Son of the Most High”, who will “judge in truth” and enjoy victory, peace and an eternal kingdom.³ This at last completely published Aramaic text (long informally dubbed the “Son of God” text) comprises two surviving columns. *Contra* Fitzmyer, Evans represents the majority of recent scholarship when he presents it as messianic (despite its lack of the term משיח).⁴ At the very least, this sort of explanation is better than the older one given by Milik, that the Son is one of the Greek kings who oppressed the Jews during the Hasmonean era, or that of Flusser, that he is the anti-Christ whose appearance in the last days will precede the direct intervention of God.⁵ Given, then, that the figure is certainly good if not messianic, the sonship imagery associated with it (2.1, די ברה די (אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה ... ברה די – which is surely influenced by 2 Sa 7:11b-16 and Ps 2:7⁶ – bears a striking resemblance to John’s sonship terminology, reserved exclusively for Jesus.⁷

This text may also help explain Jn 10:33,36. Here οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι accuse Jesus of blasphemy in calling himself God’s Son, even though Dunn rightly notes that “there was nothing particularly unique about calling someone ‘son of God’ at the time

¹ See Woude, *Vorstellungen*, 172; H. Stegeman, “Weitere Stücke von 4QpPsalm 37, von 4Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus dem Deuteronomium”, *RevQ* 6 (1967-69), 211-217.

² Cf. Jr 23:5; 33:15; Zch 3:8; 6:12. See J.M. Allegro, “Further Messianic References”, *JBL* 75 (1956), 174-187, esp. 175; Woude, *Vorstellungen*, 172.

³ PAM 42.601, 43.236; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 70; Fitzmyer, “4Q246”, esp. 155-157.

⁴ Evans, “Recently”, 549f. Fitzmyer, “4Q246”, 170-174, in fact is cautious: “... it is not clear that the successor to the enthroned king will necessarily be a Messiah”; *idem*, “Contribution” (rev. ed.), 106: the figure is “a son of some enthroned king, possibly an heir to the Davidic throne”. Cf. Collins, “Son”, esp. 80, “... the messianic interpretation should be preferred”; *idem*, “A Pre-Christian ‘Son of God’ Among the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *BibRev* 9 (1993), 34-38; Betz, “Spricht?”, esp. 115-118; Emile Puech, “Fragment d’une Apocalypse en Araméen (4Q246 - pseudo-Dan^d) et le ‘Royaume de Dieu’”, *RB* 99 (1992), 98-131. F. Garcia-Martinez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts From Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 173, argues that the Son is another saving figure, the archangel Michael.

⁵ D. Flusser, “The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran”, *Immanuel* 10 (1980), 31-37; cf. Cook, *Solving*, 168ff.

⁶ Evans, “Recently”, 551 n. 13, also notes Is 9:5; Ps 89:4-5; 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6.

⁷ Fitzmyer, “Contribution”; *idem*, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28 / 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), I, 347-348; *idem*, “4Q246”, 174, compares it to the Lukan angelic announcement (esp. Lk 1:32,33,35).

of Jesus”.¹ The fact is, while someone could be called God’s ‘son’, the term was never used as a title, and at Qumran never became a synonym for the Messiah, man of God, Teacher of Righteousness, or whoever. Never – except in 4Q246. In 4Q246, whoever the person referred to is, the ‘Son of God’ designation is an extremely exalted one, and is not far removed from meaning “equal with God”. If this reflects the situation in Jn 10 it is easy to see that, though Jesus’ messianic claim by itself would not be blasphemous, things might be altogether different when it was coupled with a claim to the title ‘Son of God’ (*cf.* Mk 14:61-64).

4Q521 (typically dubbed the “Messiah of Heaven and Earth” text by Eisenman and Tabor) alludes to Is 61:1 (1 ii 8,12),² and may be compared not only to traditions in the Synoptics (esp. Lk 4:18ff.) and Q (Lk 7:22 = Mt 11:5),³ but also to passages in John. John has Jesus perform all the tasks listed in the Qumran text: healing the sick, making the blind see, raising the dead and preaching good news to the poor.⁴

4Q285, so sensationalized in news reports by Eisenman’s “Pierced Messiah” translation, is a midrash on Is 10 – 11.⁵ Evans convincingly reconstructs it to describe – in explicit fulfilment of the scriptural text – the Messiah’s (lit., the Prince of the Community’s, the Branch of David’s) victory over Israel’s enemies, the Romans (*Kittim*), and perhaps even his slaying of the Roman emperor (*cf.* 4QpIsa^a 7-10 iii 1-19; 1QM 19.9-13).⁶ Indeed, it may be part of the missing last column of the *War Scroll*, which narrates the victorious end of the last war against the Sons of Darkness. The parallel to John’s Gospel, which puts the conflict between Jesus and Satan in the starkest of terms, is clear.

¹ J.D.G. Dunn, *The Evidence for Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985), 49.

² PAM 43.604; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 19-23. The text has been the subject of considerable debate. See M.O. Wise & J.D. Tabor, “The Messiah at Qumran”, *BARev* (Nov / Dec 1992), 60-65; Cook, *Solving*, 166f.; J.J. Collins, “The Works of the Messiah”, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994), 98-112.

³ See Evans, “Recently”, 552.

⁴ *Cf.* 11QMelch 2.4,6,9,13,18; 1QH 15.15; 18.14-15.

⁵ See PAM 41.282, 41.468, 41.708, 43.260, 43.325; Wacholder & Abegg (eds.), *Preliminary II*, 225; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 27-29.

⁶ Evans, “Recently”, 553; *cf.* M. Bockmuehl, “A ‘Slain Messiah’ in 4Q Serekh Milhamah (4Q285)?”, *TynBul* 43 (1992), 155-169, esp. 165-166; G. Vermes, T.H. Lim & R.P. Gordon, “The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)”, *JJS* 43 (1992), 85-94; Betz, “Spricht?”, 103-110. G. Vermes, “The ‘Pierced Messiah’ Text – An Interpretation Evaporates”, *BARev* (July / August 1992), 80-82, presents the text as a fulfilment of Is 11:1-5.

Such ‘final conflict’ scenarios abound at Qumran. The badly preserved 4Q525 5.2-5a seems to re-create the battle between the Kingdom of God and the Devil (*Mastema*); ¹ 4Q554 makes the “New Jerusalem” a reality after similar military triumph and the establishing of a kingdom that will dominate the nations; ² while the “Aramaic Levi Document” at Qumran is reminiscent of *T. Levi* 18:12, which reads, “And Beliar shall be bound by him (*i.e.*, the coming priest), and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirit”. ³ This last text is also reminiscent of Jesus’ victory over Satan in John’s Gospel (*cf.* 16:11; 18:6), some of the Private Discourse material more generally, and Jn 20:21-23.

John’s implicit priestly imagery as applied to Jesus parallels some of the descriptions at Qumran of the Teacher of Righteousness. Indeed, in replacing the Temple cultus, Jesus shows some affinity with the Teacher of Righteousness as pitted against the “Wicked Priest” (*cf.* 1QpHab 8.11; 9.5,12; 12.6-10). John’s imagery may also reflect the sect’s uncommon notion that the Messiah in the latter days would be accompanied by an Anointed Priest – especially given Cook’s tentative suggestion that the Qumranians “believed that the Anointed Priest of the last age would appear among their community”. ⁴ As both priest and king, John’s new Messiah also incorporates the essential elements of the Qumranian Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (*cf.* 1 Sa 2:35; Zch 4:14), as well as those of the Prophet figure of 1QS 9.11 (*cf.* Jn 1:20-21; 6:14) – not least in that this figure is generally equated with the prophet of Dt 18:15ff.

In the *peshet*-like 11QMelch it seems to be this Prophet who is described in terms of Is 52:7 as preceding the intervention of Melchizedek (who is apparently the archangel Michael, the Prince of Light). It could be, then, that one reason why John

¹ See PAM 43.595, 43.596, 43.608; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 173-177. *Cf.* Evans, “Recently”, 563.

² See PAM 41.940, 43.564, 43.589; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 41-46. *Cf.* Evans, “Recently”, 554; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 214-222, esp. 222; Baillet, Milik & de Vaux, ‘*Petites*’, 184-193; J. Starcky, “Jérusalem et les manuscrits de la mer Morte”, in *Le Monde de la Bible* 1 (1977), 38-40; J. Licht, “An ideal Town Plan from Qumran – The Description of the New Jerusalem”, *IEJ* 29 (1979), 45-59.

³ 4Q213-214 (fr. 1Q21). See J.C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans; London: SPCK, 1994), 41.

⁴ Cook, *Solving*, 164. See CD 12.23; 19.10; 1QS 9.11; 1QSa 2.11-16. *Cf.* *T. Jos* 19:11; *T. Naph* 8:2; *T. Jud* 21:2; *T. Levi* 18:2,4,9-10. *T. Levi* 18:2,4,9-10 also appears in 4Q541, written by the Qumranians. This adds that the priest “shall make atonement for all the children of his generation, and he will be sent to the children of his generation” (*cf.* Jn 11:51-52).

plays down the role of the Baptist is precisely because he has incorporated this figure into his presentation of Jesus. 4Q375 refers to Moses as the Lord's "Anointed One" (משיח) – the only extant Jewish text of the period to do so.¹ This is surely intended in the weaker sense, as of all the ancient prophets anointed by God's spirit (cf. CD 2.12; 5.21 – 6.1; 1QM 9.8); but if John were aware of such language, it could only serve to promote his presentation of Jesus as the New Moses.²

In the second fragment of 4Q458, after another military triumph and a people are declared righteous, we read (ll. 5,6), "and he will ascend to the height [הרים ...] one anointed [משיח] with the oil of the kingdom of ...".³ It is possible to see here a parallel to John's 'lifting up' motif as applied to Jesus. Indeed, Evans suggests that this figure too may be messianic: in 15.1 a tiny fragment, whose context is uncertain, reads בכורי ("My first-born");⁴ and the text is reminiscent of Ps 89:21 (cf. 11QPs^a 28.11: "he will anoint me with holy oil"), which is paraphrased messianically in the Targum (cf. vv. 51-52). John's motif also bears an affinity to 1QSb 5.23, "May Adonai raise him [the Prince of the Community] to everlasting heights (לרים)".

The reconstruction of the third fragment of 4Q434/6 (l. 7) too has someone's throne being lifted up. This could refer to God; but equally it could refer to the Messiah.⁵ M. Smith suggests that 4Q491 fr. 11 col. 1 contains the remains of three hymns, the middle one of which (ll. 12-19) describes the ascent of a human being into heaven.⁶ He goes too far to suggest that deification at Qumran was the goal or even

¹ Moses is "with God in the cloud" (cf. Jn 1:18). See J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works", in Schiffman (ed.), *Archaeology*, 221-256.

² John's accumulating to Jesus as many as seven specifically Jewish titles by the end of Jn 1 – including Son of God, Messiah and Prophet (McHugh, "Life", 125 & n. 2) – suggests that he applies every such title to Jesus. Even those he does not wish to make much of are at least thereby denied to any other figure!

³ See PAM 40.618, 41.854, 43.544; Wacholder & Abegg (eds.), *Preliminary II*, 288; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 48-49. For the above translation, see Evans, "Recently", 557.

⁴ See Wacholder & Abegg (eds.), *Preliminary II*, 290.

⁵ See PAM 43.528; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 239. l. 6 seems to give an eschatological, messianic (?), allusion to Is 40:1-2 (cf. 4QTanh 1-2 i 4; 11QMelch 2.20), while ll. 3-4 give an atoning function to the community (cf. 1QS 8.10; 4QFlor 1-2 i 6-7; 4Q251 3.7-9). This may be compared to Jn 20:23.

⁶ M. Smith, "Ascended", 296-299; *idem*, "Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM^a", in Schiffman (ed.), *Archaeology*, 181-188. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 26-27 (+ pl. 6), has a slightly different reconstruction of 4Q491. The idea of heavenly exaltation may also be reflected in 4Q458 2 ii 5 and 1QH; also see E. Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii", *JBL* 112 (1993), 605-628, here 627 n. 42.

was believed possible. But he is right that the hymn helps clarify the christology of John's Gospel. Once again the parallel to John's 'lifting up' motif, not to mention his Logos imagery, is all too apparent.

None of this plethora of Qumran parallels with John's Gospel is to suggest that the Gospel has any direct link with Qumran. What it *does* do, however, is reinforce the notion that John's Gospel is the product of a distinctly Jewish community. That is to say, the community is thoroughly immersed both in the Jewish scriptures as well as contemporary (even contemporary Palestinian) treatment of them.

'Un-Jewish' influences on John

A number of Johannine trademarks that have been traditionally considered 'un-Jewish' now need reappraising. The wide variety of eschatological expectations within first century Jewish faith means that John's eschatology can no longer be deemed incompatible with Jewish expectations *per se*. Indeed, his 'realized' emphasis – which is wholly in keeping with the so-called "Pharisaic revolution" – is precisely his treatment of Jewish / early Christian futurist expectations. There is no declaration of the imminence (even arrival) of God's kingdom, yet John says much the same thing in his own fashion. The message of God has become actual among people – the Logos has become flesh (1:14); instead of looking for a "harvest" of the kingdom in the future Jesus sees it as already present, even in Samaria (4:35,38); the true worshippers are now worshipping the Father (4:23); the judgement is now taking place (3:19); the resurrection is an actuality (11:25-26); and eternal life is a present possession (5:24). Jesus himself is both the promised Messiah and the promised eschatological prophet.

Moreover, the notion that John wholly abandons futurist expectations is fallacious anyway. Jesus gives comparisons between this life and the life to come (12:25; 16:10-11); he promises to come again (14:3,18,28; 21:22); he announces a tribulation (15:18; 16:33), a resurrection at the last day (6:39,40,44,54; 11:24), and a future judgement (esp. 5:28-29); and he at least partly retains both the Synoptic

association of the Son of Man with the parousia (1:51; 3:31; 5:26; 6:62; 9:35; 12:23; 13:31ff.) and the term ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (3:3,5; cf. 18:36f.).¹

John's unique reference to rebirth (3:3,7) is invariably taken as the biggest single 'un-Jewish' facet of the Gospel. The term 'born again' appears nowhere in Jewish literature, only in Greek literature (first in a Mithraic liturgy dating from the 2nd C. CE). Hence, the argument goes, this peculiarly Greek pun could have existed in no Jewish milieu. Rather, it derives from the same stock as the Hermetic corpus (esp. Ποιμάνδρες, 4ff.; περὶ παλιγγενεσίας) and the gnostic Basilides (*apud* Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.14).²

This is rather odd for a theme that also occurs in other early Christian writings (Tt 3:5; 1 Pe 1:3,23; 1 Jn 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1; Justin, *Apol.* 66.1; *Dial.* 138.2; cf. 2 Cor 5:17). For this reason Barrett is happier to see it as a *midrash* on Christian kingdom teaching, especially given the allusion to Christian baptism in Jn 3:5.³ It is yet more odd for a theme that is otherwise surrounded by inter-connecting Jewish themes.⁴

The fact is, there *are* Jewish antecedents. The Spirit of God was the agent of life and creation (Gn 1:2; 2:7; cf. Jn 6:63). The later prophets began to associate its eschatological outpouring with the creation of a new heart in God's people, which would enable them fully to obey the law (Eze 11:19; 37:1-14; ⁵ cf. Jr 31:33-34) and which was often related to the motif of being cleansed with "water from above" (Is 44:1-5; Eze 36:25-27; cf. Jub 1:23-25; 1QS 4.19-21). That John should equate such passages describing the inauguration of the New Age with the work of Jesus is hardly surprising. And though these passages refer to a corporate national character, they would provide enough precedent for John's individual application. After all, they consistently speak of God's people not as a corporate entity but as a nation of individuals. Eze 36:24-27 (cf. 18:31; Ps 51:10; Jr 24:7), for example, uses the Hebrew

¹ Howard, *Christianity*, 121, notes that even a "mystic" such as John may yet have a Jewish eschatological background of thought, and even think in apocalyptic terms: "The Johannine view of revelation demands that Christ should have a future if the historical revelation is to be fulfilled".

² See esp. W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1933²), 51ff.

³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 203-210; cf. Brown, *John I*, 143-144; Schnackenburg, *John I*, 366-367.

⁴ Cf. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 46, on 3:14-15: "We are not suggesting that this is an isolated pericope: it is obviously closely connected with what went before ...".

⁵ This passage makes the same wordplay on πνεῦμα / פּוּר that John does (3:8).

plural pronoun suffix, which is preserved in the LXX; and it is certainly given an individual application in 2 Cor 3:3.¹

This is not necessarily to suggest that John is specifically alluding to these passages; but it *is* to suggest that such Jewish scriptures again provide his conceptual background. Few would suggest otherwise for the not dissimilar Qumranian notion, that entry into the community brings with it an inward transformation (1QH 3.21; 11.10-14) enacted by the purifying work of the Spirit (1QH 7.6f.; 9.32; 12.12; 16.12; 17.26). And Delcor takes the births referred to in 1QH 3.11 as those of individual community members!² Schnackenburg is in no doubt: “Since Judaism, with its views on the Spirit and the new creation, provides sufficient basis for Jesus’s statements to Nicodemus, there is no need to have recourse to Hellenistic concepts”.³

We, in fact, do not need to go as far as Schnackenburg. None of the above is intended to suggest that John cannot be influenced by his wider Hellenistic environment. Indeed, perhaps John *does* take the phrase γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν from it. The attempts at finding a specific Jewish scriptural precursor, after all, have not been overly persuasive. Betz’s argument, that John’s term means the same as ἐν πνεύματι in 4:23, which in turn is part of a proposed *midrash* on Jos 24:14, is unlikely.⁴ In fact, the only truly viable scriptural proposal is provided by Job 14:14c LXX. Jn 11:11 offers some evidence that John understands the surrounding verses as referring to the resurrection body; while Job 14:14c LXX takes the חֲלִיפָתִי עֲרֵב־בּוֹא of חֲלִיפָה in its secondary sense of ‘change of garment’ (*cf.* Gn 45:22 LXX), and uses the phrase ἕως ἂν πάλιν γένωμαι. This scriptural sighting too, however, is tenuous.

More generally, this thesis does not intend to cocoon John’s Gospel from the Hellenistic environment it found itself in. With special reference to John’s Logos terminology, Augustine (*Conf.* 7.9) speaks of how the Gospel contains the stuff of

¹ McHugh, “Life”, 127-128, is in no doubt: John emphasizes the Spirit motif in 3:5ff. in order to tie it in especially with Ezekiel’s hopes after the destruction of the first Temple – “Like Ezekiel, he focusses attention on the gift of the Spirit, and on the new Temple”; and someone else inserts ἕξ ὕδατος καὶ into 3:5, “to specify that Christian baptism is the source of that cleansing water and of the life-giving Spirit foretold in Ezek 36:24-27 which leads to the resurrection of Israel”.

² Delcor, *Hymnes*, *in loc.* If he is right, these births parallel that of the נִבְרָה (*cf.* Jn 1:13).

³ Schnackenburg, *John* I, 371; *cf.* Brown, *John* I, 139-141.

⁴ Betz, ““Worship””, 59.

quosdam Platoniorum libros. Following on from Strachan, Dodd too notes this affinity: real bread, real vine and the like can all belong to that stock of eternal “ideas”, contrasted with their phenomenal representatives that “underlies the Evangelist’s use of symbolism, and assists his doctrine of the Incarnation and the sacraments”.¹

So, for example, a Platonist found in the sun, by whose light we see all things, the “offspring” and revealer of the Supreme Good (*cf.* Jn 8:1); he understood from Plato’s Cave parable the concept of one descending from the higher sphere to liberate and enlighten those that sat in darkness (*cf.* Jn 1:9). The Hermetic corpus too understood God in terms of Life and Light: in the first tractate a heavenly Man, the child of God, descends into the material sphere and is the immortal principle in us all, which will in the end ascend again to the Father (*cf.* Jn 3:13); another tractate represents the ultimate religious experience, which is knowledge of God and immortality (*cf.* Jn 8:32), as a process by which the divine λόγος is formed within a person; in several tractates Reason (νοῦς) mediates between God and the universe. The Hermetic corpus itself is but one example of the innumerable gnostic systems that advocated belief in the ultimate unity of the Power behind the universe; the sharp distinction between the noumenal and phenomenal order; the twofold nature of humanity – imprisoned in matter yet capable of a higher life; the necessity of mediation between the Supreme Being and the world; the possibility of attaining, by such revelation, knowledge of God and the eternal order (*cf.* Jn 8:32); and through such knowledge, eternal life (*cf.* Jn 20:31).

Similar tendencies in the Gospel made many Christians treat it with suspicion when they first encountered it, while Valentinus and Basilides treated it with respect. The earliest known commentary on it is by the Valentinian Heracleon. Dodd perceives that “the Evangelist was setting out to interpret Christianity in terms of that widespread background of religious ideas which the Gnostics also employed”.² Bultmann argues that John’s λόγος and Jewish Wisdom speculation had their common root in the Hellenistic-gnostic redeemer myth – especially that mediated through the tradition reflected in the Mandeans and *Odes of Solomon*. Brown

¹ Dodd, “Background”, 337.

² *Op. cit.*, 342.

positively identifies the Gospel's gnostic tendencies, which would finally be 'outed' in the Secessionists.¹

All these suggested influences have been vastly overplayed. Even Dodd is uneasy: it cannot be inferred that John necessarily read Plato, since "the theory of a world of eternal forms re-appears in almost all types of religious philosophy in the Hellenistic world"; and gnostic interest "is overwhelmingly directed toward the theosophical and cosmological speculations expressed in their elaborate mythology ... of anything like personal communion they have little to say".² Indeed, the fascination of Bultmann and others with the Gospel's gnostic tendencies has had an inverse effect, and many of these have since been seriously questioned.³

Yet a true conception of first century Jewish faith demonstrates that the dichotomy between 'Jewish' and 'un-Jewish' is often false. This is witnessed, for example, by the existence of so-called "Hellenistic Judaism".⁴ Philo is the exemplar of this. Convinced, in typically Greek terminology, that the Jewish scriptures communicate that knowledge of God that is eternal life, he and his readers (οἱ Μωυσέως γνῶριμοι) will never abandon the quest for the Self-existent (*Det.* 86ff.). The Qumran documents too show how an impeccably Jewish community could be deeply influenced by Greek thought. The phenomenon of gnosticism itself underscores the fact that the age was one of syncretism – religious systems fed off each other, often unwittingly.

It is perfectly reasonable, then, that an eminently Jewish Gospel should imbibe some 'un-Jewish' elements. All this requires is that the Gospel has a mainstream Diaspora setting. This also explains why John can feel it necessary to acquaint his readers with specifically *Palestinian* Jewish culture (*e.g.*, Jn 4:9). In fact, most if not all of these elements had already appeared in dialogues that were taking place on the fringes of Jewish speculation. One such example is later rabbinic passages that

¹ Brown, *Community*, esp. 151ff.

² Dodd, "Background", 337, 342.

³ Cf. *e.g.*, Ashton, "Transformation", 162.

⁴ It is this that enables Jeremias, "Logos", 83f., to see the Hellenistic hymns to Silence (*deus absconditus*) as part of John's Logos imagery.

interpret the “hidden name” of God, אֱלֹהִים [יְהוָה], as implying an almost mystical unity of God and his people (*cf.* Jn 17:20-24). Even the most ‘un-Jewish’ strains of the Gospel have at least partial points of contact with such less prominent but no less significant strains of first century Jewish faith. John could use them, wholly convinced (like Philo) that they derive from the Jewish scriptures.

III: CONCLUSIONS AND RAMIFICATIONS

John and the Jewish scriptures

Bultmann misses the point when he notes that “Proof from prophecy plays a scanty role” in the Gospel.¹ Barrett shows that while John does not depend so much on quotations and proof-texts, he imbibes the whole of the Old Testament into his system.² Freed is in no doubt: “As one trained in the Jewish scriptures, John shows a thorough acquaintance with them and in a creative way adapts them to suit his theological purpose”.³ Carson contends that John’s christology and eschatology “can both be grounded in the Old Testament”.⁴ Hanson argues that John’s “Prophetic Gospel” is unique in that the Jewish scriptures are “constitutive” for it; the writer “gains the impression not of a peripatetic missionary like Paul, but of a learned scribe, centre of a school, with access to more than just the scriptures”.⁵ It is in fact clear that, within the matrix of his community’s history, John bases all his major developments of the Christian tradition on Jewish scriptural exegesis. In short, the Jewish scriptures are essential to every aspect of his Gospel.

This fits in well with what Lieu has recently said of the “recurring presence” of the Old Testament in 1 John: “This is not just the Jewishness of an early tradition which in reality has been left long behind ... Scripture, or rather a tradition of interpreting Scripture, is part of the thought world which constructs the letter”. She continues, its use of scriptures (which are also used in the Gospel) “points to the activity of the Johannine school”, in whose life it is “certain” that “the study, exegesis

¹ Bultmann, *Theology II*, 5. Cf. E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus* (Eng tr. G. Krodel; London: SCM, 1968), 37: John “can get along without [the Old Testament] in large sections ...”; Fortna, *Signs*, 223, “there is no deliberate use of the OT ...”.

² Barrett, “Old Testament”, 155ff. F.-M. Braun, *Jean II*, 226, refers to “la masse des allusions tacites”.

³ Freed, *Quotations*, 20.

⁴ Carson, “John”, 246-247. The notion of Lausberg, *Jesaja 55.10-11*, 131-144, that John bases his christology on the model provided by Raphael in *Tobit*, is difficult to credit.

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 251, 253. Hanson dubs it “the prophetic Gospel” because it is “dominated and conditioned by [Jewish] scripture” (19f.). *Contra* Reim, *Studien*: John has access to only a few individual psalms such as Ps 69 (161); he probably has no access to Is 40 – 55 because he never exactly agrees with the LXX (183); and all his texts probably come *via* his tradition (188).

and interpretation of Scripture played a central part ... In different ways the depth at which Scripture lies within the text points to the intensity and richness of the study of Scripture in the light of present experience”.¹

How, then, does John use the Jewish scriptures? Borgen is right that they are authoritative for him – “traditions are interpreted and recast from exegetical insights into the OT”.² And this makes Lindars wrong that they do not even guide “the process of thought behind the scenes”. However, John’s scriptural quotations alone show Lindars to be right that they are “a servant, ready to run to the aid of the gospel whenever it is required, bolstering up arguments, and filling out meaning through evocative allusions, but never acting as the masters or leading the way”.³ John is not fettered by them: he could well echo the scriptural dictum of a later student of Hillel, “all is therein”.⁴ Just as Hillel’s *middoth* are a retroactive ‘means to an end’, John tailors the Jewish scriptures to suit his own needs.

Hanson’s attempt to distinguish between those John takes from his tradition and those he discovers for himself, then, is optimistic. This is because whatever John leaves unchanged he does so not out of deference but because it suits his purposes best that way.⁵ One trusts that it is this that prompts Chilton and Evans to ignore John’s Gospel in their analysis of Jesus’ use of “Israel’s Scriptures”.⁶ John’s mastery of scripture is so pervasive, it is virtually impossible to get past the extant version. The ‘red to black’ rating the Jesus Seminar applies to quotations in the Synoptics⁷ is simply not applicable to John: those in the Gospel are Johannine through and through.

The tendency to regard the use of the Jewish scriptures in the New Testament as *midrash* or *peshet* has gone.⁸ Hanson regards such epithets as unsuitable for the

¹ Lieu, “‘What’”, 475, 476. She notes especially 1 Jn 1:9 – 2:2,11; 3:7ff.

² Borgen, “Response”, 73 n. 4 (cf. 68, 70).

³ Lindars, “Prolegomena”, 66; *contra* Hanson, *Prophetic*, 251.

⁴ Ben Bag Bag, in *m. ’Abot* 5.22. Cf. *b. Sanh* 34a, “just as [the rock] is split into many splinters, so also may one Biblical verse convey many teachings”.

⁵ See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 252.

⁶ Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”.

⁷ See R.W. Funk, *The Gospel of Mark: Red Letter Edition* (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1991).

⁸ See I.H. Marshall, “An Assessment of Recent Developments”, in Carson & Williamson (eds.), *Written*, 1-21, esp. 13-18.

Gospel, since John has no “scriptural scheme in his head” (even though “it is in that area of literature that the Gospel must be located”).¹ Chilton and Evans too argue that these genres are “formally different from any of the Gospels, *and from any passage within the Gospels*”.² Nevertheless, since they define *midrash* as “a means of relating Rabbinic teaching systematically to Scripture”, and *peshar* as functioning “to root the experience of the community at Qumran within the prophetic text”,³ something very much like these genres appears in John’s Gospel.⁴

The verdict hinges on definition. Hanson’s comment – “John does not introduce incidents or teaching that are not in his tradition unless he is convinced that he has scriptural warrant for doing so”⁵ – in effect means that everything John adds is based on, and the result of, scriptural exegesis. Yet this is not far removed from Wright’s definition of *midrash*: “a composition that explains the Scriptures and seeks to make them understandable and meaningful for a later generation”.⁶ Bloch defines *midrash* as “un genre édifiant et explicatif étroitement rattaché à l’Ecriture”. It is not surprising, then, that she writes, “Le symbolisme du quatrième évangile, l’intérêt qu’il porte à la signification des noms, son penchant pour les jeux de mots, etc., seraient aussi à rapprocher de certaines tendances midrashiques”.⁷ Le Déaut considers that while *midrash* – a term he refuses to define save that it essentially works from scripture it applies to its own community – had not developed into a literary genre by New

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 41; cf. 161, “Jewish midrash is based on the text of scripture. John’s ‘midrash’ is based on the events of Jesus’ life interpreted ... by means of scripture”.

² Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 283, italics theirs.

³ *Ibid.* Cf. B. Chilton, “Varieties and Tendencies of Midrash: Rabbinic Interpretations of Isaiah 24:23”, in R.T. France & D. Wenham (eds.), *Studies in Midrash and Historiography* (Gospel Perspectives 3; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983), 9-32; P.S. Alexander, “Midrash and the Gospels”, in C.M. Tucker (ed.), *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 1-18.

⁴ B. Chilton, “Commenting on the Old Testament (with particular reference to the pesharim, Philo, and the Mekilta)”, in Carson & Williamson (eds.), *Written*, 122-140, argues that the Qumranians believed that Scripture contained a ciphered account of the end (122-127) – but so does John, here and now being the messianic age; and that the *Mekilta* demonstrates the rabbinic equating of the logic of Scripture and the logic of the Mishnah (133-137) – but John too equates his logic with that of scripture. Even Philo’s hermeneutic, that the soul’s map toward union with God is in scripture (127-133), parallels Jn 5:39ff. Cf. Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 283 n. 8; C.A. Evans & J.A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 1-13.

⁵ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 227; cf. *idem*, *Interpretation*, 166-171.

⁶ *JBC*, 563, 34:31.

⁷ Renée Bloch, “Midrash”, *DBSup* V (1957), cols. 1263-1281, here 1263, 1279.

Testament times, many and varied “midrashic techniques” were employed by New Testament writers, including John.¹

The Gospel’s biographical form prevents it from being deemed a *midrash*.² Yet its thorough use of such midrashic techniques, which were soon to flower into the most popular Jewish genre, is part of what makes it so distinctive as an early Christian βίος Ἰησοῦ (Burrige). It is as if Paul had refrained from quoting the scriptures he so frequently comments on, and instead had attributed his interpretations to the scripture writers themselves.

There have been frequent confirmations of the link between the Gospels and targumic traditions.³ As for John’s Gospel, Black describes it as “an inspired ‘targumising’ of an Aramaic sayings tradition”.⁴ Olsson suggests merely that its nearest parallels are in the targums.⁵ Certainly the use Chilton has Jesus make of scripture, “in the popularly received form which would later be crystallized in the targumim”, is close to John’s: both apply it to their own experience and that of their contemporaries; both refuse to limit themselves to “the repetition of the biblical text”; and both base their whole exegesis on scripture as now fulfilled by Jesus. John only has to replace Jesus’ preoccupation with the now dawning of God’s kingdom with a preoccupation with Jesus himself.⁶

John’s midrashic and targumic approach to scripture evinces a typological hermeneutic (e.g., 3:14).⁷ As Loisy notes, “Les propheties, au lieu d’être simplement

¹ R. Le Déaut, “À propos a Definition of Midrash”, *IBC* 25 (1971), 259-282, esp. 275-280.

² Olsson’s suggestion (*Structure*, 284-285) that the Gospel is a *midrash* on the gospel tradition fails, if only on the ‘technicality’ that John does not work from a specific written Christian source.

³ Esp. M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (AnBib 27A; Rome: PIB, 1978²); *idem*, *Targum*; Chilton, *Galilean*, esp. 57-147. Cf. McNamara’s reviews in *CBQ* 47 (1985), 184-186; 48 (1986), 329-331; I.H. Marshall’s reviews in *EvQ* 58 (1986), 267-270. Works by P.M. Casey, C.A. Evans, G. Kirchhevel and N. Statham are due for publication.

⁴ Black, *Aramaic*, 151.

⁵ Olsson, *Structure*, 282. Cf. Lindars, “Traditions”, 115: John’s “manner of using the material proceeds along the lines of targumic exegesis”.

⁶ See Chilton, *Galilean*, 148-198; *idem* (& Evans), “Jesus”, 307-309 (cf. 333-335, which ends, “The Scriptures for Jesus were means to an end; once the end had shown itself, the means could be adjusted in the service of their ultimate purpose”). Chilton (“Jesus”, 304ff.; *Galilean*, 112-115) presents Mk 12:1-12, pars., as worked from a dominical parable based on targumic tradition, according to which Is 5:1-7 is directed against the Temple leadership. If this is the case, John not only rids the Synoptic tradition of its context – 15:1ff. puts the Christian community in a positive light – he shows no more restraint with the targumic tradition or that of Jesus himself.

⁷ *Contra* Reim, *Studien*, Anhang A, 262-268.

l'annonce des faits réels, sont un élément dans la combinaison allegorique".¹ Indeed, often the connection between the type and the fulfilment is purely arbitrary, and John's primary interest is simply to show the scripture's fulfilment in the eschatological, messianic age now here (e.g., 9:7; 19:13,39).² It also evinces a *Heilsgeschichte*. Not in the sense that John works from an ordered scriptural system, but in his belief that all the events behind the scriptures point to and prepare the way for Jesus. This applies especially in that Jesus as the pre-existent Logos was involved in them – Jesus fulfils the destiny of the Servant of the Lord while remaining the Lord of the Old Testament.³

The Gospel's context

John's thoroughgoing application of the Jewish scriptures to the work and person of Jesus Christ demands that a main aim of the Gospel is to show the extent to which Jesus was their fulfilment. This is not so unusual – to place such importance on the Jewish scriptures in terms of the community's *raison d'être* is equally true of the Qumranians. Yet only when the extent of John's use of the Old Testament is appreciated does the Johannine question begin to be answered.

Like Paul, John must be a convert from a strong Jewish synagogal community, from which he has imbibed his scriptural knowledge as well as his various exegeses. Thus while the seven *מדרות* of Hillel the Elder belong to the period after 70 CE, their oral progenitors have a bearing on the Gospel.⁴ Some of John's conflates, including 6:31; 12:13,15; 19:36, echo the *midda* *שְׁוָה גִּזְרָה* (“an equivalent regulation”), or better, *כִּי־יֵצֵא בּוֹ בְּמָקוֹם אַחֵר* (“to which something [is] similar in another place”). Indeed, John's very replacement christology seems a hybridization of the latter. 7:38, which states of every believer what had been stated of the Temple, may take its cue from the second half of *כָּלֵל וּפְרָט וּפְרָט וּכְלָל* (“general and particular, and

¹ Loisy, *Quatrième*, 80.

² See Hanson, *Prophetic*, 238-240.

³ Goppelt, *Typos* (Eng. tr.), 184 n. 194.

⁴ See *t. Sanh* 7.11; *bar. R. Ishmael* §1; *'Abot R. Nat.* [A] 37.10. For recent work on them, see H. Papin, “Rabbi”, *ABD* 5 (1992), 600-602; Chilton, *Galilean*, 34-35; *idem*, *The Temple of Jesus* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1992), 188-190.

particular and general”). The Synoptics and the *Florilegia* of Qumran certainly seem to employ these *מדרות* without formally invoking them.¹

Moreover, it is clear that far from turning his back on his Jewish roots (let alone pretending to be pagan, as some Jewish-Christian writers were²), John is anxious to preserve and promote them. They are at the centre of his presentation of Jesus Messiah. Quite apart from how his Jewish contemporaries perceive him, John has no intention of letting go of his Jewish self-identity.

It is also significant that John frequently makes no explicit allusion to the scriptures he works from, especially given that the sense of his teaching “is often inaccessible unless its scriptural underpinnings are appreciated”.³ Hanson’s suggestion, that this is perhaps because he is writing “mainly for himself or for the initiated few”,⁴ is surely wrong – John’s primary intent is not to record, but to persuade. It can only be that he feels able to leave so much of his exegesis unexplained because his readers are equally conversant with the Jewish scriptures. That is to say, he does not need to explain himself since his readers have the same Jewish background he has. Indeed, for a Jew, writing at least primarily for Jews, *nothing is more natural* than using the methods and traditions of his original milieu.⁵

The private thrust of Jn 13 – 17 shows that John writes partly for the benefit of his community. Indeed, he presents the Jewish scriptures as having been written with his very community in mind (*cf.* 12:37-43). Yet the public thrust of Jn 1 – 12 equally shows that he writes partly for the benefit of outsiders: not “the Hellenistic world”⁶ –

¹ Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 285-299, are the latest to argue that they help explain Jesus’ use of scripture as reported in the Synoptics and the “Pauline School” (*cf.* 287 n. 19). *Cf.* S.T. Lachs, *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1987). It is significant that no-one has found similar examples of conventions of Greco-Roman rhetoric in John or Matthew, even though they have been widely observed in Luke-Acts and looked for (with some success) in Mark.

² See Chester, “Eschatology”, *passim*.

³ Chilton & Evans, “Jesus”, 281. *Cf.* Hanson, *Prophetic*, 40.

⁴ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 247.

⁵ It is this necessity for a specific audience for the Gospel that makes R. Bauckham’s well-received lecture at the 1995 British New Testament Conference (“For whom were Gospels written?”) not applicable to it. Those few times when John *does* offer explanations would appear to be either literary devices intended to highlight his message (*e.g.*, 19:13), or explanations of specifically Jewish *Palestinian* culture (*e.g.*, 4:9), or both (*e.g.*, 1:38; 2:6).

⁶ Barrett, *Gospel*, 575. Even if Mann, “Traditions”, 145, is right, that the ἄλλα πρόβατα of Jn 10:16 are gentile converts, it remains that τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης comprises Jewish converts.

they, like the modern, Western world, would not comprehend him - but other Jews. Thus 12:34 (*cf.* 7:27,41-42,52) intends to disperse a *Jewish* scriptural objection to Jesus being the Messiah. This is not to agree with van Unnik that the Gospel is a missionary tract to the synagogues of the Diaspora – given 9:22 *et al.*, it is difficult to imagine how the Gospel could find its way back into the synagogue.¹ But it is unlikely that John’s community have been *geographically* separated from synagogue members. It would seem, then, that John is giving his community the wherewithal to convert still wavering synagogue members they have daily contact with. This places John in a Diaspora setting, for our money Ephesus.²

Certainly John gives too much prominence to the signs to be fundamentally uneasy about their evangelistic value.³ As for those verses used to suggest otherwise: in 4:48 whereas the goal of the sign for the βασιλικός is his son’s health, Jesus has an even greater goal – faith (which is finally vindicated in 4:53⁴); in 6:26 and 12:37 the unbelievers are more culpable for *not* responding to the signs (*contra* Jesus’ disciples, 2:11), this being the ultimate sin (15:24); the signs prove Jesus’ authenticity (9:33); Jesus points both οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι and his disciples *away* from his words *to* the evidence of his works (10:38; 14:11). The signs are there to produce faith (20:31), not simply as an internal hermeneutic or the unwelcome remains of an earlier source. John frames his Gospel around them to help his community convince their Jewish neighbours that Jesus is the Christ. Indeed, perhaps the rejecting of the testimony of miracles and the *Bath Qol* in support of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos by his fellow rabbis (*cf. b. B. Mes* 59a) – partly because of “the weight placed upon them in Christianity”⁵ – originates with John’s οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (12:28-30,37).

¹ Van Unnik, “Purpose”. *Cf.* Vouga, “Antijudaismus?”, who suggests that the Gospel reflects a controversy within the synagogue.

² This further offers an explanation for John’s ‘Pauline’ echoes, and, *via* the Baptist, his parallels with Qumran (Ac 19).

³ J. Becker, “Wunder und Christologie: zum Literarkritischen und christologischen Problem der Wunder im Johannesevangelium”, *NTS* 16 (1969-70), 130-148, repr. in A. Suhl (ed.), *Der Wunderbegriff im Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 435-463, argues that John stresses the signs to form an obstacle to faith.

⁴ Marianne M. Thompson, *The Humanity of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), esp. 73, is the only writer I have found who resists, successfully, the view that this verse condemns faith based on signs.

⁵ W.D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: CUP, 1964), 285.

This setting explains why John is so devastated by his community's expulsion from the synagogue, and why the figure of Wisdom is so poignant to his presentation of Jesus: she too had come to her own and her own had not received her.¹

It also offers an explanation for his replacement christology. He does not have Jesus replace the Torah (and Dunn is wrong to infer such from 1:17; 4:10; 5:39-40; 6:31-35²). He essentially has Jesus replace the *Temple*. The marriage at Cana is not “a contrast between the water of Judaism and the wine of Christianity”,³ but the replacing of the cultus. John forces the Temple cleansing to the beginning of Jesus' ministry to establish this point: all hostility to Jews is omitted; the harsh phrase from Jr 7:11 is replaced by οἶκον ἐμπορίου (2:16); there is no controversy (not even in 2:23-25); Jesus is positively zealous for the Temple (2:17). Indeed, Jesus is not challenged with “By what authority?”, but asked for a sign, to which he acquiesces – he promises to rebuild the Temple through the resurrection of his body (2:21).⁴ Soon many in Jerusalem, celebrating the same Jewish Passover he is celebrating, see his miraculous signs and believe in him (2:23). That he replaces the Temple is also the point of his answer to the woman at the well (4:21-24). Jesus offers what the cultus offers – καθαρός (3:25ff.; 13:10-11; 15:3), Passover (1:29; 6:4,51; 19:14,33,36) and Tabernacles (7:37f.; 8:12).

This makes good sense for a post-Temple destruction Jewish Diaspora community, which believed that the Messiah had come. The close of the first century CE saw a flourishing of responses to the Temple destruction. These ranged from radical rejection of the cultus in favour of universal ‘piety’ (*Sib.Or.* 4), to militant zealotism and messianism (*Apoc. Ab.*; 4 Bar), through various eschatologies centring on the coming intervention of God (4 *Ezr.*; *Sib.Or.* 5), to spiritualizing solutions that emphasized the need for practical obedience to Torah (2 Bar). *Barn.* 16:3-4 ties in with

¹ See Ashton, “Transformation”, 181. Cf. Meek's “continual, harmonic reinforcement ...”.

² Dunn, *Partings*, 94. Cf. Carson, “John”, 253-256, esp. 256: John “does not treat the OT with scorn or rejection; he views it with reverence, treating it as the “giver” of revelation that anticipates the new revelation occurring in Jesus”.

³ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 42. Dunn, *Partings*, 94, cannot have it both ways: if “the ‘good wine’ (2:10) of Jesus has replaced the water of Judaism”, John's community has parted from Judaism.

⁴ Cf. McHugh, “Life”, 126.

“the likelihood of a heightened Jewish expectation of the rebuilding of the temple at the end of the Flavian dynasty”.¹ There was also a resurgence of mystical speculation, not least by some of the early *tanna'im*; and Neusner convincingly suggests that this involved visionary experiences of the Temple’s heavenly counterpart, as was the case with Ezekiel after the destruction of the first Temple. Indeed, it is fascinating to set John within this milieu, presenting, as he does, Jesus as having come from heaven to teach heavenly things, even to an earthly Jewish Pharisee.²

What Jew could say anything other than that Jerusalem was now redundant as a place of worship (*cf.* 4:22)? Any Jewish faith that emerged post-70 *had* to reconstitute itself without the aid of a physical Temple. Such a realization proved to be the saving grace of the Judaism of the Pharisees and their Yavnean successors, “which has continued for eighteen or nineteen centuries while *still* there is no Temple or sacrificial cult”.³ Back in Palestine the Qumranians had long experienced the grace and forgiveness they so poetically sung of without ever coming near the Temple they castigated, and had begun to view *themselves* as the New Temple of the New Age (1QS 8.5f.; 9.6f.).⁴ It is the significance John attaches to the Temple that makes him present Jesus in the same terms. Indeed, without a thorough knowledge of Temple rites he could not write some of the things he does write. Deeply anxious over the loss of the Temple, John offers a replacement to his people, now cultus-less: Jesus Christ.⁵

This was to hold out a lifeline of hope to those who were desperate to make sense of the appalling tragedy. Like other post-70 Jewish apocalypses (especially 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch), John broadens out the Temple destruction and makes it an illustration of life’s great issues. He reinterprets not just the Temple but the central

¹ M. Goodman *apud* Dunn (ed.), *Jews*, 367.

² See Dunn, “Let”, 322-325, on the relevance of apocalyptic and *merkabah* mysticism to the Gospel. John’s presentation of Jesus as the Revealer draws on such ‘heavenly journey’ traditions (*cf.* Jn 3), especially those associated with the patriarchs (8:38,56).

³ *Idem*, *Partings*, 56 (italics his).

⁴ That Qumran took the Temple seriously is shown by 4Q522, whose paraphrase of 2 Sm 7 too may have an eschatological setting. See PAM 43.606; Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 89-92, esp. 90-92; Baillet, Milik & de Vaux, ‘*Petites*’, 179; Emile Puech, “Fragments du Psaume 122 dans un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte iv”, *RevQ* 9 (1977-78), 547-554.

⁵ *Cf.* Motyer, *John* 8:31-59, esp. 145-165; Dunn “Question”, 197: John’s “contrast between preparation and fulfilment ... is more a claim from *within* Judaism ... than a case of anti-Judaism”.

acts of its worship around Jesus, the tabernacling Wisdom of God. His treatment of the Jewish feasts is at the heart of his message of hope, addressed to Jews trying to come to terms with being deprived of their worship.

This surely marks the point of parting between his community and the emerging Pharisaic tradition. This tradition was fast replacing the Temple cultus with halakhic observance; yet John had already given pride of place to Jesus. Consequently he appears to put no salvific weight by halakhic observance, rather, he is positively ambivalent towards it. Despite the opportunity, he does not have Jesus castigate circumcision (7:22-23); but he does have him 'break' the Sabbath – albeit in keeping with Jewish principles (5:17) – and deliberately provoke halakhic dietary sensibilities (6:51-56).¹ Indeed, part of John's 'private' message to the community includes an alternative, community-oriented ἐντολή καινή (13:34; cf. 14:15,21,31; 15:10,12).

Robinson's valiant attempt to put the Gospel in a pre-70 setting ultimately fails.² He argues that Jn 11:48f. (cf. 2:20) must be genuine prophecy, since it is incorrect – with Jesus gone, the Romans still take away ἡμῶν τόπον.³ But surely Caiaphas's prophecy is part of John's irony. By warrant of his office Caiaphas speaks high atonement (and therefore late?) theology; yet his corruptness ensures a false prophecy with dark forebodings – the very downfall of what he seeks to protect. John's replacing of the Sadducees with a new ruling élite, the Pharisees, also reflects the post-70 situation.⁴ The parallels between John's Gospel and Qumran have long led some to put the Gospel at least as early as the Synoptics,⁵ but this panders to the very

¹ Cf. Philo, *Mig.* 89-93. This suggests that certain Jewish practices (it names circumcision and Sabbath observance) might be more useful for what they symbolize than for being literally observed. On Jn 6:51-56, see McHugh, "Life", 139.

² Robinson, *Priority* (cf. *idem*, *Redating*, ch. 9). As part of the recent trend of a minority of scholars toward such a dating, Robinson stands between F.L. Cribbs, "A Reassessment of the Date of Origin and the Destination of the Gospel of John", *JBL* 89 (1970), 38-55, esp. 38, and F. Kemper, "Zur literarischen Gestalt des Johannesevangelium", *TZ* 43 (1987), 247-264.

³ Robinson, *Priority*, 70. Cf. Hanson, *Prophetic*, 297f.

⁴ See Wengst, *Gemeinde*, 41, 48f.; Nicol, *Semeia*, 144f.; Martyn, *History*, 84f.; Vouga, *cadre*, 66; D.M. Smith, "The Life Setting of the Gospel of John", *RevExp* 85 (1988), 433-444, here 435f.; Rebell, *Gemeinde*, 102; Koenig, *Jews*, 127f.; Onuki, *Gemeinde*, 29f. Leistner, *Antijudaismus?*, 142, and Gryglewicz, "Pharisäer", 145, argue that the association of the Pharisees with the high priests (7:32 *etc.*) was possible for Jesus' time (cf. Bornhäuser, *Johannesevangelium*, 145), but the trend is in our favour.

⁵ See W.F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John" in W.D. Davies & D. Daube (eds.), *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1956), 153-171, esp. 170f.; J.A.T. Robinson, "The New Look on the Fourth Gospel", in *idem* (ed.), *Twelve New Testament Studies* (SBT 34; London: SCM, 1962), 94-106.

‘Hegelian’ model we reject – that Christianity inexorably abandoned its Jewish identity as the first century proceeded. Yet the real issue concerns John’s Temple replacement christology. There is a valid consensus that the Gospel reflects earliest Christian tradition; but it remains that this christology simply does not reconcile with Robinson’s argument that John’s use of scripture “has a very primitive ring” about it.¹

Originating with Martyn’s reconstruction, however, which reached its zenith with R.E. Brown’s version, a late dating for the Gospel facilitated the production of a range of historical explanations for its social and theological story.² Endorsed by what Meeks described as the community’s “continual, harmonic reinforcement between social experience and ideology”,³ this technique received wide approval;⁴ and while more recently it has come down from such giddy heights, its basic conclusion remains generally accepted – the Gospel represents a community at the later, no-longer-Jewish (perhaps even anti-Jewish) end of an originally Jewish sect.⁵

It is this conclusion we reject. Not repeating our reservations over their methodology, these reconstructions have their own problems. Brown is aware of the untenably late dating used by Martyn (somewhere in the 90’s), yet his reliance on **בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנִיִּים** means that his own dating cannot be earlier than the late 80’s.⁶ His evidence for an early Baptist sect that ever ‘dogs’ the community has no direct corroboration: Mk 2:18 and Lk 1 – 2 need only be polemic against the Baptist as Messiah; in Ac 19:1ff. the Baptists are Christians, not followers of a rival Messiah; and in Jn 10:41 John accommodates the Baptist better than Q does (*cf.* Mt 11:2-6; Lk 7:18-23). Thus Brown finds himself having to say, despite John’s dualism, that hope remains for the Baptists’ conversions. He uses the work of those exploring the relation between the Samaritan exaltation of Moses and John’s christology to make good Martyn’s deficiencies in explaining the group’s expulsion from the synagogues.⁷

¹ Robinson, *Priority*, 311. *Cf.* Hanson, *Prophetic*, e.g., 40.

² Martyn, *History*; *cf. idem*, “Glimpses”; Brown, *Community*.

³ Meeks, “Man”, 71.

⁴ See Kysar, *Evangelist*, 149-156, esp. 150; Leibig, “John”, 217 n. 33.

⁵ Martyn, “Glimpses”, 164; Meeks, “Man”, 68-69. *Cf.* W. Gutbrod, *TDNT* 3, 379; H. Koester, “The History-of-Religions Schools, Gnosis and the Gospel of John”, *ST* 40.2 (1986), 115-136, esp. 127; Casey, *Prophet*, ch. 9.

⁶ See Martyn, “Glimpses”, 160-161; Brown, *Community*, 174.

⁷ *Cf.* J.D. Purvis, “The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans”, *NovT* 17 (1975), 177-191.

Yet a Samaritan mission is purely conjectural, while Jn 4:22 is against any positive Samaritan influence. Ashton also notes that the virtual absence of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι from the specifically community-focused Jn 13 – 17 is difficult to align with Brown’s notion that they are “a continuing threat to the wellbeing of the community”.¹

Most especially, unwarranted prominence was given to בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנִיִּים. The School of Jamnia – an all-powerful rabbinic academy founded by Johanan b. Zakkai to rebuild Judah after its recent demise – marked the start of formal Judaism. With the synagogue as the new focal point of Jewish life, one of its first tasks was the regulation of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh*. These prayers were central to the Synagogal daily liturgy, and comprised blessings of God for worshipping correctly and corresponding curses. בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנִיִּים, an expulsion clause in the form of a curse, was added to the twelfth of these Eighteen Benedictions in the revision of the liturgy under Rabban Gamaliel II.² Martyn worked “both backwards and forwards literarily and historically” from the belief that this curse corresponds to the Gospel’s exclusive references to Jews who accept Jesus Messiah as ἀποσυνάγωγος (9:22; 12:42; 16:2).³

Virtually without exception, scholars accepted Martyn’s proposal. The Gospel was thereby given a *terminus post quem* of 85-90 CE; and unlike earlier acts of discipline, the expelling of the Johannine believers from the synagogue was seen as marking a watershed in Jewish-Christian relations.⁴

There are, however, only two relevant pieces of evidence for the curse.⁵ One is a single statement in a *baraita* (*b. Ber* 28b-29a: 5th C.), in which at Gamaliel’s request Samuel the Small arranges (תִּקְּן) the twelfth benediction to address the heretics.⁶ The

¹ Ashton, “Identity”, 67.

² See Charlesworth (ed.), *Lord’s Prayer*, 149-151, for an up-to-date bibliography.

³ Martyn, “Glimpses”, 151; cf. *idem*, *History*, 46f.

⁴ E.g., W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. tr, London: SCM, 1975), 231; Brown, *John* I, lxxvi; *idem*, *Community*, 22; Barrett, *Gospel*, 127; *idem*, *John*, 47f.; Moloney, “Presentation”, 241 (cf. *Emeth* 11.1 [1982], 25-35); F. Manns, “L’Évangile de Jean, réponse chrétienne aux décisions de Jabne”, *SBFLA* 30 (1980), 47-92. Cf. Stibbe, *Gospel*, 128-129.

⁵ Robinson, *Priority*, 73f., was the first to point this out.

⁶ “Our rabbis taught: Simeon ha-Paqli arranged the eighteen benedictions in order before Rabban Gamaliel in Jabneh. Said Rabban Gamaliel to the Sages: Can anyone among you frame a benediction relating to the *Minim*? Samuel the Lesser arose and composed it. The next year he forgot it and he tried for two or three hours to recall it, and they did not remove him”. Cf. Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 150 & nn.

other is the text of the curse itself, the earliest extant version of which is in the Cairo Genizah fragments (*cf. b. Meg* 17b).¹ This unfortunate legacy of the reluctance by Pharisees to make written records – in the interests of preserving ‘scripture’ (and their own indispensability!) – makes precision over the curse’s meaning impossible.

As for the former, all that is certain is that its function “was to ensure that those who were *minim* would not serve as precentors in the synagogue ... it in no way implied expulsion from the Jewish people”.² The great variation in the blessings generally at this stage,³ even Samuel’s regrettable amnesia,³ suggests that there was no fixed formula in regular use at this time anyway. Besides, synagogue members at most had to say ‘Amen’ to the curse (see *m. Ber* 8.8; *cf. t. Sukk* 4.6); while *m. Ber* 5.3f. states that for the *Tefillah* or *Shemoneh Esreh* one person speaks at a time and others may reply “Amen”. This is hardly the stuff of Moloney’s “shibboleth”.

As for the latter, rabbinic evidence suggests that the opening נוצרים in the Geniza version is a later addition.⁴ “If *nosrim* were present *ab initio* the talmudic nomenclature would likely have been *birkat ha-nosrim*. Second, if the term were part of the statutory liturgy from the first century onwards, the term *nosrim* should have become a common term in rabbinic literature. In fact *nosrim* does not appear in tannaitic literature ...”.⁵ It is also strange that נוצרים appears only once in the text. This could be a conspiracy to silence – if it refers to Jewish Christians (Nazoraeans?) while תנאים refers to gentile Christians, Yavneh (which was most concerned about the situation in Palestine) could expose the enemy and then revert to the not-so-publicizing alternative. Yet the credibility factor ever lessens. Segal protests that there is no proof that ברכת התנאים was not taken by Christians and Jews alike to have included

¹ Evans, *Contemporaries*, 279: “For apostates let there be no hope, and the kingdom of arrogance quickly uproot. In a moment let the Nazarenes [*nosrim*] and the heretics [*minim*] be destroyed; let them be blotted from the Book of Life, and with the righteous not be inscribed. Blessed art You, O Lord, who loves judgment!” First published by S. Schechter, *JQR* 10 (1898), 657, 659, this mediaeval document cannot guarantee the text further back; see P. Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (AGJU 15; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 53 n. 3.

² Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 152. Robinson, *Priority*, 73-74, concurs.

³ *Cf.* S. Sifrai, “The Synagogue”, *Compendia* I.2, 922-926.

⁴ In the Babylonian Recension of the text, not even *minim* appears – only “slanderers”, “all who do wickedness”, “enemies” and “the insolent”. *Cf.* Schürer, *History* II, 455-463.

⁵ Kimelman, “*Birkat*”, 233f. *Cf.* Jocz, *People*, 336 n. 257; Schürer, *History* II, 462f.; Schiffman, “Crossroads”, 152; Urbach, “Self-Isolation”, 288.

Christians,¹ but there is no *direct* evidence to suggest *otherwise*. In short, the precision of *EncJud* is unjustified² – there is no need to take נוצרים as Christians.

Not only do early rabbinic sources never specify the curse as an anti-Christian Jewish prayer, neither do early Christian sources. Of Justin Martyr’s references to Jews cursing Christ or Christians, only the last one (*Dial.* 137) is in the context of the statutory synagogue *prayers*; and it comes *after* them (unlike the *birkat*, which would come in the middle).³ Epiphanius (c. 315-403) and Jerome (c. 340-420) are the first to refer specifically to the cursing of Christians three times a day (indicating the statutory prayers) under the name Nazoraeans; but they may be referring to the contemporary Nazoraean sect, who want to be both Jews and Christians yet are disowned by both.⁴ In fact, quite the opposite from such a ban, the patristic evidence suggests that Christians were frequenting the synagogues often.⁵

Dates are also an issue. It is not unlikely that the curse was formulated c. 85. *EncJud* has Gamaliel II succeed Johanan b. Zakkai as head of the Jamnia School c. 80, and while the year of his death is not known, “in all probability he did not live to witness the revolt in the time of Trajan (c.116 C.E.)”.⁶ Moreover, he surely began his Draconian measures early on in his reign. But neither is it certain. He may have commissioned the curse as late as the second century, which would disallow any link with the Gospel. Furthermore, all the evidence for the curse comes from Palestine, while, as Martyn himself agrees, the Gospel hails from anywhere but Palestine.

The curse does not reflect a watershed in the relationship between Jews and Christians anyway. Anticipating more recent trends, Kimelman writes, “there was never a single edict which caused the so-called irreparable separation between Judaism and Christianity. The separation was rather the result of a long process

¹ Segal, “Ruler”, 409 n. 57.

² *EncJud*, “Gamaliel, Rabban”, col. 298: “Associated with his name is the introduction of the *Birkat ha-minim* in the *Amidah*, aimed at excluding the Christians from the Jewish fold”.

³ See Schürer, *Geschichte* II, 543f. (*cf. idem, History*, 462f.); G. Hoennicke, *Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1908), 387f. *Cf.* Horbury, “Benediction”, 21; Kimelman, “*Birkat*”, 233f.

⁴ Horbury, “Benediction”, 24-28; Kimelman, “*Birkat*”, 236-238.

⁵ See J.H. Charlesworth, “Christian and Jewish Self-Definition in the Light of Christian Additions to Apocryphal Writings”, in E.P. Sanders *et al* (eds.), *Self-Definition* II, 27-55, here n. 12.

⁶ *EncJud*, col. 298. Others put Gamaliel’s period of office as *nasi* from 70 to 106.

dependent upon local situations and ultimately upon the political power of the church”.¹ Indeed, the **קְנִי** the curse is directed at, whoever they are, are being *forced* to leave the synagogue.

As for John’s references to ἀποσυνάγωγος, there is no reason to suppose that the agreement of the Jews in 9:22 represents a formal decree of universal application: “[t]he only other uses of συντίθημι in the New Testament (Lk 22:5; Ac 13:20) do not support this. And when John wishes to indicate a formal decree of the Council he makes it clear (11:47,53,57)”.² The fact that ἀποσυνάγωγος is not repeated elsewhere in extant Greek literature and has “no precise parallel in rabbinic terminology”³ suggests that it does not correspond to any specific category. It simply means ‘put out of the synagogue’, and in 9:34f. is paraphrased with ἐκβάλλειν – which is used of Jesus (Lk 4:29), Stephen (Ac 7:58) and Paul (Ac 13:50). Martyn himself states, “The term ... does not seem to carry any fearsome denotation, other than the natural concern any Jew might feel at being away from the fellowship of his synagogue”.⁴

Robinson notes “that in 12:42 it is members of the *Council* who fear being made ἀποσυνάγωγοι. This is not because anyone is threatening to cut them off from Judaism but because the Pharisees who have power with the people can see that they are effectively ostracized”.⁵ And the record of Acts (*e.g.*, Ac 12:1-2: 62 CE) shows that the warnings of Jn 15:18 – 16:4,32-33 (*cf.* Lk 6:22) could apply to the earliest Christian communities.⁶ This is upheld by the Qumran parallels: 1QS 5.18; 6.24 – 7.25; 8.16f.,22f.; CD 9.23 (*cf.* Ezr 10:8; Jos B. 2.142f.; *m. Ta’an* 3.8). Quite simply, there is no need to identify the Gospel’s expulsions with **בְּרִכַּת הַמְּנִי** at all.⁷

¹ Kimelman, “*Birkat*”, 244.

² Robinson, *Priority*, 79 n. 198; *contra* Martyn, *History*, 32f.

³ W. Schrage, συναγωγή, in *TDNT* VII, 848.

⁴ Martyn, *History*, 23. He compares it to ἀπόδημος.

⁵ Robinson, *Priority*, 78-79; *idem*, *Redating*, 272-274.

⁶ See Hare, *Theme*, 48-56; Harvey, *Trial*, 89 (he argues that 9:22 need not be anachronistic at all); Carson, “Historical”, 123-125; Dodd, *Historical*, 410; B. Lindars, “The Persecution of Christians in John 15:18 – 16:4a”, in W. Horbury & B. McNeil (eds.), *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament* (Cambridge, etc.: CUP, 1981), 48-69; E.R. Goodenough, “John a Primitive Gospel”, *JBL* 64 (1945), 145-182, esp. 147; Segal, “Ruler”, 257-258.

⁷ So Horbury, “Benediction”, 52, 60; W.H. Brownlee, “Whence the Gospel According to John?”, in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *John and Qumran* (London: Chapman, 1972), 166-194, here 182f.; Robinson, *Priority*, 72-81; J. Painter, *John, Witness and Theologian* (London: SPCK, 1975), 13; Meeks, “Man”, 55 n. 40; Kimelman, “*Birkat*”, 235. J. Neusner, *Second Century* 1.4 (1981), 245-247,

This is not to decry the historical reconstructionist approach, so long as it allows itself to be open to falsification. The methodological precedent – literary analysis of the text – is in order: *non sequiturs* such as 14:31 have long been recognized as signs of editorial work, as have interpolations (*e.g.*, 4:2) and evidences of other traditions (*e.g.*, 2:11). Also in order is the use of this analysis to isolate significant factors in the community’s history. (Martyn’s and Brown’s reconstructions from an incomplete and ambiguous blueprint just go too far. ¹) Yet it remains that the pillar of the “no-longer-Jewish” version is in pieces.

Returning, then, to our conclusion, the pervasive Jewish nature of the extant Gospel is not residual, it is crucial. It is not necessary to explain 20:31 as “make believers become believers”. ² True, John writes for a ‘closed’ audience: his irony and use of *Sondersprache* ³ show that he addresses those ‘in the know’. Yet who are they? Ever since it became fashionable to interpret John against a Jewish rather than a Greek background, study after study has shown that he writes out of a Jewish presupposition pool that he shares with his audience. Some of this work has been uncontrolled in its use of later material; but Thyen is right to comment on “the manner in which [the Gospel] is full of subliminal allusions to specifically Jewish traditions, and of motifs adapted from the Targums and midrash, all of which would be comprehensible only to “insiders”. This makes me think that only a group of Christian Jews could possibly have been the first recipients and bearers of the Gospel”. ⁴ John’s entire ‘rhetoric’ – from the irony of *λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτου* in 2:19, through that of the self-proclaimed righteousness of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in 8:33, to that of Caiaphas’s prophecy in 11:47-53 –

writes of Kimelman, “*Birkat*”: “His paper is persuasive and a solid and important contribution to its topic. Indeed I am inclined to think that ... it is definitive” (247).

¹ Cf. Martyn, “Glimpses”, 150f.: “It would be a valuable practice for the historian to rise each morning saying to himself three times slowly and with emphasis “I do not know” ...”.

² Vouga, *cadre*, 35. Others who advocate that the Gospel has no evangelistic intent include Bultmann, *Theology* II, 46 (*cf. idem, John*, 282); Onuki, *Gemeinde*; P.D. Duke, *Irony in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985), 147-149; Rebell, *Gemeinde*; J. Neyrey, *An Ideology of Revolt: John’s Christology in Social-Science Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

³ See H. Leroy, *Zur Vergebung der Sünden* (SBS 73; Stuttgart: KBW, 1974), 82-94.

⁴ Thyen, “Heil”, 174 (my translation). Cf. *idem*, “Johannes 10 im Kontext des vierten Evangeliums”, in J. Beutler & R.T. Fortna (eds.), *The Shepherd Discourse of John 10 and its Context* (SNTSMS 67; Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 116-134, esp. 121.

would be all too familiar to those really in the know, whose Temple had just been destroyed, while his use of the Old Testament would be familiar *only* to them.

John's use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι

Contrary to scholarship generally, we have not made John's use of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι the primary issue. This is because a true understanding of John's use of the term is itself so dependent on how Jewish John is. As Dunn notes, "... there is a danger of exaggerating the case against John, particularly by focusing too narrowly on particular texts and by taking them too much out of the context of the Gospel as a whole, and of its historical context".¹ Nevertheless, the issue must not be avoided. So having seen how Jewish the Fourth Gospel is (like its presentation of Jesus himself: *cf.* 4:9; 18:35; 19:21-22 *etc.*), what should we make of its unparalleled vitriol against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι?

It would seem that originally the term Ἰουδαῖος was used for anyone who belonged to Judea. In the Hellenistic period, however, Judea functioned effectively as a Temple state; and the term soon came to have a religious as well as a geographical and ethnic reference. Following the expansion of Judea's political authority under the Hasmoneans and the increasing experience of Diaspora, it came to be used of those who ethnically derived from either Judea or the Diaspora and whose religious world of meaning focused on the Temple in Jerusalem.²

With the term having come to denote a group identified by ethnic origin and religious practice, the precise identity of the group could vary depending on whom it was being distinguished from. Thus Philo speaks regularly of τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων or of Moses as νομοθέτοσ τῶν Ἰουδαίων; but in *In Flaccum* and *de Legatione ad*

¹ Dunn, "Question", 196 (*cf.* 187). Dunn still devotes his discussion on antisemitism in the Gospel (195-203) to this very subject (*cf. idem, Partings*, ch. 8; J.T. Sanders, *Jews*).

² See Meeks, "'Am?'" , 182; Dunn, *Partings*, 143-146. J. Plescia, "On the Persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire", *Latomus* 30 (1971), 120-132, brings out the term's ethnic *and* religious connotations when he notes that Jews (unlike Christians) were allowed to continue their *religio* throughout the Empire because theirs "was the *religio* of a recognised political unit" (123). *Cf.* W. Gutbrod, "Ἰουδαῖος", *TDNT* 3.370-371; R.S. Kraemer, "On the Meaning of the Term 'Jew' in Greco-Roman Inscriptions", *HTR* 82 (1989), 35-53.

Gaium he frequently uses οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι to denote Jews of a particular region or city. Josephus in *Bellum Judaicum* speaks of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι who are opposed to the likes of Antiochus, Pompey, Herod and Pilate; and they are responsible for the build-up to the revolt against Rome. Yet he too equally uses the term for the inhabitants of specific cities – such as Alexandria or Damascus – and smoothly switches from specific to general references (e.g., *B.* 2.532). So he speaks of Alexander and Alexandra as being over against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (*B.* 1.107), and yet speaks of himself as apparently distinct from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (*B.* 3.130, 136, 142; *V.* 113, 416). He also refers to Galilee as ἡ Ἰουδαίων χώρα, and of its residents as Ἰουδαῖοι (*B.* 1.21; 2.232; cf. *Jn* 6:41,42).

Luke closely patterns Josephus's usage. He often identifies οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι more precisely, as being from Antioch, Thessalonica or Asia (*Ac* 14:19; 17:13; 21:27; 24:18). Yet when he refers to Jews in a city where there are different ethnic groups, *i.e.*, when the context makes more precise definition unnecessary, he refers simply to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. The inference is clear. Simply because a first century writer distinguishes himself from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, it does not necessarily mean that he distances himself from, let alone disowns, a Jewish self-identity.¹

Certainly the term Ἰουδαῖος retained its ethnic component – Josephus reports the view that Herod the Great is a ἡμιουδαῖος because he is an Idumean (*A.* 14.403). Yet its religious component made him unwilling to speak of the albeit ethnically Jewish apostate Tiberius Alexander as Ἰουδαῖος (*A.* 20.100); and it ensured that he could grant the term to one group over others who deemed themselves its rightful owners. He says of those that remained faithful in Babylon and returned to Judea as God's revitalized people, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς (*A.* 11.173), thereby arguing that they rather than those who stayed in Judea were οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. He also regards the Samaritans (who could identify themselves as Ἰουδαῖοι when it suited them) as ἀπόστα[οι] τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους (*A.* 11.340-344).

¹ Cf. Dunn, *Partings*, 184 n. 27: a modern Scot referring to “the Scots” at a football match in England “would not be indicating *all* Scots who attended the match ... nor would he necessarily be denying his own part in the episode or distancing himself from his fellow Scots”.

Thus Paul can use the term Ἰουδαῖοι to connote special religious commitment (e.g., Ro 2:29); and Justin (*Dial.* 80.4-5) remarks that though some Jewish sects claim to be Ἰουδαίους καὶ τέκνα Ἀβραάμ, they are αἱρέσεις rather than ὀρθογνώμονες, and deserve the name Ἰουδαῖος no more than Christians who deny the resurrection deserve to be called Χριστιάνος.¹

Ἰουδαῖος, however, was not the only or even always the most natural name by which Jews identified themselves.² Kuhn's assertion (made in 1938) – that in the post-biblical period Ἰσραήλ was the people's preferred name for itself (cf. e.g., Sir 17:17; Jub 33:20; PsSol 14:5), whereas Ἰουδαῖος was the name by which they were known to and distinguished from others – is not altogether true (cf. 2 Macc 1:1,7,10).³ Yet while Ἰουδαῖος is also used regularly by Philo and Josephus, Ἰσραήλ is the preferred self-designation in CD (e.g., 3.19) for the sect who “have gone out from the land of Judah” and who will “no more consort with the house of Judah” (4.2-3,11).⁴ Paul too in Ro 2 – 3 uses Ἰουδαῖος in antithesis with Ἕλληνες; but in Ro 9 – 11 prefers Ἰσραηλ(ίτης), since he is now speaking “from the inside” (9:1-3; 11:1; cf. 1 Th 2:14-16⁵).

Dunn makes the inference: “It would be possible, then, for an early Jewish believer in Jesus Messiah to cede the use of the name “Jew” to others within the broad spectrum of late Second Temple Judaism, while clinging to the title “Israel(ite)”.⁶ One wonders whether in the post-traumatic stress of the Temple destruction, John's use of Ἰουδαῖος might reflect something of this practice. Thus to the outsider there is no question, Jesus is ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (18:33,39; 19:3,19,21); but to the insider, he is ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (1:49; 12:13).

¹ Ashton, *Understanding*, 153f., summarizes evidence from Josephus to the same effect; Bornhäuser, *Johannesevangelium*, 19-21, cites Dn 1:3-8 & Sus 565f.

² See J. Painter, “Christ and the Church in John 1:45-51”, in de Jonge (ed.), *L'Évangile*, 359-362; Ashton, *Understanding*, 153.

³ K.G. Kuhn, Ἰσραήλ, *TDNT* 3.359-365.

⁴ A frequently cited parallel is the second century BCE inscription from the island of Delos, from a community describing themselves as “Israelites of Delos, who offer first fruits at sacred Har Garizim”. See P. Bruneau, “Les Israélites de Délos’ et la Juiverie délienne”, *BCH* 106 (1982), 465-504; Meeks, “Breaking”, 100.

⁵ F.D. Gilliard, “Paul and the Killing of the Prophets in 1 Thess 2:15”, *NovT* 36.3 (1994), 259-270, removes the comma just before v. 15, to make οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι refer specifically to the Jews who killed Jesus and the prophets.

⁶ Dunn, “Question”, 186. Cf. Conzelmann, *Luke*, 145, of Acts: “... the Jews are now called to make good their claim to be ‘Israel’. If they fail to do this, then they become ‘the Jews’”.

John's use of Ἰουδαῖος only became subject to closer examination in the 1960's. Epstein and Brown provided exhaustive lists of its New Testament occurrences, and in 1975 Epp made statistical comparisons.¹ Simply, John uses it 70 times (68 times in the plural).² It is unfortunate that this frequency has been a major factor in presupposing his guilt: the statistical figures may *indicate* the term as a "point of sensitivity", but it is John's negative portrayal of over half its occurrences (unlike *any* in the Synoptics) – nowhere more so than in 8:31-59 – that is the issue.³

This polemic has been virtually unanimously conceded as proof and epitome of the Gospel's antisemitic strains. Leibig writes: its "unambiguous replacement theme, its pointed arguments with individual Jews, and its attack against the religious position of Judaism all reflect the polemical stance of the Fourth Evangelist. Yet ... [i]t is only when these are combined with John's non-traditional, non-Synoptic usage of the term "the Jews" that the unrestrained character of the polemic is revealed".⁴ Ruether argues that by "mythologizing" οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as the representatives of unbelief, "John gives the ultimate theological form to that diabolizing of 'the Jews' which is the root of anti-Semitism in the Christian tradition".⁵

This, however, is incompatible with the Jewish Gospel we have discovered. Its essential fallacy is consistently to identify οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in John's Gospel with the Jewish people *in toto*. Leibig has John inflict "indiscriminate hostility upon all Jews – both of Jesus' time and of his own"; Baum argues that John's identification of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with the enemies of Jesus "is so complete that the author almost forgets that Jesus himself and his disciples were members of the same Jewish people"; Bultmann

¹ Epstein, "Roots"; Brown, *John*, lxii; Epp, "Anti-Semitism", 40-41. This approach reached its height with von Wahlde, "Jews", who collated the results of no fewer than ten earlier studies.

² Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, 107, makes it 71 times; Dunn, "Question", 182, repeats this figure. By comparison, the Synoptics use the term 16 times (Mark, 6; Matthew, 5; Luke, 5) – 12 times when referring to Jesus as "king of the Jews"; the Johannine letters do not use it at all; Acts uses it 79 times, and together with John accounts for more than three-quarters of its total New Testament usage.

³ See Fuller, "Jews", 32, for a more detailed break-down; cf. Bratcher, "Jews", 409.

⁴ Leibig, "John", 212, cf. 216.

⁵ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 116; she presents Jn 19:7 as the sharpest point in the New Testament of anti-Judaism as the inevitable consequence of christology (113-115). Cf. Bultmann, *John*, 86; Dahl, "Johannine", esp. 129, 133-135, 139; Fuller, "Jews", 35; for others, see Townsend, "John", 92 n. 50.

states, “[t]he Jews are spoken of as an alien people”; and Cohn-Sherbok refers to John’s “diatribe against the Jews and the Jewish faith”.¹

Yet it is John who *makes a point* of introducing specifically Jewish characters to the community. Far from Martyn’s portrayal, Nathaniel’s Jewish identity is a given: he is presented with Jesus as the one who was promised in the specifically Jewish scriptures (1:45); he is ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης (1:47); and he is persuaded of Jesus’ veracity in specifically Jewish ways. He is not distinct from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι racially or religiously, only in his understanding of who Jesus is – ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Leibig cites Nicodemus – one of the first named Jews in the Gospel, and a member of the Sanhedrin – as an instance of a Jew who is “devoid of spiritual insight”; while Haenchen says of 3:11, “Hier redet die christliche Gemeinde und polemisiert gegen die jüdische”.² Yet Nicodemus’s ignorance is not *because* he is a Jew (ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ at that), but *in spite* of it (3:10). Indeed, McHugh notes that Nicodemus, who personifies “the sympathetic stream of Judaism”, is “an upright and honourable Pharisee, who approaches Jesus very respectfully (“Rabbi”) and speaks for a group (οἴδαμεν) which acknowledges that Jesus is a teacher sent from God”.³

In 7:50f., moreover, Nicodemus uses ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν actually *to defend* Jesus’ legal rights to his fellow chief priests and Pharisees; and in 19:38f. he helps Joseph of Arimathea to bury Jesus, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. The point is clear. *Without having relinquished his Jewish leadership or his Jewish faith* – in 7:50f. he speaks as part of the Sanhedrin, and he and Joseph bury Jesus specifically to fulfil Jewish burial customs and keep the Sabbath undefiled (19:40-42) – by the end of the Gospel he has gained the spiritual insight he earlier lacked, and is a true disciple of Jesus. It is this that distinguishes both him and Joseph from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (19:38).⁴

¹ Leibig, “John”, 215; Baum, *Religion*, 79; Bultmann, *John*, 86; Cohn-Sherbok, *Crucified*, 24. Cf. Lowry, “Rejected-Suitor”, 222; Epp, “Anti-Semitism” – he refers to “John’s “symbolic demonization” of the Jewish people”.

² Leibig, “John”, 216; Haenchen, *Johannes*, 220. Cf. e.g., J.N. Sanders, *John*, 126; Maneschg, *Erzählung*, 389.

³ McHugh, “Life”, 126-127.

⁴ D.D. Sylva, “Nicodemus and his Spices”, *NTS* 34 (1988), 148-151, wrongly argues that John presents Nicodemus’ action in using the spices, especially so many, as misplaced. All involved in the anointings of Jesus demonstrate his Messiahship and their belief in him. McHugh, “Life”, 156, shows how Nicodemus’s extravagant anointing at the end of the Passion week acts as an *inclusio* with the

It is not as if John begrudgingly accepts either of these characters (Nathanael or Nicodemus) from the wider Christian tradition – he is the only one to mention them! Indeed, Jews comprise the entirety of believers he mentions by name. And it is futile to contest that he is in the process of abandoning his Jewish identity even though the nature of the human psyche ensures that he nevertheless retains such vast chunks of it. The two varieties of what Gilman refers to as “Jewish self-hatred” (‘I am not a Jew’ and ‘I am a Jew and woe is me’) are equally alien to the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel.

Invariably in a Jerusalem setting, Jesus consistently operates within the context of τὸ πάσχα / ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 19:14; cf. 18:20). In that most Jewish of dialogues, he utters that most ‘un-Johannine’ phrase on behalf of those who put Jerusalem forward as the right place of worship – ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν ὃ οἶδαμεν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν (4:22). Unlike Pilate, he is Ἰουδαῖος (18:35; cf. 4:9). And his final, climatic title is ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (19:19; cf. 18:33,39; 19:3,21), which forms an *inclusio* with the title ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (1:49; cf. 12:13).¹

Other Jews are surely those spoken of as οἱ ἴδιοι in 1:11.² Moreover, πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων comfort Mary and Martha; and when Jesus brings Lazarus back to life, θεασάμενοι ἃ ἐποίησεν ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν (11:45; cf. 7:12-13,40-43; 12:11). None of this allows John to be willing “a potentially anti-Jewish cast”, or for Jesus’ converts to degenerate into a “spiritualized Judaism or a new and different religion”.³ Indeed, Thyen regards 4:22 as constitutive for the Gospel: what underlies the “verzweifelte Schärfe” of the negative passages is “enttäuschte Liebe” – John cannot imagine the promised oneness of the flock being achieved without Israel.⁴

extravagant anointing at the beginning of it (12:1-8). Cf. McHugh, “Life”, 158; Nicodemus “is undoubtedly meant to represent those Pharisees who came to believe”; Meeks, “Man”, 53-57. *Contra* M. de Jonge, “Nicodemus and Jesus”, in idem (ed.), *Jesus: Stranger from Heaven and Son of God* (Missoula: Scholars, 1977; repr. SBLSPS 11), 29-47; Brown, *Community*, 72 n. 128; Freyne, “Vilifying”, 127, 140; Rensberger, *Johannine*, chs. 2 – 3.

¹ *Contra* A.S. Geysler, “Israel in the Fourth Gospel”, *Neot* 20 (1986), 13-20, esp. 19 (cf. Dunn, “Question”, 199f.), then, John does not *totally* cede the term Ἰουδαῖος to the rabbis.

² For a convincing defence of this view, see Pryor, “Jesus”.

³ Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 203. Cf. Gutbrod, Ἰσραὴλ, *TDNT* 3, 378f.; Fortna, *Signs*, 32.

⁴ Thyen, “Heil”, 177; cf. 185-204. Others who note this dichotomy – both towards and among Jews in the Fourth Gospel – include Vouga, *cadre*, 70f.; Rebell, *Gemeinde*, 100f.; T. Onuki, “Zur literatursoziologischen Analyse des Johannesevangelium – auf dem Wege zur Methodenintegration”,

Against this background Ashton's parody of Thyen's "love-hate" model – "in fact there is no love and little sympathy, only hostility tinged with fear"¹ – is unfair.

Granskou is not sure to whom the High Priest is referring when he states that Jesus must die ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ (11:49-52; 18:14) – "... a remnant of Israel, or the new people, the church". In reality, however, Caiaphas can only be referring to the people on whose behalf he speaks – the Jewish nation (*cf.* 11:45; 12:11).² Granskou is stumped by this together with the fact that guilt is fixed upon οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι at the trial before Pilate – "A strange combination of anti-Judaism and soteriology!" But that is because he too equates οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with the entire Jewish nation.³ Strange indeed! Nowhere is John more pro-Jewish: the most important Jewish figurehead prophesies the salvation of his own people through the death of Jesus.⁴

Hickling and Townsend see the Gospel's pro-Jewish passages as vestigial remains of earlier developments.⁵ Von Wahlde, on the other hand, sets aside the references to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι he calls "neutral" (*e.g.*, 10:19; 11:54; 18:20,21), those that refer to 'ordinary' Jews (*e.g.*, 12:9-11), and 8:31 as "the work of a redactor" – more than half the total number – in order to concentrate on "the typically Johannine use", where οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are Jesus' enemies.⁶ But it is not as if parts of the Gospel can be discounted – as though the fact that John may take them over from earlier tradition

AJBI 8 (1982), 162-216, here 190; W. Wiefel, "Die Scheidung von Gemeinde und Welt im Johannesevangelium auf dem Hintergrund der Trennung von Kirche und Synagoge", *TZ* 35 (1979), 213-227, here 220-224; Painter, *Quest*, 101; Culpepper, "Jews", 280; Gryglewicz, "Pharisäer", 150-152; Hahn, "Juden"; Hickling, "Attitudes"; Townsend, "John", 79-81; Wengst, *Gemeinde*, 45-47.

¹ Ashton, *Understanding*, 131.

² *λαός* is juxtaposed to ἔθνος in 11:50; and in the LXX it nearly always refers to Israel. See H. Strathmann, *Λαός*, *TDNT* 4, 34-35; R. Meyer, ὄχλος, *TDNT* 5, 586-590.

³ Granskou, "Anti-Judaism", 208, 214; *cf.* McHugh, "Life", 156.

⁴ T.B. Cargal, "His Blood be Upon Us and Upon our Children: A Matthean Double Entendre?", *NTS* 37 (1991), 101-112, here 110-112, suggests a similar irony for Mt 27:25. That is to say, echoing Dt 21:8 Matthew intends a play on his other reference to αἷμα (26:28), implying hope for the forgiveness for ὁ λαός. *Cf.* Dunn's comment on Mt 27:64 ("Question", 208). In broader terms, it is intriguing that the equally Jewish Matthew's Gospel uses language that, once divorced from its Jewish context, can sound disturbingly antisemitic. It is as if standing within a people group gives the writer liberty to say things about their own people that would not be given to an 'outsider'.

⁵ *Cf.* Vouga, *cadre*, 50; Hahn, "Juden", 430; Nicol, *Semeia*, 144; Rebell, *Gemeinde*, 108f.

⁶ Von Wahlde, "Jews", 36-37, 46. Those he dismisses as "neutral" also include those that Dodd, *Interpretation*, esp. 352-353, cites as being unusually positive: 11:19,31,33,36,45. *Cf.* Culpepper, "Jews", 276-280; Ashton, "Identity", 49. Dunn, "Question", 188-193, accuses Lukan scholars of similarly 'weighting' the evidence; *cf.* M. Salmon, "Insider or Outsider? Luke's Relationship with Judaism", in J.B. Tyson (ed.), *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People* (London: SCM, 1988), 76-82.

makes them less ‘Johannine’. Dunn puts it well: “An out-and-out anti-semitic would hardly leave such references in his final version”.¹ These ‘vestigial remains’ are warp and woof of the Gospel, and at least reflect what John *wants* to be true. Even Martyn concedes, “Yet the Conversation Continues”,² while McHugh (who also puts the Gospel ‘post-parting’) recognizes that “in chapter 7-11, where the debate is at its most heated, the evangelist continually reminds the reader that during the preaching of Jesus, the Jews of the day were divided, and many believed in him”.³

The question becomes, then: if οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as “the quintessential expression of unbelief”⁴ are not the Jewish people *in toto*, who are they?

Sometimes they comprise Jews from the south, ἡ Ἰουδαία. Lowe, who makes a thorough semantic analysis of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι throughout the New Testament, uses this to argue that “the Jews” is a “total mistranslation” of John’s usage: since the same parallel must exist between Judea / Judeans as between Galilee / Galileans, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι should always be translated “the Judeans”. So 7:13 and the like refer to the “fear of the Judeans” – “evidently Judeans were more fearsome” than Galileans! Lowe thereby obviates any anti-*Jewish* polemic – the phrase is “at the most anti-*Judean*”.⁵

Fortna too sees the relationship between Ἰουδαία and Ἰουδαῖοι as indicating John’s intent, but he views that relationship as theological rather than geographical: Judea is a “microcosm of humanity hostile to God’s Revelation”, and as such “is the place of “the Jews” and symbolizes the mentality, the response to God’s truth, which they represent”.⁶ He avoids Lowe’s exchanging of theological antisemitism for what amounts to a more bizarre, primitive, racial antisemitism, arguing that the translation “Jewry” reflects John’s intention better than “Judeans”. Yet in so doing, he returns to the traditional position: John stands outside Jewry and castigates it *en bloc*.

¹ Dunn, “Question”, 197.

² This is one of the chapter titles in Martyn, *History* (90-100).

³ McHugh, “Life”, 158. He thus feels unable to call the Gospel “polemically anti-Jewish”.

⁴ Fuller, “Jews”, 36.

⁵ Lowe, “IOYDAIOI?”, 102, 122, 128, 130 n. 88. See Wengst, *Gemeinde*, 39f., for the weaknesses in Lowe’s argument; cf. Ashton, *Understanding*, 134; Leibig, “John”, 229.

⁶ Fortna, “Locale”, 92-93. Cf. Bassler, “Galileans”, 250: “Galilee is the land of acceptance, refuge, and belief in Jesus, while Judea is the land of rejection, hostility, and disbelief”; Meeks, “Breaking”, 96f.

Either way, the ‘southern’ association is not valid. John *does* associate οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with the south of the country and Jerusalem – especially when he contrasts them with, say, Samaritans or Galileans. While Jesus’ homeland is Judea and Jerusalem, he has a better reception in Galilee (4:43f.); indeed, it is his real home (1:46). When he first visits Jerusalem, Jesus does not trust himself to the people there because he knows what is in the heart of humanity (2:24-25). He performs his first sign, with his first positive, results in Galilee. And in what is at best an ambivalent setting, Jews out of Jerusalem come to question the Baptist (1:19ff.). Yet this is not the full story.

Unbelief in Galilee too is attributed to Ἰουδαῖοι (6:36,41-59). Indeed, in Jn 7 – 10 no-one from Galilee ever intervenes on behalf of Jesus (unlike in the Synoptics, he even travels back to Jerusalem unaccompanied by any disciples; *cf.* 7:10), only Nicodemus (7:50-52). Conversely, Jesus and his disciples can go into Judea with no problem (3:22ff.). While Judea is a place of mortal danger (7:1; 11:8), it still provides sympathetic listeners (7:3,12ff.,40f.,49; 11:45) – it even provides believers (12:11), many of whom live in Jerusalem (2:23).

John in fact makes much of Jerusalem. There is an *inclusio* between 5:24,25-29, where Jesus offers to raise the (spiritually) dead in Jerusalem, and the raising of Lazarus, which proves the veracity of Jesus’ offer. He has the healings in 5:1-15 and 9:1-7 take place in Jerusalem rather than in Jericho or elsewhere (*cf.* Mk 2:1-12; 3:1-6; 9:46-52, *pars.*), and draws attention to their value: seven times the cripple is said to be made “healthy” (5:4,6,9,11,14,15; 7:23), the seventh time, ἐμοὶ χολᾶτε ὅτι ὄλον ἄνθρωπον ὑγιῆ ἐποίησα ἐν σαββάτῳ; and seven times the blind man’s eyes are said to be opened (9:10,14,17,21,26,30,32). Indeed, it may be that John is illustrating two things in turn here: first, that Jesus offers divine protection for Zion (Is 8:6 – this is the only Old Testament reference to Siloam); second, that God’s promise to open the eyes of the blind when he comes to Zion is now fulfilled (Is 35:4-5,10).¹

Sometimes οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι comprise various social and historical groups – not least the Jewish authorities. Those of 2:18ff., who question the cleansing of the Temple

¹ McHugh, “Life”, esp. 135, 147, 154.

and do not understand Jesus, are contrasted with πολλοὶ (v. 23) who believe in his signs. They take the place of the Pharisees and scribes in the Synoptic conflict stories who castigate Jesus for healing on the Sabbath (5:10,15,16). They are the authorities and people around Jerusalem (11:19ff.). And in the Passion Narrative, they seem to be mainly the authorities such as chief priests (18:12,14,31,36; 19:7,12,14,31).

Because of this, Brown represents a number of scholars when he writes, “the Jews’ of [John’s] own time are the spiritual descendants of the Jewish authorities who were hostile to Jesus during the ministry”.¹ Others have argued that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are a party within Judaism, the supremely religious. Proposed as far back as 1914 by Lütgert, supported by Bornhäuser, spoken of warmly by Bultmann, and reaffirmed by Jocz (who maintained that it was the view of the majority of *Jewish* scholars at the time), this has since been supported, with different nuances, by Blank, Reim, Meeks and Freyne.² Ashton also has switched allegiance to it: essentially οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are the post-70 CE sages of Yavneh, who drop the title “Pharisee” yet seek to reinforce the same piety as their forebears even though the Temple cultus is gone.³

These identifications, however (despite von Wahlde’s best attempts), like the locational one are invalid. True, what quite often begin as οἱ φαρισαῖοι change to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as the hostility increases (*cf.* 7:32 & 7:35; *cf.* 8:13 & 8:22ff.; *cf.* 9:13 & 9:18ff.; *cf.* 11:45-53 & 18:14); but as much as anything this shows that John extends the condemnation *beyond* the religious authorities.⁴ Conversely, the ultimately believing Nicodemus is the archetypal, Torah-observant, Jewish authority figure (3:1; 7:50;

¹ Brown, *John*, lxxi-lxxii; *idem*, *Community*, 41. *Cf.* Schnackenburg, *John* I, 165-166; Crossan, “Anti-Semitism”, 193, 199; G.R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC 36; Waco: Word, 1987), lxxxix; *idem*, *Word Biblical Themes. John* (Dallas, etc.: Word, 1989), 10; Dodd, *Historical*, 242 n. 2; von Wahlde, “Jews”, 41f.; Baumbach, “Gemeinde”, esp. 124; Leistner, *Antijudaismus?*, 143; von Wahlde, “Jews”, 50-54; Dunn, “Let”, 318f.; Painter, *Quest*, 101, 249.

² Lütgert, “Juden”, esp. 149; Bornhäuser, *Johannesevangelium*, 19-23, 140f. (he refers to the “Torafanatiker”); J. Jocz, “Die Juden im Johannesevangelium”, *Judaica* 9 (1953), 129-142, here 139; J. Blank, *Krisis. Untersuchungen zur johanneischen Christologie und Eschatologie* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus, 1964), 246-251 (he refers to “die Jerusalemer Kultgemeinde”); Reim, *Studien*, 142f.; Meeks, “Am?”, 182; Freyne, “Vilifying”, 123. M. Smith, *Parties*, 82-98, presents the unbelieving Ἰουδαῖοι as a “Yahweh-alone party”, arguing that a distinction between an exclusivist Yahweh-cult (based in Jerusalem) and a syncretistic one (found in many forms in the Diaspora) typifies the period from the 8th C. BCE to the rise of rabbinic Judaism.

³ Ashton, *Understanding*, *passim*.

⁴ See Fuller, “Jews”, 33.

19:40,42; cf. 12:42). The initial attraction to and belief in Jesus by the amorphous ὄχλος, on the other hand (it tends to gather from Galilee, but sometimes from Jerusalem; the Pharisees and chief priests tend to fear and despise it, while it can fear the authorities; it is sometimes versed and sometimes unversed in the finer points of Jewish law (7:47-49; 12:34)), is matched by its subsequent division and unbelief. Indeed, so uncanny is the resemblance that it too increasingly transmogrifies into οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (cf. 6:1-40 & 6:41-58; cf. 7:12,20,31 & 7:11,15,35; cf. 11:42 & 11:19,36, 12:9), until after 12:34 it appears no more.¹

Other times, the identity of Ἰουδαῖοι is ambiguous. It is impossible to say whether the Jew who has a discussion with the Baptist's disciples over purification (3:25) is from the people, the chief priests or the Pharisees. Those of ch. 5 are merely associated with the Temple (v. 14). In ch. 7 they are Judeans (v. 1), the people (v. 11), the authorities (v. 13), and those who had believed (v. 15); and like the crowd they are puzzled and divided (v. 35). Ch. 8 focuses on the Pharisees; but which Jews are τοὺς πεπιστευκότας (v. 31), who descend from questioning and enquiry to unbelief? Moreover, who are those who read the *titulus* (19:20)? And who is referred to in the expression τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων (19:38; 20:19)?

John's locational and historical referents cannot be ignored – he *does* have a polemic against the majority of the Jewish leadership of both his own and Jesus' day, whose influence would have been greatest in the south.² Yet the fact remains that these points of reference are neither consistent nor exclusive. And this means that, ultimately, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is not locational or historical; rather, it is symbolic.³

¹ Dodd, *Interpretation*, 352-353, retains two separate referents for οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the Book of Signs (Jn 3 – 12): the intransigent authorities, and the ambivalent crowd.

² Cf. Meeks, "Breaking", 96; *idem*, "Am?", 182; Thyen, "Heil", 179f.; A.S. Geysler, "Some salient New Testament passages on the restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel", in J. Lambrecht (ed.), *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (BETL 53; Gembloux & Duculot: Leuven University, 1980), 305-310, here 306; Dodd, *Historical*, 242 n. 2; Granskou, "Anti-Judaism", 211.

³ Granskou, "Anti-Judaism", 209: John's material puts him "in opposition to the leaders of Judaism in particular. Beyond this, his anti-Judaism is theological and symbolic ...". Bassler, "Mixed", 636f.: "... a characteristically Johannine usage emerges in which the term loses its nationalistic meaning and comes to designate unreceptivity – even hostility – toward Jesus". Cf. Ashton, "Identity", 53. Crossan, "Anti-Semitism", 199, notes John's "penchant for symbolism".

Of whom, then, is it symbolic? Leibig is in no doubt: “In replacing the “crowds” of his source with his polemical terminology, “the Jews”, John indicts all the Jewish people – not just the authorities – for their hostility toward Jesus”.¹ Really? John not only goes to greater pains than anyone to make it clear that all the Jewish people are *not* hostile toward Jesus – and that Jesus dies specifically for the Jewish nation – he nowhere as much as hints that those who believe in Jesus should abandon their Jewish faith. They are *forced* to leave the synagogue. So the question remains.

Once John uses τὰ ἴδια of what can only be the Jewish homeland, in 1:11. (In 16:32 and 19:27 it refers to homes of the disciples.) Here its people, οἱ ἴδιοι, those Jews who do not receive the Logos, are paralleled with ὁ κόσμος, which does not know Him.² Bultmann uses this to argue that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is a cipher for ὁ κόσμος – “representatives of unbelief and thereby ... of the unbelieving ‘world’ in general”.³ Bultmann’s argument is significant.

John uses the term ὁ κόσμος 78 times, as compared to the 14 times it occurs in the Synoptics (Mark, 3; Matthew, 8; Luke, 3).⁴ While he can use it of *tout le monde* (3:16-17) or of the created order (18:36), its overriding use is negative. It is the realm of unbelief (12:31) and darkness (14:30); its head is the devil, the prince of the world (16:11); it hates Jesus (15:18-19) and his disciples (17:14-16); it does not know him (1:10) or the Father (17:25); it is glad when he departs (16:20); and it is overcome by him (16:33). In this sense it represents *people who do not believe in Jesus*.⁵

¹ Leibig, “John”, 214.

² Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 203, confuses the issue by taking τὰ ἴδια to mean the Jewish people, concluding that οἱ ἴδιοι includes the disciples.

³ Bultmann, *John*, 86 (cf. 56); *idem*, *Theology II*, 5. This argument has been highly influential. Cf. G.A.F. Knight, “Antisemitism in the Fourth Gospel”, *RTR* 27 (1968), 81-88, here 85f.; F. Hahn, “Der Prozeß Jesu nach dem Johannesevangelium: eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung”, in *EKKNT Vorarbeiten Heft 2* (Kürich: Benziger, Neukirchener 1970), 23-96, here 79; Y. von Ibuki, *Die Wahrheit im Johannesevangelium* (BBB 39; Bonn: P. Banstein, 1972), 99, 112; H.E. Lona, *Abraham in Johannes 8: Ein Beitrag zur Methodenfrage* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/65; Bern, Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1976), 337; Gräßer, “Polemik”, 89; Dahl, “Johannine”, 128, 135; Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 129; Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 27, 34 n. 64; Wengst, *Gemeinde*, 37-39; Fortna, “Locale”, 92-95; Baumbach, “Gemeinde”, 123; Onuki, *Gemeinde*, 34-37; M.J. Cook, “John”, 267; Leibig, “John”, 215f.; Kysar, *John*, 58; Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 204-205; L. Schenke, “Joh 7-10: Eine dramatische Szene”, *ZNW* 80 (1989), 172-192, here 176.

⁴ Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, 114.

⁵ Cf. Kysar, *Evangelist*, 219, it is a symbol of “human existence in its prideful, rebellious effort to live autonomously”; Bultmann, *John*, 36-37; Barrett, *Gospel*, 161f.; Bratcher, ““Jews””, 401-402; Brown, *Community*, 168. *Contra* H. Sasse, Κόσμος, *TDNT* 3, 894.

The parallel with John's use of the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is evident. While he can also use the latter non-polemically – to refer to the whole Jewish people – in its polemic sense it similarly represents *Jews who do not believe in Jesus* (e.g., 5:16; 7:13; 9:22; 19:38).¹ John sometimes makes the link between the two almost explicit. In 3:16-21 a universal generalization is made out of the Nicodemus dialogue; and οἱ ἄνθρωποι stand in the place of those who are showing signs of loving darkness more than light.² In the farewell discourses, ὁ κόσμος takes the place of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι almost entirely. (In Jn 15 – 16 the two terms are at their most inextricable.) And Jesus answers the High Priest, ἐγὼ παρρησίᾳ λελάληκα τῷ κόσμῳ, that is, ἐν συναγωγῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὅπου πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέρχονται (18:20). The link between οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι and ὁ κόσμος in 1:10-11, then, is deliberate: both refuse to receive Jesus (cf. 15:20).

This reveals the true function of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι within John's polemic usage: it is symbolic specifically of those Jews (of Jesus' and his own time) who reject Jesus as the Messiah. It provides a precise, microcosmic, parallel to ὁ κόσμος – those non-Jews who reject Jesus as God's Son (16:18). The inspiration behind this scripturally-centred polemic, then, is not racial but religious – to be precise, christological. *Its recipients are those Jews who refuse to believe in Jesus as the Messiah.*

The crowd are castigated only after they reject Jesus' words (6:60f.; 8:37f.,52; 10:19-21,31,39). John castigates the Jewish authorities not because they are Jewish, but because they too reject Jesus. Hence they are often portrayed as being in *opposition* to the people in their hatred of Jesus and in their desire to kill him (e.g., 7:46-48). The phrase ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν (7:51; cf. 10:34) is a distancing not from Jews, but from *unbelieving* Jews; it is not a denial of Torah as "our law", but an emphasizing of it as also *your* law, you who reject the Christ even though it bears witness to him.³ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι are children of the devil because they do not obey Jesus or love him

¹ See Meeks, "Am?", 181.

² In this sense, J.N. Suggit, "Nicodemus; the true Jew (Jn 3; 7; 19)", *Neot* 14 (1981), 90-110, esp. 94, is right: Nicodemus here is representative of humanity generally, not just Jews.

³ Dunn's defence of Matthew's similar terminology is identical ("Question", 206). Also see G.D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946), 110-111; R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium* (München: Kaiser, 1966), 28-33; S. Brown, "The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission", *NovT* 22 (1980), 193-221, here 216; Przybylski, "Setting", 193-195.

(8:31,42) – righteous Jews like Abraham do not reject Jesus, but rather rejoice that he has come (8:39,56). The guilt of the Pharisees remains because they *do* reject Jesus (9:41). The double version of the Jewish trials is equally intended to emphasize not their Jewishness but their rejection motif. For the same reason, John stretches Peter’s denial over both trials – exposing Peter’s shame using the very fire by which he warms himself (*cf.* 3:20).

Stibbe is helpful when he presents John’s polemic as being of the “informal satire” genre; yet he slightly misses the point when he identifies its recipients as apostates from the community. ¹ John is not so much concerned with whether or not they once believed – 8:31 certainly refers to such a group, but it is difficult to say the same of, for example, those mentioned in 9:22. Rather, he is concerned with the fact that they do not believe *now*. Dunn too is helpful when he argues that John’s association of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with the Jewish authorities “reflects the claim beginning to be made at that time by the Yavnean authorities to be the only legitimate heirs to pre-70 Judaism”. ² But the real reason for John’s frequent association of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with not just the political and religious authorities, but also with the scribes (and even with the sticklers for the law), is that these were more prone to reject Jesus than others were. Even if every Jew were to reject Jesus – which John more than anyone knows is not the case ³ – this would be incidental.

Indeed, John’s treatment of Peter (*cf.* R.E. Brown’s anti-Petrine motif) shows that ultimately Jesus is separate from *everyone*. Jesus does not trust the people of Jerusalem, because he knows πάντας (2:23-25). The entire world stands condemned without him (3:16), along with ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (12:31). The lack of understanding John associates with Nicodemus (3:9: *cf.* 11:11-16, *etc.*) and the motif of fear he associates with Joseph of Arimathea (19:38) show that despite their religious pedigree these two, like all others (including the Baptist), are “from below”.

¹ Stibbe, *Gospel*, 113-118, 121-125.

² Dunn, “Question”, 199. *Cf.* Martyn, *History*; *idem*, “Am?”, 183; Hickling, “Attitudes”, 347; Freyne, “Vilifying”, 125, 135; D.M. Smith, “Contribution”.

³ *Contra* Leibig, “John”, 215: having agreed that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is a symbol of all who oppose Jesus, she still equates it with the Jewish people “*tout court*”.

Peter provides the final proof that at Jesus' hour of greatest need, *everyone* forsakes him. The whole of humanity, from Pilate through to the disciples – even Jesus' mother and the beloved disciple – leave Jesus and return εἰς τὰ ἴδια (19:27; cf. 1:11; 16:32).¹

John's οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic and its cognates (νόμος ἡμῶν, etc.), moreover, are the stuff of an ostracized community that deems itself *within* the Jewish faith.² Dunn may be right that it was the development of John's Wisdom / Logos christology "which seems to have been the decisive last straw for the Yavnean authorities" – the community is guilty of the "two powers heresy" and of abandoning the unity of God (cf. esp. 5:18; 10:33). Yet John "is still fighting a factional battle within Judaism rather than launching his arrows from without, still a Jew who believed that Jesus was Messiah, Son of God, rather than an anti-semite".³ This is surely reflected in the fact that he also associates οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with Jews who cannot make up their minds what to believe. John's desire for the Jewish people, on whose behalf Jesus died, is that they should believe in Jesus Messiah (cf. 12:11; 20:31).

This is not a radical proposal. Dunn has reaffirmed precisely the same for Galatians, "one of the most polemical documents in all the Bible",⁴ while Johnson is one of several to demonstrate that such internal polemic was typical of the then world over.⁵ But it is different. Our proposal is that John is part not of the "fierce debate" among Christians over "the traditional boundaries marking off Jew from Gentile",⁶ but rather of a similar, equally fierce debate, among *Jews*. John's proclamation of Jesus remained an expression of Jewish monotheism – an integral part of the Jewish effort to speak in new ways of the one God and his revelation to Israel.

¹ John's dualism is so stark that Gräber, "Polemik", 90, sees it as put in service not to antisemitism but to the practical concern of warning the Christian community against "Verweltlichung" generally. Cf. Granskou, "Anti-Judaism", 209; Dunn, "Question", 202.

² *Contra e.g.*, Leibig, "John", 217-221; Meeks, "Man", 67-71; Townsend, "John", 81, 88. In reality many scholars against their better judgement allow for a continuing dialogue, *e.g.*, Barrett, *John*, 65-69; Ashton, "Identity", 74; Beck, *Mature*, 249-251; Freyne, "Vilifying", 128.

³ Dunn, "Question", 201; cf. *idem*, "Let"; Ashton, *Understanding*, esp. 158 n. 80.

⁴ Dunn, "Echoes", 459; cf. *idem*, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993). These works contrast markedly with J.L. Martyn, "Events in Galatia", in J.M. Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 160-179.

⁵ L.T. Johnson, "Slander".

⁶ Dunn, "Echoes", 477.

Such a Jewish ‘in-house’ vitriol is by no means rare. The recently discovered 4Q390 2 i 9-10 comprises a complaint about priestly corruption, which not least had led to the defiling of the Temple.¹ Other Qumran documents contain similar sentiments (cf. CD 4.18; 6.6,11; 8.4,7; 20.23; 1QpHab 8.10,11; 9.5,12; 12.6-9,10). Indeed, as the product of a perfectly Jewish sect that claimed to represent the “true”, “converted”, “spiritual Israel”, over against other Jews – including the Pharisees, those “seekers of smooth things”, and the corrupted, unconverted, Temple leadership, who are equatable with the gentiles as “sons of Belial” (cf. Jn 8:44) – these documents offer a remarkable parallel to the Fourth Gospel.²

Pseudepigraphal writings (cf. *T. Levi* 16:1-2; 17:11; *T. Mos.* 5:4; 7:3-10; PsSol 2:3; 8:12) as well as rabbinic texts (*m. Ker* 1.7; *t. Menah* 13.18-21; *t. Zebah* 11.16-17; *b. Pesah* 57a) offer yet further parallels, not to mention Josephus (*A.* 20.8.8; 20.9.2,4) and Jesus himself (cf. Mk 11 – 14).³ Jn 8:44 specifically finds another parallel in *T. Dan* 5:6 – ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἔστιν – which Thoma describes as “not an antisemitic but inner-Jewish invective”.⁴

It is this setting of the Gospel that is so crucial. John says all he says within a context of intra-Jewish factional dispute, even though the boundaries and definitions of Jewish faith are themselves part of that dispute.⁵ It is not a question of Christ

¹ See PAM 43.506. Cf. Eisenman & Wise, *Uncovered*, 55. For the probability that the Qumran community inherited the document, see Devorah Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha – 4Q390”, in J.T. Barrera & L.V. Montaner (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls – Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 405-447 (+ pl. 25).

² The parallel P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Heiligkeit der Tora: Studien zum Gesetz bei Paulus* (München: Kaiser, 1989), 142, notes between the fierce polemic of CD 1.14-17 (which refers to “the congregation of traitors” and “the Scoffers”) and Ga 1:6-7, equally applies to the Gospel. Cf. Hare, *RelSRev* 2 (1976), 17. Fuller, “Jews”, 33, argues that the hostility reflected in John’s “Baptist source” represents the direct “development of a tradition beginning with Qumran”; cf. Vawter, “Gospels?”, 482.

³ See C.A. Evans, “Jesus’ Action in the Temple and Evidence of Corruption in the First-Century Temple” (SBLSP 28; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 522-539; *idem*, “Opposition to the Temple: Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus*, 235-253.

⁴ Thoma, *Christian*, 157. Cf. Meeks’s well-known aphorism, “the Fourth Gospel is most anti-Jewish just at the points it is most Jewish” (“Am?”, 172). It could be added: the Fourth Gospel is most Jewish just at the points it is most ‘Christian’.

⁵ The same issue applies to Matthew’s Gospel. Placing it outside the Jewish faith (so G.N. Stanton, “The Origin and Purpose of Matthew’s Gospel. Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980”, *ANRW* II.25.3 [1985], 1890-1951, here 1910-1921) results in “strong evidence of gentilizing anti-Judaism” (Hare, “Rejection”, 38) or “pronounced anti-Judaism” (Buck, “Sentiments”, 179); while if Matthew speaks as an “insider” (Freyne, “Vilifying”, 140), there are “no anti-Semitic overtones” whatsoever (Przybylski, “Setting”, 198-199; cf. J.A. Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism. The Social World of the Matthean Community* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], esp. 141-161; Dunn, “Question”, 210).

against ‘Judaism’, but Christ within ‘Judaism’ – Christ as the climax of the heritage enshrined in the Jewish scriptures. Ruether misses the point. John’s rhetoric is the desperate language of a community pleading with its countryfolk to accept the Messiah. However antisemitic such language would become in non-Jewish hands is an altogether separate issue.

Why the term?

Why, then, does John use the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as opposed to another term? Leistner’s suggestion – that it is little more than a “curious choice” to designate the now defunct Sadducean leadership that were responsible for Jesus’ death ¹ – is simply untenable. The same is true of the suggestion that it is intended to obliterate “virtually all distinctions within first century Palestinian society”. ² Far from obliterating such distinctions, John mentions priests and Levites, Pharisees, disciples, rulers, Samaritans, Galileans, a “royal official”, the crowd, Jerusalemites and chief priests. Townsend’s half suggestion – that it is an example of the gentile practice of “lumping together” Jesus’ opponents – ³ requires what we reject, a non-Jewish setting. And R.E. Brown’s suggestion – that John may borrow the term “from the Samaritans on whose lips (as non-Jews) it would have been quite natural” ⁴ – is hypothetical and unnecessary. A much simpler explanation is available.

For sure, John’s use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι is more than an unreflective or spontaneous choice – it is the direct result of an intended polemic. Not one that “inflicts indiscriminate hostility upon the Jewish people”: ⁵ as Ashton puts it, this view “overlooks the peculiarly Jewish character of the evangelist’s own ideas”, which

¹ See Hare, *RelSRev* 2 (1976), 19.

² Fortna, “Locale”, 90; cf. Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 128f.; Rebell, *Gemeinde*, 100f.; Wengst, *Gemeinde*, 37f.; Gräßer, “Polemik”, 76; *idem*, “Die Juden als Teufelssöhne in Johannes 8:37-47”, in Eckardt *et al* (eds.) *Antijudaismus?*, 157-170, here 161 n. 15; Pancaro, *Law*, 293f.; W. Wittenberger, “Judenpolemik und Liebes-Gebot im Johannesevangelium”, *Die Zeichen der Zeit* 27 (1973), 321-328, here 324-325; R.A. Whitacre, *Johannine Polemic: the Role of Tradition and Theology* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1982), 20; Bassler, “Galileans”, 243f.; Leibig, “John”, 215.

³ Townsend, “John”, 80-81. Cf. Barrett, *John*, 70; J.R. Michaels, “Alleged Anti-Semitism in the Fourth Gospel”, *Gordon Review* 11.1 (1968), 12-24, here 14; Shepherd, “Jews”, 96f.; Vawter, “Gospels?”, 479.

⁴ Brown, *Community*, 166.

⁵ Leibig, “John”, 216.

demands that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι be less than “the Jewish nation as a whole”.¹ Rather, the intended polemic singles out Jewish unbelief. *John uses οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι because the Jewish identity of its members is what distinguishes them from ὁ κόσμος.*²

But why is John so preoccupied with this term (though he uses ὁ κόσμος more often) – surely this suggests “a special anti-Jewish cast to this problem of unbelief”?³ Not at all. John is preoccupied with it because οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, while they reject the fulfilment of God’s covenant, are his (and Jesus’) own people. Far from it being evidence of his antisemitism, it is the ultimate expression of his pro-semitism! John is concerned with “the condition of the human heart”;⁴ but he is more concerned that his own people should accept their Messiah (*cf.* Ro 10:1). Indeed, being Jewish is a positive advantage – not just pragmatically (John’s messianic presentation is Jewish) but in principle (God’s plan of salvation is ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων). Jews are those most directly affected by the Temple destruction, those most concerned with the Law, those most familiar with ‘midrashic discussion’ – in short, those the Gospel is most directed to!⁵

The ‘no-longer-Jewish’ reading of the Gospel has produced various exegeses of Jn 8:30-59. McHugh has a break after v. 36, so that vv. 37-47 can be “addressed to Judaism in general” while vv. 48-59 are addressed again to Jewish Christians – “[Jesus] is asking them whether they wish to be Jews or Christians”.⁶ Lindars represents more scholars than just Dodd and Brown when he argues that, despite the lack of textual evidence, πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ in v. 31 should be excised completely.⁷ Yet the reference to Abraham and the use of Gn 21 in vv. 31-37 (which “offre un vocabulaire et un style incontestablement johanniques”⁸), together with the overtly

¹ Ashton, *Understanding*, 136.

² Many miss this distinction. Koenig, *Jews*, 129: “the Jews’ becomes a shibboleth which usually means nothing other than ‘unbelievers’ and ‘enemies of God’”; Ashton, “Identity”, 53, 59f.: οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι *ad sensum* means “representatives of unbelief”; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Revealed Wisdom as a criterion for inclusion and exclusion: from Jewish sectarianism to early Christianity”, in Neusner and Frerichs (eds.), *Ourselves*, 73-91, esp. 83.

³ Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 204.

⁴ Fortna, “Locale”, 94.

⁵ It is only later on that John has οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι contribute a pejorative force *to* its context rather than *from* it (*e.g.*, 19:7,38). Indeed, Leistner, *Antijudaismus?*, 143-145, rightly urges that the extent of John’s οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic should not be overestimated; *cf.* Carson, “Purpose”, 648.

⁶ McHugh, “Life”, 143, 144.

⁷ Lindars, *John*, 323. *Cf.* Dodd, *More*, ch. 4; Brown, *John I*, 354-355, 362-363.

⁸ Boismard *et al.*, *Synopse 3*, §261.

and peculiarly Jewish progression of Abrahamic motifs in vv. 39-59, help to rehabilitate the passage. This example of “the fiercest form of pastoral love” is a genuine overture to Jews *qua* Jews to believe in Jesus Christ.¹

Granskou relegates John’s Jewish motifs to “symbols of a remnant theology”, because he presumes a ‘post-parting’ Gospel.² Yet when John’s “remnant” and “widening” theologies – which Granskou appreciates more than most – are seen in a ‘pre-parting’ setting, they become no mere aberration but rather an articulation of John’s pro-Jewish sentiment. The notion Ruether made popular, that a Jew could not possibly entertain the thought that the Messiah had come while his people remained physically unredeemed,³ is fatally flawed – all agree that originally it was exclusively Jewish! Besides, a proper view of John’s eschatology suggests that John *does* expect Jesus to do what Messiahs do – return and liberate righteous Jews, those who accept him as Messiah (*cf.* 10:16; 21:22-23). After all, such notions are mooted in the Apocalypse, while Paul positively entertains them (Ro 9 – 11).

In the climax to the Gospel, the Passion Narrative, John’s Jewish overtures blossom fully. On the one hand, he alone implicates non-Jews in Jesus’ arrest (18:3,12). He also draws attention away from the Jewish trials by making them more private than those in the Synoptics (as would have been the case), the reported questioning briefer, the mistreatment of Jesus more subdued, and the handing on to Pilate less formal.⁴ Indeed, Granskou notes that these trials are more ‘High Priestly’ than Jewish – it is the High Priest who questions Jesus, and it is his cronies who say they have no king but Caesar and crucify Jesus (19:15,16).⁵

¹ Stibbe, *Gospel*, 129-131, here 130. Also see Motyer, *John 8:31-59*, 188-243.

² Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 208.

³ Ruether, *Fratricide, e.g.*, 247. *Cf.* Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 131; Leibig, “John”, 222. Leibig insists (221) that “the hermeneutical principle that ... only through Christ is there access to the Father” precludes all Jews who still observe the Jewish faith from belonging to the community. But this simply does not square with the exclusively Johannine presentations of Nathaniel, Nicodemus, and even Joseph of Arimathea.

⁴ D. Flusser, “What was the original meaning of Ecce Homo?”, *Immanuel* 19 (1984-85), 30-40, suggests that John presents Pilate as taking part in the mockery of Jesus in 19:1-3, using an anti-Roman, pro-nationalist, Jewish-Christian source that has the Romans as the real villains.

⁵ Granskou, “Anti-Judaism”, 214-215; *cf.* Dunn, “Question”, 199.

On the other hand, Jesus' Jewish family wait by the cross in stark, perhaps scriptural, contrast to the unbelieving gentile soldiers (19:25f.).¹ Schnackenburg has Jesus' waiting mother represent faithful Israel awaiting the Messiah and recognizing him even in the crucified one. He concludes, "Despite all polemic against unbelieving Judaism, there is also an unmistakable striving in John's Gospel after that part of the ancient people of God which is receptive in its beliefs".² Someone who can only be a Jew provides the ultimate witness to the crucifixion, by quoting Jewish scripture (19:33-37).³ And one cannot help but reiterate that the final act in this climatic drama is by two Jews (one of them a Pharisee) who bury the body of Jesus, following Jewish burial customs and in compliance with Jewish Sabbath observance law.

How should we treat it?

Many attempts have been made to exonerate the "antisemitic potential"⁴ of John's polemic against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Biblical language is often exaggerated and absolute (*cf.* Mal 1:3); and Stibbe's presentation of John's polemic as "informal satire" is but one example of how John's polemic has been explained in terms of this semitic relative-absolute or totality thinking.⁵ It has also been excused as "the unfortunate outgrowth of historical circumstances" – more the expression than the catalyst of the antagonism between community and synagogue.⁶

These arguments are valuable. John as much as anyone is a child of his time and the victim of contingency, the prime mover of historical developments he can only be unaware of. Yet he cannot be absolved of responsibility for terminology and sentiment he alone among early Christian writers uses. He, arguably more than the Synoptists, is in command of his material and conveys the greatest stamp of catholicity, unflinching direction and non-comprise. All he writes is the result of

¹ Lindars, *John*, 578, implies that the scripture John presents this as the fulfilment of is Ps 38:12 (*cf.* Lk 23:49). If this is so, the LXX (Ps 37:12) suits John better.

² Schnackenburg, *John III*, 278.

³ Granskou, "Anti-Judaism", 215, suggests that he may be Joseph or Nicodemus.

⁴ Leibig, "John", 224.

⁵ *Cf.* Vawter, "Gospels?", 480.

⁶ Townsend, "John", 88. *Cf.* Idinopulos & Ward, "Christology?", 200ff.; Martyn, "Glimpses", 162; Meeks, "Man", 71.

deliberate policy. And it is not enough to say that since he uses οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι as a microcosm of the whole sinful world, it represents not Jewish people but a typical failure of humanity to accept Christ. Leibig is right: this “reveals a somewhat unsophisticated understanding of symbol” – John has in fact constructed a specifically Jewish exemplar of unbelief.¹

Thus many scholars castigate John, invariably for putting into a non-Jewish setting what was originally Jewish. Fuller laments the fact that the “redactor did not remove all the Evangelist’s hostile references to οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. For transplanted into a new *Sitz im Leben* they acquired potentiality for a meaning which the Evangelist had never and could never have intended, since he was writing for a Jewish Christian community – the meaning of anti-Semitism”.² It is this we contest. John’s Jewish setting means precisely that his use of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι does *not* constitute the “symbolic demonization of a people”.³ Rather, it raises what John deems the main issue to centre stage: those Jews who reject Jesus as the Messiah are already judged, those who accept him already have eternal life. Absolute, exclusive, harsh – certainly – but it is not antisemitic.

Even so, things cannot be left here. Crossan understates the case when he notes that the term “might well be a root of anti-Semitism in the Christian subconscious”.⁴ It has provided the scapegoat for others’ wickedness, not least within the Christian community. And it has produced the most damnable *Judenhass*, a “theological vendetta” erupting “again and again throughout history, legitimating and even generating racial hatred of the Jewish people”.⁵ What, then, can be done to prevent this?

Two traditional suggestions exist. One is expurgation.⁶ To expurgate John’s polemic against οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι from the Gospel, however, is effectively to exclude the

¹ Leibig, “John”, 225. Cf. Townsend, “John”, 79; Lowry, “Rejected-Suitor”, 229-230: “Let one cite every extenuation one can think of, and even stand on one’s head and say that when the Gospel of John speaks of the inveterate wickedness of “the Jews”, it only means “the Jews” as a symbol for “all human beings” or “human nature”; the fact remains, no matter what John “means”, what it says is “the Jews””.

² Fuller, “Jews”, 36. Cf. Eckardt, “Nemesis”, 232; Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 101; Epp, “Anti-Semitism”, 44, 49-50; Baum in Ruether, *Fratricide*, 8, 14.

³ Leibig, “John”, 226. Cf. Ruether, *Fratricide*, 116; Lowry, “Rejected-Suitor”, 230.

⁴ Crossan, “Anti-Semitism”, 199.

⁵ Leibig, “John”, 223. Cf. Cohn-Sherbok, *Crucified*, 24.

⁶ E.g., Willis, “Outrage”, 992; Gaston, “Messiah”, 95.

Gospel from the canon of Christian scripture. And it does not begin to eradicate the mark John's polemic has left on the western post-Christian psyche. Epp is in no doubt: "Such a solution could succeed no better than the abortive attempt by the Christian heretic, Marcion ... to eliminate ... all pro-Jewish portions from the Gospel of Luke and the ten letters of Paul".¹

The other, which is more generally preferred, is retranslation. Lowe suggests that when it is intended polemically, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι should be translated as "Judeans". Fuller is somewhat open to this notion, while Meeks considers that it can apply on occasions.² Young asks the rhetorical question, "Might it not be expedient to allegorize 'the Jews' in John's Gospel ...?"³ Indeed, *The New Testament and the Psalms: an Inclusive Version* does just that.⁴ Yet it remains that such retranslations are inaccurate, they inevitably miss the subtleties of the text, and those of the Lowe variety merely substitute a more primitive ethnic polemic.⁵ Ultimately all such attempts fail because of what they are – re-translations. Vawter puts it well: "I know of no convincing way of translating John's Ἰουδαῖοι except 'Jews' whatever the context the word has in the text".⁶ Moreover they ignore the basic issue – John's polemic intent. To this extent they are *non-consciousness-raising*.

Nevertheless, while John's "antisemitic potential" should not be obscured, it needs to be prevented. Shocked that the translators of the *New English Bible* could believe that the New Testament writers intended to "perpetuate anti-Jewish propaganda", Epstein forces the Jewish setting of the Gospel into the translation: his rendering of Jn 7:1,13 reads: "After these things Jesus *the Jew* walked in Galilee; for he would not

¹ Epp, "Anti-Semitism", 55. Cf. Vawter, "Gospels?", 486; Fuller, "Jews", 37; Lowry, "Rejected-Suitor", 231; Dunn, "Question", 211.

² Lowe, "ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ?", esp. 128ff.; Fuller, "Jews", 37 n. 34; Meeks, "Am?", 182.

³ F. Young, "Allegory and the Ethics of Reading", in F. Watson (ed.), *The Open Text. New Directions to Biblical Studies?* (London: SCM, 1993), 103-120, here 108.

⁴ *The New Testament and the Psalms: an Inclusive Version* (New York: OUP, 1995). The *Revised Standard Version* similarly attempts to avoid any suggestion of antisemitism in Re 1:7, for example; and J.D.G. Dunn is in the process of editing a version of the New Testament that also seeks to excise all antisemitic tendencies.

⁵ See Brown, *Community*, 41, on Lowe, and Stibbe, *Gospel*, 109, on Young.

⁶ Vawter, "Gospels?", 477.

walk in *Judea*, because the *High Priests* sought to kill him ... Howbeit no man spoke openly of him for fear of the *High Priests*".¹

In this respect Epstein's attempt holds something of a key. The Western mind needs reminding of the thoroughly Jewish character of John's οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι polemic. Only this will prevent it receiving an antisemitic interpretation.

The way forward

Our thesis does not face a unanimous opposition. While most Johannine scholars consider the Gospel to be anti-Jewish, few agree concerning the precise nature of this anti-Jewishness – not least over whether it is anti-Judaism or antisemitism. This is hardly a matter of “technical distinctions between the various levels of anti-Jewish attitudes manifested throughout history”.² The difference is fundamental. Anti-Judaism is a “purely theological reality ... which rejects Judaism as a way of Salvation but not Jews as a people”.³ While many discern the former in John's Gospel, not so many are prepared to discern the latter.

Idinopulos and Ward contend that Christianity cannot be inherently antisemitic, since the “theological turning point” of anti-Judaism to antisemitism came only in the second century. They instead reduce John's polemic to historical and political factors, which were not catalytic for later legitimizations of Christian antisemitism.⁴ Sandmel concedes that it is “technically” wrong to use “antisemitic” in connection with any New Testament writing, since the term arose only in the nineteenth century as a “result of a mingling of notions about race and nationalism”.⁵ Others argue that ancient antisemitism was a purely pagan phenomenon, and that the Church imbibed it only as it gained pagan converts.

¹ Epstein, “Roots”, 700, 713. His contribution to the *Authorized Version* is in italics.

² Leibig, “John”, 226.

³ Flannery, *Anguish*, 60. That it constitutes “fair and irenic polemics” (*idem*, “Anti-Judaism”, 583), however, is more wishful thinking.

⁴ Idinopulos & Ward, “Christianity?”

⁵ Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, xix-xx.

None of these contentions are persuasive. While anti-Judaism and antisemitism are distinct, the anti-Judaite is surely susceptible to a unique brand of antisemitism; as Sandmel knows, that the term “antisemitic” is modern terminology is a red herring – he deliberately uses it throughout his book in reference to the Gospels;¹ and the retort that ancient antisemitism was purely pagan merely begs the question. Nevertheless, scholars remain divided over which one the Gospel’s polemic is directed against – the Jewish faith or the Jewish race.

Moreover, those who argue for the latter are generally reluctant to admit the fact. Pawlikowski will not quite commit himself, concluding merely that the anti-Judaic stance of the Gospel “comes very close to a contemptuous attitude that must be branded as anti-Semitism”.² Epp remains cautious: “it is difficult to apply to the Fourth Gospel’s anti-Jewish attitudes and to their distinct impact upon the reader any other term than ‘anti-Semitic’”.³ Ruether is unhappy to revert to a simple ‘antisemitic’ appellation for John’s “theological turn”, but prefers further nuance. In her earlier days, at least, she used the term “theological anti-semitism” – John demonizes οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι “not racially but religiously”.⁴ Leibig adopts “theological Anti-semitism”, since “a term is needed which distinguishes John’s anti-Jewish trends both from the later racial Antisemitism and from the milder “anti-Judaic” attitude”.⁵

Yet few deny that the Gospel contains the New Testament’s most virulent anti-Jewish language. In this respect, our contention is a lone voice: that John is writing to bolster his Jewish community’s faith in Jesus Messiah, and to give them the wherewithal to answer – and even persuade – their Jewish neighbours. This contention demands that any term which implies that the Gospel’s vitriol is in any way “antisemitic” or “anti-Judaic” is inappropriate – just as much as it is inappropriate to

¹ Leibig, “John”, 226: “While it is “technically” wrong to apply “antisemitic” to the Gospel of John, it certainly is not “technically” correct to revert to “anti-Judaic” language”. Cf. Dunn, “Question”, 179.

² Pawlikowski, *Challenge*, 26-27. Cf. *idem*, “Historicizing”, 155, in which (much under Ruether’s prompting) he accepts that the Gospel is anti-Jewish.

³ Epp, “Anti-Semitism”, 49, cf. 35ff.

⁴ Ruether, *Fratricide*, 23ff.; *idem*, “Problems”, 249. She uses the term in *idem*, “Anti-Semitism”; but in *Fratricide* she abandons it, though not its content. Cf. Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism?*, 5ff.; Hare, *RelSRev* 2 (1976), 15-16.

⁵ Leibig, “John”, 226-227.

describe in this way the vitriol of the Psalms of Solomon directed towards the Sadducean priesthood, or that of the Qumran covenanters directed towards the Jerusalem Temple authorities. The appropriate term is “intra-Jewish polemic” – “criticism by Jews who have come to believe in Jesus as Messiah of their fellow Jews who have failed so to believe”.¹

This, of course, does not alter the fact that when it is ripped out of its Jewish setting the Fourth Gospel becomes rabidly antisemitic. This has enabled it to serve “as the basis for Christian persecution of the Jews through the centuries”;² and Epp does well to fear this “red-hot spear ... which not only has pierced the side of the Lord of the Church but now seems menacing also to the *Gentile* reader ...”.³

For this process to be reversed, John’s Gospel must be returned to its Jewish setting.⁴ It is our conviction and prayer that a more accurate and thorough appreciation of John’s use of the Old Testament will ensure that this return is completed.

¹ Dunn, “Question”, 181. This, however, is Dunn’s definition of Hare’s middle category of “Jewish-Christian anti-Judaism”!

² Cohn-Sherbok, *Crucified*, 24.

³ Epp, “Anti-Semitism”, 41 (italics mine). Dunn, “Question”, 203: “removed from its context ... [John’s Gospel] was all too easily read as an anti-Jewish polemic and became a tool of anti-semitism”.

⁴ Cf. Koenig, *Jews*, 131; Fuller, “Jews”, 37; Epp, “Anti-Semitism”, 52; Brown, “Passion”, 131; Willis, “Outrage”, 991; Kysar, “Anti-Semitism”, 125; Leibig, “John”, 231; Dunn, “Question”, 211.

Appendix I. Old Testament quotations in the Synoptics

Matthew

1:23a - Is 7:14	10:35-36 - Mic 7:6	21:9 - Ps 118:25-26
1:23b - Is 8:8,10	11:10 - Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a	21:13a - Is 56:7
2:6 - Mic 5:1; 2 Sm 5:2	12:7 - Ho 6:6	21:13b - Jr 7:11
2:15 - Ho 11:1	12:18-21 - Is 42:1-4	21:16 - Ps 8:3
2:18 - Jr 31:15	12:40 - Jon 2:1	21:42 - Ps 118:22-23
3:3 - Is 40:3	13:13 - Is 6:9	22:24 - Dt 25:5,7
4:4 - Dt 8:3	13:14-15 - Is 6:9-10	22:32 - Ex 3:6,15
4:6 - Ps 91:11-12	13:35 - Ps 78:2	22:37 - Dt 6:5
4:7 - Dt 6:16	15:4a - Ex 20:12 / Dt 5:16	22:39 - Lv 19:18
4:10 - Dt 6:13	15:4b - Ex 21:17	22:44 - Ps 110:1
4:15-16 - Is 8:23 – 9:1	15:8-9 - Is 29:13	23:39 - Ps 118:26
5:21 - Ex 20:13 / Dt 5:17	18:16 - Dt 19:15	24:15 - Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11
5:27 - Ex 20:14 / Dt 5:18	19:4 - Gn 1:27 / 5:2	24:30 - Dn 7:13
5:31 - Dt 24:1	19:5 - Gn 2:24	26:31 - Zch 13:7
5:33 - Lv 19:12 / Nu 30:3	19:7 - Dt 24:1	26:64a - Ps 110:1
5:38 - Ex 21:24 / Lv 24:20 / Dt 19:21	19:18-19a - Ex 20:12-16 / Dt 5:16-20	26:64b - Dn 7:13
5:43 - Lv 19:18	19:19b - Lv 19:18	27:9-10 - Jr 18:2-3 / Zch 11:12-13
8:17 - Is 53:4	21:5 - Is 62:11 / Zch 9:9	27:46 - Ps 22:2
9:13 - Ho 6:6		

Mark

1:2-3 - Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a; Is 40:3	11:9-10 - Ps 118:25-26	12:33b - Lv 19:18
4:12 - Is 6:9-10	11:17a - Is 56:7	12:36 - Ps 110:1
7:6-7 - Is 29:13	11:17b - Jr 7:11	13:14 - Dn 9:27 / 11:31 / 12:11
7:10a - Ex 20:12 / Dt 5:16	12:10-11 - Ps 118:22-23	13:26 - Dn 7:13
7:10b - Ex 21:17	12:19 - Dt 25:5,7	14:27 - Zch 13:7
10:4 - Dt 24:1,3	12:26 - Ex 3:6,15	14:62a - Ps 110:1
10:6-8 - Gn 1:27 / 5:2; 2:24	12:29-30 - Dt 6:4-5	14:62b - Dn 7:13
10:19 - Ex 20:12-16 / Dt 5:16-20 / Dt 24:14	12:31 - Lv 19:18	15:34 - Ps 22:2
	12:32 - Dt 6:4; Dt 4:35 / Is 45:21	
	12:33a - Dt 6:5	

Luke

2:23 - Ex 13:2,12,15	8:10 - Is 6:9	20:17 - Ps 118:22
2:24 - Lv 12:8	10:27a - Dt 6:5	20:28 - Dt 25:5,7
3:4-6 - Is 40:3-5	10:27b - Lv 19:18	20:37 - Ex 3:6
4:4 - Dt 8:3	13:35 - Ps 118:26	20:42-3 - Ps 110:1
4:8 - Dt 6:13	18:20 - Ex 20:12-16 / Dt 5:16-20	21:27 - Dn 7:13
4:10-11 - Ps 91:11-12	19:38 - Ps 118:26	22:37 - Is 53:12
4:12 - Dt 6:16	19:46a - Is 56:7	22:69 - Ps 110:1
4:18-19 - Is 58:6 / 61:1-2	19:46b - Jr 7:11	23:30 - Ho 10:8
7:27 - Ex 23:20 / Mal 3:1a		23:46 - Ps 31:6

These texts are based on UBS⁴, with a number of additions.¹

¹ Freed exemplifies the danger of over-reliance on UBS, when he bases his argument that Zechariah is rarely quoted in the New Testament on “the list given in the back of Nestle’s Greek

The additions

These comprise eleven Old Testament texts.¹ In reality, this is not as brave a departure from UBS as it might seem. For four texts (Ex 23:20 in Mt 11:10, Mk 1:2, Lk 7:27; Dt 24:14 in Mk 10:19; 2 Sm 5:2 in Mt 2:6; Is 58:6 in Lk 4:18-19), UBS concurs that the quotations are just that and concerning the other texts quoted: it differs simply by having these texts *alluded* to. For four others (Jr 7:11 in Mt 21:13b, Mk 11:17b, Lk 19:46b; Dn 9:27 / 11:31 / 12:11 in Mt 24:11, Mk 13:13), while UBS does not acknowledge any quotation (it does for Mt 21:13a, Mk 11:17a, Lk 19:46a), it again differs simply by having the texts *alluded* to. For two others (Dt 25:7 in Mt 22:24, Mk 12:19, Lk 20:28 [it has Gn 38:8 alluded to]; Jr 18:2-3 in Mt 27:9-10 [it has Jr 32:6-9 alluded to]), it ignores the texts but concurs that the quotations exist and concerning the other texts quoted. Only for one (Is 6:9 in Mt 13:13) does it differ with us totally, acknowledging neither text nor quotation.

For John's Gospel, including Is 35:4 our additions to UBS again comprise eleven Old Testament texts. For five texts (Ex 16:4,15 / Ne 9:15 in Jn 6:31; Ex 12:10 / Ps 34:21 in Jn 19:36), UBS concurs that the quotations are just that and concerning the other texts quoted: it differs by not acknowledging Ex 12:10 & 16:4 at all, and by having the others alluded to. For two others (Mic 5:1 in Jn 7:42; Ps 89:37 in Jn 12:34), while it does not acknowledge any quotation it again differs simply by having the texts alluded to. For two others (Zch 9:9 in Jn 12:13; Is 35:4 in Jn 12:15), it ignores the texts but concurs that the quotations exist and concerning the other texts quoted. For another (Ps 69:22 in Jn 19:28), while it does not acknowledge the quotation it

Testament" (*Quotations*, 125 n. 2). Barrett, "Old Testament", gives his own list of Old Testament texts quoted in the Gospels, which is not identical to that in UBS⁴. The Old Testament Order list in UBS⁴ should read Mt 22:32 as quoting Ex 3:15 and Lk 2:23 as quoting Ex 13:15. UBS follows the Christian rather than the Jewish versification.

¹ UBS separates Mk 1:2 from Mk 1:3; Mk 10:6 from Mk 10:7-8; and Mk 12:32a from Mk 12:32b. Since there is no visible break in these quotations, however – in two not even a conjunction (UBS leaves the *καὶ* in 12:32 in bold) – there seems no reason not to treat them (along with the many others UBS treats as such) as conflates. Mt 3:3 / 11:10 and Lk 3:4-6 / 7:27 separate Mk 1:2 from Mk 1:3, because of the difficulty created by Mark's introductory formula; but this has no bearing on Mark. Nor does the fact that Mt 19:4-5 separates Mk 10:6 from Mk 10:7-8 (using *καὶ εἶπεν*). UBS also seems to separate Mt 12:18-20 from Mt 12:21. Yet here there is no visible break, while UBS agrees that the former quotes Is 42:1-3 and that the latter quotes Is 42:4.

deems the text alluded to in Jn 19:29. Again, then, only for one (Zch 14:8 in Jn 7:37f.) does it differ with us totally, acknowledging neither text nor quotation.

Ex 23:20

As UBS agrees, Mt 11:10, Mk 1:2 and Lk 7:27 are quotations from Mal 3:1a. Dropping the LXX's ἐγώ from the first line, Mark uses ἀποστέλλω for הַנְּבִי שְׁלֵחַ rather than the LXX's ἐξαποστέλλω (which has no special superiority); he follows the Hebrew syntax less than the LXX does, by placing πρὸ προσώπου σου after τὸν ἄγγελόν μου – the LXX places it in the same position as לְפָנַי, after דְּרָךְ (ὁδόν); and he uses κατασκευάσει for the converted perfect הַפְּנִי rather than the LXX's less accurate ἐπιβλέψεται. Finally, while the LXX follows the Hebrew in rendering לְפָנַי with a 1s possessive pronoun (πρὸ προσώπου μου), Mark uses a 2s (πρὸ προσώπου σου), as if the Hebrew were פְּנֵי. Consistent with this change is his use of σου after ὁδόν – the Messiah rather than God is now the antecedent.

To an extent, Mark is simply altering the text to suit its new surroundings. But the similarities with the opening line of Ex 23:20 are unmistakable. So much so that it is our contention that he is as much quoting Ex 23:20a as he is Mal 3:1a. Some of his alterations take their cue from this text: his use of ἀποστέλλω; his placing of πρὸ προσώπου σου after τὸν ἄγγελόν μου; and his use of σου (rather than μου) with προσώπου. He may even use κατασκευάζω rather than ἐπιβλέπω in the second line, under the influence of the similar ἡτοιμάσα translating the *hif'il* perfect הַכְּנִי (כִּוֵּן) of Ex 23:20d. Indeed, aside from omitting the now redundant καί, his first line follows Ex 23:20a LXX verbatim (itself an accurate rendition of the Hebrew). That he cites Isaiah in the introductory formula no more disqualifies Ex 23:20a than it disqualifies Mal 3:1a. Rather – and as often with John too – he is aware of all three texts (whether from written or oral tradition, or memory) and takes the bits of each that suit his purposes best, while citing only the most prominent book.

Matthew and Luke take their cue from Mark, differing only in feeling obliged to fill the vacuum created by the relocated πρὸ προσώπου σου with ἔμπροσθέν σου.

(Matthew also readmits the LXX's ἐγώ to the first line.) Consequently, they retain the Ex 23:20a conflate, even if they are not aware of it.

Dt 24:14

As UBS agrees, Mk 10:19 (pars. Mt 19:18-19; Lk 18:20) is a quotation of Ex 20:12-16 / Dt 5:16-20. Both Old Testament texts begin with “honour your father and mother”, and move on to the prohibitions regarding murder, adultery, stealing and false testimony. (Ex 20:13-16 LXX puts them in the order: adultery, stealing, murder, false testimony; Dt 5:17-20 LXX puts them in the order: adultery, murder, stealing, false testimony). All three Synoptics begin with the list of prohibitions (Mark and Matthew follow the Hebrew order, Luke follows the Dt 5:17-20 LXX order; Mark and Luke use μή plus subjunctive, Matthew follows the LXX and uses οὐ plus indicative), and move on to “honour your father and mother”. They all intend the same meaning.

Mark, however, is unique in that he adds an extra prohibition to the end of his list – μή ἀποστερήσης. It would be somewhat strange of him simply to import non-scriptural material into the quotation on a whim, especially when it adds nothing to the overall sense of the text (indeed, is little more than a repetition of μή κλέψῃς). The solution is to be found in Dt 24:14. Initially this text seems irrelevant; but a closer look reveals that the codices Alexandrinus, Ambrosianus, Coislinianus and Armenian Cyprian all render לא־תַעֲשֶׂק שְׂכִיר not as οὐκ ἀπαδικήσεις but as οὐκ ἀποστερήσεις. Since this is the only time the word appears anywhere in the LXX, this must be the text (and version) Mark is dependent on. Thus far we are in agreement with UBS. However, for UBS to deem the text's involvement as purely allusive demands that Jesus, while in full flow, misquotes a scripture. This certainly prompts Matthew and Luke – who both fail to notice the relevance of Dt 24:14 – to excise the clause. It is clear that Mark, however, deems it part of the quotation proper, safe in the knowledge that Jesus is accurately quoting a conflate.

Dt 25:7

As UBS agrees, Mt 22:24, Mk 12:19 and Lk 20:28 are quotations of Dt 25:5. While offering an abbreviated version, Mark appears to work from the LXX; he has the Sadducees summarize the text in a way that accurately conveys the intent of the LXX if not its wording. He begins by simplifying the Hebrew and LXX (כִּי־יִשְׁבוּ אֶת־מִקְוֵה אֶת־אֶתְרֵי וְיָמָת אֶת־אֶתְרֵי אֶתְרֵי / ἐάν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν) to ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ. He supplies καὶ καταλίπη γυναῖκα – an attempt at clarifying the sentence – and continues, καὶ μὴ ἀφῆ τέκνον (while the Hebrew reads וְיָבִין אִי־לֹ, and the LXX σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτῷ). Omitting the next line (לֹא־תִהְיֶה אִשָּׁת־הַמֵּת הַחַיָּה לְאִשָּׁה / οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι) and supplying ἴνα, he continues, λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. This renders the Hebrew and LXX (יִבְמַתָּ יִבְאָ עָלֶיהָ וְלָקְחָהּ לָאִשָּׁה / ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα), using the active λάβῃ instead of the middle λήμψεται.

But what of his final phrase, καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ? It is not from Dt 25:5 at all, let alone the final phrase וְיִבְמַתָּ / καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ (lit. “and be a levirate to her”). The construction does not allow for the quotation already to have finished. UBS seems to agree with this, suggesting that Gn 38:8 is being alluded to – presumably with particular reference to וְרָעָה לְאִשָּׁתָּ / καὶ ἀνάστησον σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. There can be little doubt that Gn 38:8 does have a bearing on the quotation. Nevertheless, there is another text far closer to home, that is worthy of consideration – Dt 25:7. The particular line in question is לְאִשָּׁה יִבְמַתָּ / ἀναστήσῃ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Mark makes some incidental changes to the line. He adds καί, to make it fit the new context; he renders לְאִשָּׁה as ἐξαναστήσῃ (rather than as the LXX’s ἀναστήσῃ); and he renders יִבְמַתָּ as τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ (rather than as the LXX’s τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ). His only significant change, however, is the use of σπέρμα for אִשָּׁה / ὄνομα (the LXX needlessly makes it articular). That this is due to the influence of Gn 38:8 in no way detracts from the relevance of Dt 25:7. Again, it is impossible to

prove that Dt 25:7 is not simply being alluded to: but that Mark is already quoting a text in full flow (the previous v. 5 no less) surely makes its being quoted the only viable alternative. So the quotation is again conflate. Mark takes what suits his purposes best from two, even three, texts and adapts it to its new surroundings.

Taking his cue from Mark, Matthew gives a freer rendering of Dt 25:5 than his forebear does. He simplifies **מְהַר ... כִּי־יִשְׁבֹּי** / *ἐὰν ... αὐτῶν* yet further, to *ἐάν τις ἀποθάνῃ*; he omits Mark's editorial addition; and continues with *μη ἔχων τέκνα* (for **וְיִבֶן אִין־לֹ / σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτῷ**). Following Mark by omitting **וְ ... לֹא־תִהְיֶה** / *οὐκ ... ἐγγίζοντι*, he continues, *ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*. (*ἐπιγαμβρεύσει* is a technical term, for which Delitzsch uses **יִבֵּן** in his Hebrew New Testament – *cf.* **יִבְנֶה / יִבְנֶה** in the MT.) This renders the Hebrew and LXX (**וְ ... יִבְנֶה / ὁ ἀδελφὸς ... γυναῖκα**), supplying *αὐτοῦ* after *γυναῖκα*.

Finally, similarly to Mark he closes with *καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ*, with due deference to Gn 38:8 and the Dt 25:7 conflate. He even seems to be aware of Dt 25:7, since he follows Mark verbatim save for reverting **וְ ... יִבְנֶה** / *ἀναστήσει* back to *ἀναστήσει*.

Luke also takes his cue from Mark, and remains more faithful to his forebear. He retains Mark's opening line, *ἐάν τινος ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ*, and too supplies a clarification, *ἔχων γυναῖκα*, albeit continuing, *καὶ οὗτος ἄτεκνος ἦ* (for **וְיִבֶן אִין־לֹ / σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτῷ**). Like Mark, he omits **וְ ... לֹא־תִהְיֶה** / *οὐκ ... ἐγγίζοντι*, and follows him verbatim for the rest of the sentence – including the final phrase from Dt 25:7. All these alterations are incidental: the Hebrew, LXX and the Synoptics do not differ in their overall meaning. Luke, however, may not be aware that the quotation is in fact conflate.

2 Sm 5:2

As UBS agrees, Mt 2:6 is a quotation from Mic 5:1. The quotation is not verbatim Hebrew or LXX. Principally, in the first line Matthew reads **וְיִבְנֶה** / *τοῦ Ἐφραθά* as *γῆ Ἰούδα*; in the second line he uses a negative, *οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη*,

thereby saying the opposite to the Hebrew and Greek (רָעִיר / ὀλιγοστός), and ἡγεμόσιν rather than אֲלֵפִי / χιλιάσιν; and in the third line he uses ἡγούμενος (a participial form of ἡγέομαι) rather than the LXX's ἄρχων to translate the Hebrew מֹשֶׁל, and omits any explicit reference to Israel. But what of the last phrase, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ? It in no way aligns with the last phrase in the Hebrew or LXX (וַיִּמְנָצֵהוּ מִיַּד מִיָּדָיו / καὶ αἱ ἕξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος); yet the construction does not allow for the quotation already to have finished. As UBS agrees, this final line is a contribution from 2 Sm 5:2: הָאֵלֹהִים יְשַׁרְתָּ לְךָ / Σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

Matthew's affinity to the LXX, which itself renders the Hebrew accurately, is obvious. Aside from using the third person rather than the second person (a purely contextual consideration), and therefore altering the 2s personal pronoun to an indefinite relative pronoun, the parallel is exact. His use of this text also explains two other facts. He omits the earlier explicit reference to Israel, because of the explicit reference here; and he uses ἡγούμενος under influence from ἡγούμενον in 2 Sm 5:2c. It is impossible to prove that he is quoting the text, as opposed to merely alluding to it. However, since we are within the context of a quotation, since he clearly feels a similar freedom with scripture as John does, and (above all) since the verbal agreements are so extensive, this is the most obvious alternative.

Is 6:9

It is possible that Is 6:9 is being either “alluded to or quoted loosely” in Mt 13:13.¹ However, that Is 6:9b-10 is quoted in Mt 13:14-15 – *i.e.*, Matthew at this very point is quoting from this very text – again surely makes the latter the more likely alternative.

Is 58:6

As UBS agrees, Lk 4:18-19 is a quotation of Is 61:1-2. The first line follows the LXX verbatim, πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ, which itself is much the same as the

¹ Freed, *Quotations*, 122. See on Jn 12:40.

Hebrew, רִיחַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה עָלַי. The second line also follow the LXX verbatim, οὐ εἴνεκεν ἔχρισέν με, which again is much the same as the Hebrew, אֲתִי יַעַן מָשַׁח יְהוָה. The LXX's consistent omission of יְהוָה, while purely selective, suits Luke's christology. The third line also follows the LXX verbatim, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με, which precisely renders the Hebrew, לְבַשֵּׁר עֲנָוִים שְׁלַחֲנִי. But now the sense construction changes. It is generally agreed that both the Hebrew and the LXX put a break after “anointed me”; and this makes the ensuing list (at the top of which is being sent to preach good news to the poor) those tasks the servant has been *anointed* to fulfil. Luke, however, puts the break after “to the poor”; and this makes the ensuing list (at the top of which is now the proclaiming of freedom for the prisoners) those tasks Jesus has been *sent* to fulfil. Luke's raising of the sending of Jesus to virtual synonymy with his being anointed reflects a different mind-set. However, whether it is deliberate or simply how he genuinely understands the text is impossible to say.

Omitting לְחַבֵּשׁ לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי-לֵב / ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῆ καρδία, the fourth line again follows the LXX verbatim, κηρύξαι ἀλχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν, which precisely renders the Hebrew, לְקַרְא לְשִׁבּוּיִם דְּרוּר. The fifth line also follows the LXX verbatim. But now the LXX parts company with the Hebrew, וְלִאֲסוּרִים וּפְקַח-קוֹחַ. First, it links the clause to the preceding line, as if the action is something the anointed one is to proclaim rather than actually to do. (One suspects that the LXX simply makes a wrong assumption about the opening ו, and translates it literally as a conjunction rather than as an indication that this is the final clause in a series.) Second, and more noticeably, it changes the meaning to καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν. Why it does this is not entirely clear – perhaps it infers from the intensive stem form of פְּקַח (פְּקַח-קוֹחַ is a *hapax*) that the imprisonment principally in mind is that which results from blindness rather than from incarceration. Either way, it remains that פְּקַח is never used elsewhere in any other sense than that of opening blind eyes or deaf ears – or the eyes and ears of those who are merely obtuse or inattentive.

The seventh and last line recites Is 61:2a. Here the Hebrew לְקַרְא שְׁנֵת-רְצוֹן לְיְהוָה is rendered by the LXX as καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν (in compliance

with the standard relationship between **הִצִּיחַ** and δεκτός in the Hebrew and LXX). Luke again follows the LXX, though with enough independence of mind to substitute the synonymous κηρύξαι for καλέσαι – no doubt in an attempt to place this proclaiming on the same level as the previous proclaiming of freedom for the prisoner, and maybe also to enhance the poetic symmetry of the text.

It is clear that Luke works from the LXX.¹ Neither is it difficult to see why: the LXX's interpretation fits better with Christ's earthly ministry. Most obviously, Christ's ministry wrought the healing of many who were blind, but not the miraculous release of any prisoners from jail.

The sixth line, ἀποστείλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, however, is conspicuous by its absence from both the Hebrew and the LXX of Is 61:1-2. It is not credible that Luke simply interpolates his own clause. Rather, this line derives from Is 58:6c (**וְשַׁלַּח רְצוּצִים הַפְּשִׁים** / ἀπόστελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει). Thus far we are in agreement with UBS. But as with the conflate in Mk 10:19, UBS deems the text's involvement as purely allusive. We disagree for the same reason – this demands that Jesus, while in full flow, misquotes a scripture. Besides, that the line again follows the LXX verbatim (except for rendering ἀπόστελλε as ἀποστείλαι) is noteworthy. Luke as much quotes this line – still from Isaiah, let it be said – as he does the rest, like Mark safe in the knowledge that Jesus is accurately quoting a conflate.

Jr 7:11

As UBS agrees, Mt 21:13, Mk 11:17 and Lk 19:46 contain a quotation from Is 56:7b (**כִּי בֵיתִי ... הָעַמִּים** / ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου ... ἔθνεσιν). Save for missing out the now unnecessary γὰρ, Mark follows the LXX verbatim (which itself accurately translates the Hebrew). The quotation ends here. However, one cannot help but notice that the ensuing phrase, σπήλαιον ληστῶν, follows Jr 7:11 LXX verbatim (which again accurately translates the Hebrew, **הַמְעַרְתַּת פְּרָצִים**). Since the phrase is so short, there is nothing to prove UBS wrong that it is simply being alluded to; but Mark is

¹ Chilton (& Evans), "Jesus", 312-313, however, takes the quotation back to an *ipssisima vox Iesu*.

already operating within the matrix of an ‘as-good-as verbatim’ LXX quotation, and this surely swings the balance of reasoned argument in our favour.¹

Matthew takes his cue from Mark, though he differs by excluding the closing $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ (= כָּל־הָעַמִּים). If anything, then, his exact recitation of Mark’s $\sigma\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \lambda\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ in the second half of the verse is more noticeable. Luke too takes his cue from Mark. He omits $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, uses $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ instead of $\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (= אָקָרַ?), placing it at the beginning rather than at the end, and introduces the text with $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$. His exact recitation of Mark’s $\sigma\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \lambda\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ in the second half of the verse, then, if anything is yet more noticeable.

Jr 18:2-3

We agree with UBS in so far as Mt 27:9b-10 contains a quotation from Zch 11:12-13. The quotation is far from verbatim. It begins by rendering v. 13c ($\text{וְאַקְהָךְ} \text{וְקָרַךְ} \text{שְׁלֹשִׁים} \text{וְקָרַךְ} \text{וְקָרַךְ}$ / $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\text{ρι}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) as $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\text{ρι}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\alpha$; it omits the ensuing words ($\text{וְאַשְׁלִיךְ} \text{אֶתְּךָ} \text{בְּיַד} \text{יְהוָה} \text{אֶל־הַיְצִיר}$ / $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ [poor for וְאַשְׁלִיךְ] $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \chi\omega\nu\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ [a forced air furnace / kiln]); and it summarizes the action cited in v. 12c (וַיִּשְׁקַלְךָ / $\text{וְקָרַךְ} \text{שְׁלֹשִׁים} \text{וְקָרַךְ}$ / $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\text{ρι}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, together with the ironic phrase in v. 13b, $\text{אָדָר} \text{הַיִּקָּר} \text{אֲשֶׁר} \text{יִקָּרְתִּי} \text{מֵעַלְיָהֶם}$ [the LXX omits this]), as $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \text{’Ισρα}\acute{\eta}\lambda$.

But what of the clause, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$? There is no mention of a potter’s field in Zch 11. Yet to conclude that the quotation simply does not carry on this far is unsatisfactory – this part is the cardinal item in the prophecy’s fulfilment. The key to solving the mystery is in the introductory formula, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\ \tau\omicron\ \rho\acute{\eta}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \text{’Ιερεμ}\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{π}\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Matthew’s citing of Jeremiah is not a mistake, nor is it the naming of the first book of the scroll on which the book of Zechariah happens to be written. Rather, surely it is again the citing of the more famous of a number of prophets linked in a conflate quotation.

¹ Hanson, *Prophetic*, 45, merely presumes this for all three Synoptics.

The source of the clause is Jr 18:2-3, together with the help of Jr 19:2 (which speaks of the potter employed by the Temple as possessing a workshop in the valley of Hinnom). There is little of a verbatim quotation here, and in other circumstances we might consider it more an allusion. But since we are again already within the context of a scriptural quotation (which itself is anything but verbatim), and since Jeremiah has been explicitly cited, that Matthew considers Jr 18:2-3 to be part of the quotation proper can hardly be open to question.

What of the remaining clause, καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι κύριος? Of all places, its source appears to be Ex 9:12c, כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה / καθὰ συνέταξεν κύριος. Since these words (unlike those from Jeremiah) are so peripheral, however, it would be unwise to push the point that they are being quoted as opposed to merely alluded to. (UBS does not suggest either.)

Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11

UBS concurs that the phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως in Mt 24:15 and Mk 13:14 is taken from Dn 9:27 (MT: מְשֻׁמֵּם מְשֻׁמֵּם; LXX, Θ: βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων), 11:31 (MT: מְשֻׁמֵּם מְשֻׁמֵּם; LXX: βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως; Θ: βδέλυγμα ἠφανισμένον) and 12:11 (MT: מְשֻׁמֵּם מְשֻׁמֵּם; LXX: τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως; Θ: βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως). However, it argues that the phrase is merely an allusion.

Yet however short the phrase may be, it follows Dn 12:11 LXX verbatim. Of course, this may well have been a familiar saying in the environment in which Mark moved; but just because his source happens to be popular oral tradition, this does not invalidate the fact that he is quoting. Indeed, this is surely why he adds the phrase ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω – the quotation can be understood by those ‘in the know’, because it is such a well-known scripture. Albeit more veiled than Matthew’s explicit citation, Mark’s reference to Daniel as the source is just as real and just as deliberate.

Matthew provides another reason for maintaining that the phrase is a quotation rather than allusion of the Daniel passages (esp. Dn 12:11 LXX). The writer preserves

Mark's 'tip-off' phrase, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω; but he also explicitly presents the text as a quotation, providing an introductory formula in which he actually cites Daniel by name – τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιήλ τοῦ προφήτου.¹

¹ While Lk 21:20 too works from Mark, this is at best an allusion. Indeed, it may well be that, *contra* Matthew, Luke does not recognize the text at all.

II. Supplement to “Other New Testament appearances”

[a] Old Testament quotations quoted nowhere else in the New Testament

Matthew’s sixteen are:

1:23a,b; 2:15,18; 4:15-16; 5:33,38; 8:17; 9:13 (= 12:7); 10:35-36; 12:18-21,40; 13:35; 21:16; 27:9-10

Luke’s six are:

2:23,24; 4:18-19; 22:37; 23:30,46

Mark’s one is:

12:32 (= 12:29-30)

[b] Old Testament quotations quoted elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts

Matthew’s twenty-one are:

4:4	- Lk 4:4	21:13a	- Mk 11:17a; Lk 19:46a
4:6	- Lk 4:10-11	21:13b	- Mk 11:17b; Lk 19:46b
4:7	- Lk 4:12	22:24	- Mk 12:19; Lk 20:28
4:10	- Lk 4:8	22:32	- Mk 12:26; Lk 20:37; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34
5:31	- Mt 19:7; Mk 10:4	22:37	- Mk 12:29-30; Lk 10:27a
11:10	- Mk 1:2-3; Lk 7:27	24:15	- Mk 13:14
13:13	- Mt 13:14-15; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27	24:30	- Mt 26:64b; Mk 13:26; 14:62b; Lk 21:27
15:4b	- Mk 7:10b	26:31	- Mk 14:27
15:8-9	- Mk 7:67	26:64b	- Mt 24:30; Mk 13:26; 14:62b; Lk 21:27
19:4	- Mk 10:6-8	27:46	- Mk 15:34
19:7	- Mt 5:31; Mk 10:4		

Luke’s twelve are:

4:4	- Mt 4:4	10:27a	- Mt 22:37; Mk 12:29-30,33a
4:8	- Mt 4:10	19:46a	- Mt 21:13a; Mk 11:17a
4:10-11	- Mt 4:6	19:46b	- Mt 21:13b; Mk 11:17b
4:12	- Mt 4:7	20:28	- Mt 22:24; Mk 12:19
7:27	- Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2-3	20:37	- Mt 22:32; Mk 12:26; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34
8:10	- Mt 13:13,14-15; Mk 4:12; Ac 28:26-27	21:27	- Mt 24:30; 26:64b; Mk 13:26; 14:62b

Mark’s fourteen are:

7:6-7	- Mt 15:8-9	12:29-30	- Mt 22:37; Mk 12:32,33a; Lk 10:27a
7:10b	- Mt 15:4b	12:33a	- Mt 22:37; Mk 12:29-30; Lk 10:27a
10:4	- Mt 5:31; 19:7	13:14	- Mt 24:15
11:17a	- Mt 21:13a; Lk 19:46a	13:26	- Mt 24:30; 26:64b; Mk 14:62b; Lk 21:27
11:17b	- Mt 21:13b; Lk 19:46b	14:27	- Mt 26:31
12:19	- Mt 22:24; Lk 20:28	14:62b	- Mt 24:30; 26:64b; Mk 13:26; Lk 21:27
12:26	- Mt 22:32; Lk 20:37; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34	15:34	- Mt 27:46

[c] Old Testament quotations quoted also only by John

Matthew’s six are:

2:6 - Jn 7:42
3:3 - Mk 1:2-3; Lk 3:4-6; Jn 1:23
13:14-15 - Mt 13:13; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27; Jn 12:40
21:5 - Jn 12:13,15
21:9 - Mt 23:39; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13
23:39 - Mt 21:9; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13

Luke’s three are:

3:4-6 - Mt 3:3; Mk 1:2-3; Jn 1:23
13:35 - Mt 21:9; 23:39; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 19:38; Jn 12:13
19:38 - Mt 21:9; 23:39; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; Jn 12:13

Mark’s three are:

1:2-3 - Mt 3:3; 11:10; Lk 3:4-6; 7:27; Jn 1:23
4:12 - Mt 13:13, 14-15; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27; Jn 12:40
11:9-10 - Mt 21:9; 23:39; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13

[d] Old Testament quotations quoted elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts

Matthew's twelve are:

- 5:21 - Mt 19:18-19a; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Jas 2:11
- 5:27 - Mt 19:18-19a; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9
- 5:43 - Mt 19:19b; 22:39; Mk 12:31,33b; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 15:4a - Mt 19:18-19a; Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
- 18:16 - 2 Cor 13:1
- 19:5 - Mk 10:6-8; 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31
- 19:18-19a - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- 19:19b - Mt 5:43; 22:39; Mk 12:31,33b; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 21:42 - Mk 12:10-11; Lk 20:17; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7
- 22:39 - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; Mk 12:31,33b; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 22:44 - Mt 26:64a; Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- 26:64a - Mt 22:44; Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13

Mark's eight are:

- 7:10a - Mt 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
- 10:6-8 - Mt 19:4,5; 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31
- 10:19 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Mk 7:10a; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Jas 2:11
- 12:10-11 - Mt 21:42; Lk 20:17; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7
- 12:31 - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; 22:39; Mk 12:33b; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 12:33b - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; 22:39; Mk 12:31; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 12:36 - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Mk 14:62a; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- 14:62a - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13

Luke's five are:

- 10:27b - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; 22:39; Mk 12:31,33b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- 18:20 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- 20:17 - Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10-11; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7
- 20:42-43 - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Lk 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- 22:69 - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Lk 20:42-43; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13

[e] Old Testament quotations quoted elsewhere in the Synoptics-Acts

This comprises all the quotations the Synoptics share with anyone, beside the two Matthew shares only with John. This altogether comprises:

Thirty-seven of Matthew's; twenty-five of Mark's; and twenty of Luke's.

[f] Old Testament texts quoted nowhere else in the New Testament

John's twenty out of his twenty-six (inc. Is 35:4 in 12:15) are:

Ex 12:10 (LXX), 46; 16:4,15; Nu 9:12; Ne 9:15; Ps 22:19; 34:21; 35:19; 41:10; 69:5,10a,22; 78:24; 82:6; 89:37; Is 35:4; 54:13; Zch 12:10; 14:8

Matthew's twenty-two out of his sixty-six are:

Ex 21:24; Lv 19:12; 24:20; Nu 30:3; Dt 19:21; 2 Sm 5:2; Ps 8:3; 78:2; Is 7:14; 8:8,10, 23 – 9:1; 42:1-4; 53:4; 62:11; Jr 18:2-3; 31:15; Ho 6:6; 11:1; Jon 2:1; Mic 7:6; Zch 11:12-13.

Luke's nine out of his thirty are:

Ex 13:2,12,15; Lv 12:8; Ps 31:6; Is 53:12; 58:6; 61:1-2; Ho 10:8.

Mark's five out of his thirty-seven are:

Dt 4:35; 6:4; 24:3; 24:14; Is 45:21.

[g] Old Testament texts quoted elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts

Matthew's twenty-five are:

Gn 1:27	-	Mk 10:6-8		Ex 3:6	-	Mk 12:26; Lk 20:37; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34
Gn 5:2	-	Mk 10:6-8		Ex 3:15	-	Mk 12:26; Ac 3:13

Ex 21:17	- Mk 7:10b	Is 6:9	- Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27
Ex 23:20	- Mk 1:2-3; Lk 7:27	Is 29:13	- Mk 7:6-7
Dt 6:5	- Mk 12:29-30,33a; Lk 10:27a	Is 56:7	- Mk 11:17a; Lk 19:46a
Dt 6:13	- Lk 4:8	Jr 7:11	- Mk 11:17b; Lk 19:46b
Dt 6:16	- Lk 4:12	Dn 7:13	- Mk 13:26; 14:62a; Lk 21:27
Dt 8:3	- Lk 4:4	Dn 9:27	- Mk 13:14
Dt 24:1	- Mk 10:4	Dn 11:31	- Mk 13:14
Dt 25:5	- Mk 12:19; Lk 20:28	Dn 12:11	- Mk 13:14
Dt 25:7	- Mk 12:19; Lk 20:28	Zch 13:7	- Mk 14:27
Ps 22:2	- Mk 15:34	Mal 3:1	- Mk 1:2-3; Lk 7:27
Ps 91:11-12	- Lk 4:10-11		
Luke's fourteen are:			
Ex 3:6	- Mt 22:32; Mk 12:26; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34	Dt 25:7	- Mt 22:24; Mk 12:19
Ex 23:20	- Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2-3	Ps 91:11-12	- Mt 4:6
Dt 6:5	- Mt 22:37; Mk 12:29-30,33a	Is 6:9	- Mt 13:13,14-15; Mk 4:12; Ac 28:26-27
Dt 6:13	- Mt 4:8	Is 56:7	- Mt 21:13a; Mk 11:17a
Dt 6:16	- Mt 4:7	Jr 7:11	- Mt 21:13b; Mk 11:17b
Dt 8:3	- Mt 4:4	Dn 7:13	- Mt 24:30; 26:64b; Mk 13:26; 14:62b
Dt 25:5	- Mt 22:24; Mk 12:19	Mal 3:1	- Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2-3
Mark's twenty-one are:			
Gn 1:27	- Mt 19:4	Ps 22:2	- Mt 27:46
Gn 5:2	- Mt 19:4	Is 29:13	- Mt 15:8-9
Ex 3:6	- Mt 22:32; Lk 20:37; Ac 3:13; 7:32,33-34	Is 56:7	- Mt 12:13a; Lk 19:46a
Ex 3:15	- Mt 22:32; Ac 3:13	Jr 7:11	- Mt 12:13b; Lk 19:46b
Ex 21:17	- Mt 15:4b	Dn 7:13	- Mt 24:30; 26:64b; Lk 21:27
Ex 23:20	- Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27	Dn 9:27	- Mt 24:15
Dt 6:4-5	- Mt 22:37; Lk 10:27a	Dn 11:31	- Mt 24:15
Dt 6:5	- Mt 22:37; Lk 10:27a	Dn 12:11	- Mt 24:15
Dt 24:1	- Mt 5:31; 19:7	Zch 13:7	- Mt 26:31
Dt 25:5	- Mt 22:24; Lk 20:28	Mal 3:1	- Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27
Dt 25:7	- Mt 22:24; Lk 20:28		

[h] Old Testament texts quoted also only by John

Matthew's six are:

Ps 118:25-26	- Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13
Ps 118:26	- Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13
Is 6:9-10	- Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27; Jn 12:40
Is 40:3	- Mk 1:2-3; Lk 3:4-6; Jn 1:23
Mic 5:1	- Jn 7:42
Zch 9:9	- Jn 12:13,15

Luke's two are:

Ps 118:26	- Mt 21:9; 23:39; Mk 11:9-10; Jn 12:13
Is 40:3-5	- Mt 3:3; Mk 1:2-3; Jn 1:23

Mark's three are:

Ps 118:25-26	- Mt 21:9; 23:39; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13
Is 6:9-10	- Mt 13:13,14-15; Lk 8:10; Ac 28:26-27; Jn 12:40
Is 40:3	- Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4-6; Jn 1:23

[i] Old Testament texts quoted elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts

Matthew's thirteen are:

Gn 2:24	- Mk 10:6-8; 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31
Ex 20:12	- Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
Ex 20:12-16	- Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
Ex 20:13	- Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Jas 2:11
Ex 20:14	- Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Jas 2:11

- Lv 19:18 - Mk 12:31,33b; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- Dt 5:16 - Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
- Dt 5:16-20 - Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- Dt 5:17 - Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Jas 2:11
- Dt 5:18 - Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9
- Dt 19:15 - 2 Cor 13:1
- Ps 110:1 - Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- Ps 118:22-23 - Mk 12:10-11; Lk 20:17; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7

Mark's eight are:

- Gn 2:24 - Mt 19:5; 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31
- Ex 20:12 - Mt 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
- Ex 20:12-16 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- Lv 19:18 - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; 22:39; Lk 10:27b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- Dt 5:16 - Mt 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2-3
- Dt 5:16-20 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Lk 18:20; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- Ps 110:1 - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- Ps 118:22-23 - Mt 21:42; Lk 20:17; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7

Luke's five are:

- Ex 20:12-16 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- Lv 19:18 - Mt 5:43; 19:19b; 22:39; Mk 12:31,33b; Ro 13:9; Ga 5:14; Jas 2:8
- Dt 5:16-20 - Mt 5:21,27; 15:4a; 19:18-19a; Mk 7:10a; 10:19; Ro 13:9; Eph 6:2-3; Jas 2:11
- Ps 110:1 - Mt 22:44; 26:64a; Mk 12:36; 14:62a; Ac 2:34-35; He 1:13
- Ps 118:22 - Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10-11; Ac 4:11; 1 Pe 2:7

[j] Old Testament texts quoted elsewhere in the Synoptics-Acts

John's five are:

- Ps 118:25-26 - Mt 21:9; 23:39; Mk 11:9-10; Lk 13:35; 19:38
- Is 6:10 - Mt 13:14-15; Mk 4:12; Ac 28:26-27
- Is 40:3 - Mt 3:3; Mk 1:2-3; Lk 3:4-6
- Mic 5:1 - Mt 2:6
- Zch 9:9 - Mt 21:5

This again comprises all the quotations the Synoptics share with anyone, beside the two Matthew shares only with John. This altogether comprises:

Forty-two of Matthew's; thirty-one of Mark's; and twenty-one of Luke's.

[k] Old Testament texts used elsewhere in the New Testament

Thirty-five (53%) of Matthew's are alluded to nowhere else:

- Gn 2:24; 5:2; Ex 20:12 (Ex 20:1-17 in Ac 7:38); 21:17,24; 23:20; Lv 19:12; 24:20; Nu 30:3; Dt 5:16; 6:5,13,16; 19:21; 24:1; 25:5,7; 2 Sm 5:2; Ps 8:3; 22:2 (whole Psalm in 1 Pe 1:11, vv. 1-18 in Mk 9:12; Lk 24:27); 78:2; 118:25-26,26; Is 8:8,10; 56:7; Jr 7:11; 18:2-3; 31:15; Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; Ho 11:1; Zch 9:9; 11:12-13 (only in Mt 26:15)

Twenty (54%) of Mark's are alluded to nowhere else:

- Gn 2:24; 5:2; Ex 20:12; 21:17; 23:20; Dt 5:16; 6:5; 24:1,3,14; 25:5,7; Ps 22:2; 118:25-26; Is 45:21; 56:7; Jr 7:11; Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11

Seventeen (57%) of Luke's are alluded to nowhere else:

- Ex 13:2,12,15; 20:12-16 (only in Lk 18:20); 23:20; Lv 12:8; Dt 6:5,13,16; 25:5,7; Ps 118:26; Is 6:9 (only in Lk 19:42); 40:3-5 (only in Lk 1:76; 2:30-31; Ac 28:28); 56:7; 58:6 (only in Ac 8:23); Jr 7:11

Sixteen (61.5%) of John's are alluded to nowhere else:

- Ex 12:10 (LXX), 46; 16:15; Nu 9:12; Ne 9:15; Ps 34:21; 35:19; 69:5,10; 82:6; 89:37; 118:25-26; Is 35:4; 53:1 (whole chapter in Lk 24:27,46; 1 Pe 1:11); 54:13; Zch 9:9.

Eleven (17%) of Matthew's are alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ex 20:12-16 - Lk 18:20 Ex 20:13 - Lk 18:20 Ex 20:14 - Lk 18:20 Dt 5:17 - Lk 18:20 Is 6:9 - Lk 19:42 Is 6:9-10 - Lk 19:42 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is 40:3 - Lk 1:76 Is 42:1-4 - (Mt 3:17); Mk 1:11; Lk 9:35 Ho 6:6 - Mk 12:33 Mic 5:1 - Lk 2:4,11? (<i>contra</i> UBS) Mic 7:6 - (Mt 10:21); Mk 13:12; Lk 12:53 |
|---|--|---|

Three (8%) of Mark's are alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts:

Ex 20:12-16 - Lk 18:20 | Is 40:3 - Lk 1:76
Is 6:9-10 - Lk 19:42

One (3%) of Luke's is alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts:

Is 61:1-2 - Mt 5:4; 11:5; (Lk 7:22; Ac 4:27; 10:38; 26:18)

Two (3%) of Matthew's are alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts & John:

Zch 13:7 - (Mt 26:56); Mk 14:50; Jn 16:32
Mal 3:1 - (Mt 11:3); Lk 1:17,76; 7:19; Jn 3:28

Two (5%) of Mark's are alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts & John:

Zch 13:7 - Mt 26:56; (Mk 14:50); Jn 16:32
Mal 3:1 - Mt 11:3; Lk 1:17,76; 7:19; Jn 3:28

One (3%) of Luke's is alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts & John:

Mal 3:1 - Mt 11:3; (Lk 1:17,76; 7:19); Jn 3:28

Six (23%) of John's are alluded to elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts:

Ps 22:19 - Mt 26:24; 27:35; Mk 15:24; Lk 23:34
Ps 41:10 - Mk 14:21; (UBS adds Mt 26:63; Lk 22:21; Ac 1:16)
Ps 69:22 - Mk 15:23,36 (UBS adds Mt 27:34,48; Lk 23:36)
Is 6:10 - Lk 19:42
Is 40:3 - Lk 1:76
Mic 5:1 - Lk 2:4,11? (*contra* UBS)

Eighteen (27%) of Matthew's are alluded to outside the Gospels / Acts:

Gn 1:27 - Ac 17:29; 1 Cor 11:7; Col 3:10; | Ps 118:22-23 - 1 Pe 2:4
1 Tm 2:13; Jas 3:9 | Is 7:14 - Lk 1:31; Jn 1:45; Re 12:5
Ex 3:6 - He 11:16 | Is 8:23 - 9:1 - Re 16:10
Ex 3:15 - He 11:16 | Is 29:13 - Col 2:22
Lv 19:18 - Ro 12:19 | Is 53:4 - (Mt 26:67); Ac 10:43; Ro 4:25;
Dt 5:16-20 - Lk 18:20; Jas 2:11 | 1 Pe 2:24
Dt 5:18 - Lk 18:20; Jas 2:11 | Is 62:11 - Re 22:12
Dt 8:3 - 1 Cor 10:3 | Dn 7:13 - Re 1:7,13; 14:14
Dt 19:15 - Jn 8:17; 1 Tm 5:19; He 10:28 | Jon 2:1 - 1 Cor 15:4
Ps 91:11-12 - Lk 4:11; He 1:14
Ps 110:1 - Mk 16:19; Ro 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25;
Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; He 1:3; 8:1;
10:12,13; 12:2

Twelve (32%) of Mark's are alluded to outside the Gospels / Acts:

Gn 1:27 - Ac 17:29; 1 Cor 11:7; Col 3:10; | Dt 6:4 - Ro 3:30; 1 Cor 8:4
1 Tm 2:13; Jas 3:9 | Dt 6:4-5 - Ro 3:30; 1 Cor 8:4
Ex 3:6 - He 11:16 | Ps 110:1 - (Mk 16:19); Ro 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25;
Ex 3:15 - He 11:16 | Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; He 1:3; 8:1;
Lv 19:18 - Ro 12:19 | 10:12,13; 12:2
Dt 4:35 - 1 Cor 8:4 | Ps 118:22-23 - 1 Pe 2:4
Dt 5:16-20 - Lk 18:20; Jas 2:11 | Is 29:13 - Col 2:22
Dn 7:13 - Re 1:7,13; 14:14

Eleven (37%) of Luke's are alluded to outside the Gospels / Acts:

Ex 3:6 - He 11:16 | Ps 31:6 - Ac 7:2; 1 Pe 4:19
Lv 19:18 - Ro 12:19 | Ps 91:11-12 - (Lk 4:11); He 1:14
Dt 5:16-20 - (Lk 18:20); Jas 2:11 | Ps 110:1 - Mk 16:19; Ro 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25;
Dt 8:3 - 1 Cor 10:3 | Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; He 1:3; 8:1;
Ps 118:22 - 1 Pe 2:4 | 10:12,13; 12:2
Is 53:12 - Mt 27:38; (Lk 23:33,34); | Dn 7:13 - Re 1:7,13; 14:14
He 9:28; 1 Pe 2:24 | Ho 10:8 - Re 6:16; 9:6

Four (15%) of John's are alluded to outside the Gospels / Acts:

Ex 16:4 - Mt 6:34; 1 Cor 10:3 | Zch 12:10 - Mt 24:30; Re 1:7
Ps 78:24 - 1 Cor 10:3; Re 2:17 | Zch 14:8 - Re 22:1

[l] Old Testament texts used nowhere else in the New Testament

John's thirteen are:

Ex 12:10,46; 16:15; Nu 9:12; Ne 9:15; Ps 34:21; 35:19; 69:5,10a; 82:6; 89:37; Is 35:4; 54:13

Matthew's fourteen are:

Ex 21:24; Lv 19:12; 24:20; Nu 30:3; Dt 19:21; 2 Sm 5:2; Ps 8:3; 78:2; 8:8,10; Jr 18:2-3; 31:15; Ho 11:1; Zch 11:12-13

Luke's five are:

Ex 13:2,12,15; Lv 12:8; Is 58:6

Mark's three are:

Dt 24:3,14; Is 45:21

[m] Old Testament texts used elsewhere only in the Synoptics-Acts

Matthew's nineteen are:

Gn 5:2; Ex 21:17; 23:20; Dt 6:5,13,16; 24:1; 25:5,7; Ps 22:2; Is 6:9; 42:1-4; 56:7; Jr 7:11; Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; Ho 6:6; Mic 7:6

Luke's ten are:

Ex 23:20; Dt 6:5,13,16; 25:5,7; Is 6:9; 56:7; 61:1-2; Jr 7:11

Mark's thirteen are:

Gn 5:2; Ex 21:17; 23:20; Dt 6:5; 24:1; 25:5,7; Ps 22:2; Is 56:7; Jr 7:11; Dn 9:27; 11:31; 12:11

[n] Old Testament texts used also only by John

Matthew's eight are:

Ps 118:25-26,26; Is 6:9-10; 40:3; Mic 5:1; Zch 9:9; 13:7; Mal 3:1

Luke's three are:

Ps 118:26; Is 40:3-5; Mal 3:1

Mark's five are:

Ps 118:25-26; Is 6:9-10; 40:3; Zch 13:7; Mal 3:1

[o] Old Testament texts used elsewhere in the New Testament outside the Gospels-Acts

John's five are:

Ex 16:4; Ps 78:24; Is 53:1; Zch 12:10; 14:8

Matthew's twenty-five are:

Gn 1:27; 2:24; Ex 3:6,15; 20:12,12-16,13,14; Lv 19:18; Dt 5:16,16-20,17,18; 8:3; 19:15; Ps 91:11-12; 110:1; 118:22-23; Is 7:14; 8:23 – 9:1; 29:13; 53:4; 62:11; Dn 7:13; Jon 2:1

Mark's sixteen are:

Gn 1:27; 2:24; Ex 3:6,15; 20:12,12-16; Lv 19:18; Dt 4:35; 5:16,16-20; 6:4,4-5; Ps 110:1; 118:22-23; Is 29:13; Dn 7:13

Luke's twelve are:

Ex 3:6; 20:12-16; Lv 19:18; Dt 5:16-20; 8:3; Ps 31:6; 91:11-12; 110:1; 118:22; Is 53:12; Dn 7:13; Ho 10:8

[p] Old Testament texts used elsewhere in the Synoptics-Acts

John's eight are: Ps 22:19; 41:10; 69:22; 118:25-26; Is 6:10; 40:3; Mic 5:1; Zch 9:9

Matthew's are all of his used by anyone bar six: (Dt 19:15; Is 8:23 – 9:1; 62:11; Jon 2:1; Mic 5:1; Zch 9:9)

Mark's are all of his used by anyone bar two: (Dt 4:35; 6:4)

Luke's are all of his used by anyone bar one: (Ho 10:8)

III. Old Testament (and extra-canonical) allusions in the Gospels

Matthew

1:1	- Gn 5:1; 22:18; 1 Chr 17:11	7:22	- Jr 14:14; 27:15	15:4	- Lv 20:9
1:2	- Gn 21:3,12; 25:26; 29:35; 1 Chr 1:34	7:23	- Ps 6:8	16:18	- Job 38:17; Is 38:10; Wsd 16:13
1:3	- Gn 38:29-30; Ru 4:12, 18-19; 1 Chr 2:4,5,9	7:27	- Eze 13:10-12	16:27	- Ps 28:4; 62:12; Pr 24:12; Sir 35:19
1:4-5	- Ru 4:13,17-22; 1 Chr 2:10-12	8:4	- Lv 14:2,4-32	17:5	- Dt 18:15; Ps 2:7
1:6	- Ru 4:17,22; 2 Sm 12:24; 1 Chr 2:13-15	8:11	- Ps 107:3	17:10-11	- Mal 4:5-6
1:7-10	- 1 Chr 3:10-14	8:21	- 1 Kgs 19:20	17:17	- Dt 32:5,20
1:11	- 2 Kgs 24:12-16; 1 Chr 3:15-16; 2 Chr 36:10; Jr 27:20; 1 Esd 1:32	8:29	- 1 Kgs 17:18	17:24	- Ex 30:13; 38:26
1:12	- 1 Chr 3:17,19; Ezr 3:2	9:20	- Lv 15:25	18:15	- Lv 19:17
2:2	- Nu 24:17	9:36	- Nu 27:17; 1 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chr 18:16; Eze 34:5; Zch 10:2; Jdth 11:19	19:17	- Lv 18:5
2:6	- 1 Chr 11:2	10:6	- Jr 50:6	19:22	- Ps 62:10
2:7	- Ps 3:17; 17:5	10:10	- Nu 18:31	19:26	- Gn 18:14; Job 42:2; Zch 8:6
2:11	- Ps 72:10,11,15; Is 60:6	10:15	- Gn 18:20 – 19:28; 19:24-25	19:28	- Dn 7:9-10
2:20	- Ex 4:19	10:21	- Mic 7:6	20:2	- Tob 5:15
2:23	- Jdg 13:5,7; Is 11:1; 53:2	10:30	- 1 Sm 14:45	20:8	- Lv 19:13; Dt 24:15
3:4	- 2 Kgs 1:8	10:37	- Dt 33:9	21:13	- Is 60:7
3:17	- Gn 22:2; Ps 2:7; Is 42:1	10:41	- 1 Kgs 17:9-24; 2 Kgs 4:8-37	21:33	- Is 5:1-2
4:2	- Ex 34:28	11:3	- Mal 3:1	21:44	- Dn 2:34-5,44-45
4:5	- Ne 11:1; Is 52:1	11:5	- Is 35:5-6; 42:18; 61:1	22:24	- Gn 38:8
4:9	- Dn 3:5,10,15	11:14	- Mal 4:5	22:32	- Ex 3:16; 4 Macc 7:19
5:4	- Is 61:2-3	11:21	- Est 4:1; Jon 3:6	22:37	- Jos 22:5
5:5	- Ps 37:11	11:21-22	- Is 23:1-8; Eze 26 – 28; Jl 3:4-8; Am 1:9-10; Zch 9:2-4	22:43	- 2 Sm 23:2
5:8	- Ps 24:3-4	11:23	- Gn 19:24-28; Is 14:13,15	23:3	- Mal 2:7-8
5:12	- 2 Chr 36:16	11:25	- Tob 7:17	23:5	- Ex 13:9; Nu 15:38-39; Dt 6:8
5:21	- Ex 21:12; Lv 24:17	11:28	- Jr 31:25	23:12	- Job 22:29; Pr 29:23; Eze 21:26
5:33	- Dt 23:21	11:29	- Jr 6:16	23:19	- Ex 29:37
5:34	- Is 66:1	12:1	- Dt 23:24-25	23:21	- 1 Kgs 8:13; Ps 26:8
5:35	- Ps 48:2; Is 66:1	12:2	- Ex 20:10; Dt 5:14	23:22	- Is 66:1
5:44	- Ex 23:4-5; Pr 25:21	12:3-4	- 1 Sm 21:1-6	23:23	- Lv 27:30; Mic 6:8
5:48	- Lv 19:2; Dt 18:13	12:4	- Lv 24:5-8,9	23:35	- Gn 4:8; 2 Chr 24:20-21; Zch 1:1
6:6	- 2 Kgs 4:33; Is 26:20	12:5	- Nu 28:9-10	23:38	- 1 Kgs 9:7-8; Jr 12:7 22:5; Tob 14:4
6:9	- Eze 36:23	12:29	- Is 49:24	24:6	- Dn 2:28,29,45
6:12	- Sir 28:2	12:41	- Jon 3:5,8	24:7	- 2 Chr 15:6; Is 19:2
6:13	- Sir 23:1; 33:1	12:42	- 1 Kgs 10:1-10; 2 Chr 9:1-12	24:10	- Dn 11:41
6:16	- Is 58:5	13:32	- Ps 104:12; Eze 17:23; 31:6; Dn 4:12,21	24:15	- 1 Macc 1:54; 6:7
6:20	- Sir 29:11	13:41	- Zph 1:3	24:21	- Dn 12:1; Jl 2:2
6:26	- PsSol 5:9-11	13:42	- Dn 3:6	24:24	- Dt 13:1-3
6:29	- 1 Kgs 10; 2 Chr 9	13:43	- Dn 12:3	24:29	- Is 34:4; Eze 32:7; Jl 2:10,31; 3:15; Hg 2:6,21
6:33	- Ps 37:4	13:44	- Pr 2:4	24:30	- Dn 7:14; Zch 12:10,14
6:34	- Ex 16:4; Eze 34:8	13:50	- Dn 3:6	24:31	- Dt 30:4; Is 27:13; Zch 2:6
7:15	- Eze 22:27	14:3-4	- Lv 18:16; 20:21	24:37	- Gn 6:9-12
7:16	- Sir 27:6	14:20	- 2 Kgs 4:43-44	24:38-39	- Gn 6:13 – 7:24

24:39 - Is 13:10	26:38 - Ps 42:5,11; 43:5; Jon 4:9	27:25 - Eze 33:5
25:31 - Dt 33:2; Zch 14:5	26:52 - Gn 9:6	27:30 - Is 50:6
25:32 - Eze 34:17	26:56 - Zch 13:7	27:34 - Ps 69:21
25:35-36 - Is 58:7	26:63 - Is 53:7	27:35 - Ps 22:18
25:40 - Pr 19:17	26:64 - Is 53:9	27:38 - Is 53:12
25:56 - Dn 12:2	26:65 - Nu 14:6; 2 Sm 13:19; Ezr 9:3; Job 1:20; 2:12; Jr 36:24	27:39 - Ps 22:7; 109:25; Lm 2:15
26:2 - Ex 12:1-27	26:65-66 - Lv 24:16	27:43 - Ps 22:8; Wsd 2:18-20
26:11 - Dt 15:11	26:67 - Is 50:6; 53:5	27:45 - Am 8:9
26:15 - Ex 21:32; Zch 11:12	27:9-10 - Jr 32:6-9	27:48 - Ps 69:21
26:17 - Ex 12:14-20	27:12 - Is 53:7	27:51 - Ex 26:31-35
26:23 - Ps 41:9	27:14 - Is 53:7	27:52-53 - Eze 37:12
26:24 - Ps 22:7,8,16-18	27:24 - Dt 21:6-9; Ps 26:6; Sus 46	27:57-58 - Dt 21:22-23
26:28 - Ex 24:8; Jr 31:31; Zch 9:11		28:18 - Dn 7:14
26:30 - Ps 113 - 118		28:20 - Hg 1:13

Mark

1:6 - 2 Kgs 1:8; Zch 13:4	7:10 - Lv 20:9	Eze 32:7-8;
1:11 - Gn 22:2; Ps 2:7; Is 42:1	7:37 - Is 35:5-6	Jl 2:10,31; 3:15
1:44 - Lv 14:2-32	8:18 - Jr 5:21; Eze 12:2	13:26 - Dn 7:14
2:7 - Ps 103:3; Is 43:25	9:7 - Dt 18:15; Ps 2:7	13:27 - Dt 30:4; Zch 2:6,10
2:23 - Dt 23:25	9:11-12 - Mal 4:5-6	14:7 - Dt 15:11
2:25-26 - 1 Sm 21:1-6	9:12 - Ps 22:1-18; Is 53:3	14:12 - Ex 12:6,15
2:26 - Lv 24:5-9; 2 Sm 15:35	9:48 - Is 66:24	14:18 - Ps 41:9
2:27 - Ex 20:8-10; Dt 5:12-14	10:27 - Gn 18:14; Job 42:2; Zch 8:6	14:24 - Ex 24:8; Zch 9:11
4:29 - Jl 3:13	12:1 - Is 5:1-2	14:34 - Ps 42:5,11; 43:5; Jon 4:9
4:32 - Eze 17:23; 31:6; Dn 4:12,21	12:6 - Gn 22:2	14:50 - Zch 13:7
5:7 - 1 Kgs 17:18	12:19 - Gn 38:8	14:60-61 - Is 53:7
5:34 - 1 Sm 1:17; 20:42; 2 Sm 15:9; 2 Kgs 5:19	12:26 - Ex 3:2,16	14:63 - Nu 14:6
6:18 - Lv 18:16	12:29-30 - Jos 22:5	14:64 - Lv 24:16
6:23 - Est 5:3,6; 7:2	12:33 - Jos 22:5; 1 Sm 15:22; Ho 6:6	15:4-5 - Is 53:7
6:34 - Nu 27:17; 1 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chr 18:16; Eze 34:8; Zch 10:2; Jdth 11:19	12:41 - 2 Kgs 12:9	15:23 - Ps 69:21
	13:8 - 2 Chr 15:6; Is 19:2	15:24 - Ps 22:18
	13:12 - Mic 7:6	15:29 - Ps 22:7; 109:25; Lm 2:15
	13:14 - 1 Macc 1:54	15:33 - Am 8:9
	13:19 - Dn 12:1	15:36 - Ps 69:21
	13:22 - Dt 13:1-3	16:19 - 2 Kgs 2:11; Ps 110:1
	13:24-25 - Is 13:10; 34:4;	

Luke

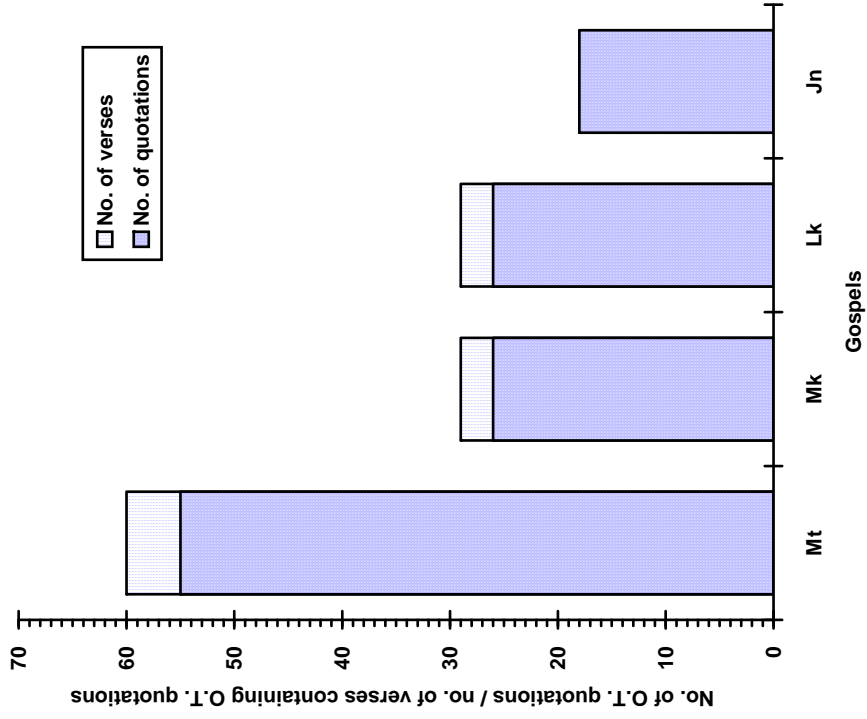
1:5 - 1 Chr 24:10	1:31 - Gn 16:11; Jdg 13:3; Is 7:14	1:48 - 1 Sm 1:11
1:9 - Ex 30:7	1:32-33 - 2 Sm 7:12,13,16; Is 9:7	1:49 - Ps 111:9
1:15 - Nu 6:3; Jdg 13:4; 1 Sm 1:11	1:33 - Dn 7:14; Mic 4:7	1:50 - Ps 103:13,17
1:17 - Mal 3:1; 4:5-6; Sir 48:10	1:37 - Gn 18:14	1:51 - 2 Sm 22:28; Ps 89:10
1:18 - Gn 18:11	1:41 - Gn 25:22	1:52 - Job 5:11; 12:19
1:19 - Dn 8:16; 9:21	1:42 - Dt 28:4; Jdg 5:24	1:53 - 1 Sm 2:5; Ps 107:9
1:25 - Gn 30:23	1:46-55 - 1 Sm 2:1-10	1:54 - Ps 98:3; Is 41:8
		1:55 - Gn 17:7; 22:17; Mic 7:20

1:59 - Gn 17:12; Lv 12:3	9:17 - 2 Kgs 4:44	19:1-14
1:68 - Ps 41:13; 72:18; 106:48; 111:9	9:35 - Ps 2:7; Is 42:1	17:29 - Gn 19:15-29
1:69 - Ps 18:2	9:54 - 2 Kgs 1:10,12	17:31-32 - Gn 19:17,26
1:71 - Ps 106:10	9:61 - 1 Kgs 19:20	17:37 - Job 39:30
1:72 - Ps 106:45-46	10:4 - 2 Kgs 4:29	18:12 - Gn 14:20
1:72-73 - Gn 17:7; Lv 26:42; Ps 105:8-9	10:12 - Gn 19:24-25	18:13 - Ps 51:1
1:73-74 - Gn 22:16-17	10:13-14 - Is 23; Eze 26 – 28; Jl 3:4-8; Am 1:9-10; Zch 9:2-4	18:20 - Ex 20:13-16; Dt 5:17-20
1:76 - Is 40:3; Mal 3:1	10:15 - Is 14:13,15	18:22 - Sir 29:11
1:78 - Mal 4:2	10:18 - Is 14:12	19:8 - Ex 22:1
1:78-79 - Is 9:2; 58:8; 60:1-2	10:19 - Gn 3:15; Ps 91:13	19:10 - Eze 34:16
2:21 - Gn 17:12; Lv 12:3	10:20 - Ex 32:32	19:36 - 2 Kgs 9:13
2:22 - Lv 12:3,6	10:27 - Dt 10:12; Jos 22:5	19:42 - Dt 32:29; Is 6:9-10
2:25 - Is 40:1; 49:13	10:28 - Lv 18:5	19:44 - Ps 137:9
2:30-31 - Is 40:5; 52:10	11:20 - Ex 8:19	20:9 - Is 5:1
2:32 - Is 42:6; 46:13; 49:6	11:21-2 - PsSol 5:4	20:10-12 - 2 Chr 36:15-16
2:34 - Is 8:14	11:31 - 1 Kgs 10:1-10; 2 Chr 9:1-12	20:28 - Gn 38:8
2:38 - Is 52:9	11:32 - Jon 3:8,10	20:37 - Ex 3:2
2:41 - Ex 12:24-27; Dt 16:1-8	11:42 - Lv 27:30	21:8 - Dn 7:22
2:52 - 1 Sm 2:26; Pr 3:4	11:51 - Gn 4:8; 2 Chr 24:20-21	21:9 - Dn 2:28
3:22 - Gn 22:2; Ps 2:7	12:14 - Ex 2:14	21:10 - 2 Chr 15:6; Is 19:2
3:27 - 1 Chr 3:17; Ezr 3:2	12:19-20 - Sir 11:19	21:18 - 1 Sm 14:45
3:31 - 2 Sm 5:14	12:24 - Ps 147:9	21:22 - Dt 32:35; Jr 46:10; Ho 9:7
3:31-32 - 1 Sm 16:1,13	12:27 - 1 Kgs 10:4-7; 2 Chr 9:3-6	21:24 - Ezr 9:7; Ps 79:1; Jr 21:7; Zch 12:3; 1 Macc 3:45,51; Sir 28:18; Tob 14:5
3:31-33 - Ru 4:17-22; 1 Chr 2:1-14	12:35 - Ex 12:11; 1 Kgs 18:46; 2 Kgs 4:29; 9:1; Job 38:3; 40:7; Pr 31:17; Jr 1:17	21:25 - Ps 46:2-3; 65:7; Is 13:10; 24:19; Eze 32:7; Jl 2:30-31; Wsd 5:22
3:33 - Gn 29:35	12:53 - Mic 7:6	21:26 - Hg 2:6,21
3:34 - Gn 21:3; 25:26; 1 Chr 1:28,34	13:3 - Ps 7:12	21:28 - 1 En 51:2
3:34-36 - Gn 11:10-26; 1 Chr 1:24-27	13:5 - Ps 7:12	21:35 - Is 24:17
3:36-38 - Gn 4:25 – 5:32; 1 Chr 1:1-4	13:6 - Hab 3:17	22:1 - Ex 12:1-27
4:11 - Ps 91:12	13:14 - Ex 20:9-10; Dt 5:13-14	22:7 - Ex 12:6,14,15
4:25 - 1 Kgs 17:1,7; 18:1	13:19 - Eze 17:23; 31:6; Dn 4:12,21	22:8 - Ex 12:8-11
4:27 - 2 Kgs 5:1-14	13:27 - Ps 6:8	22:20 - Ex 24:8; Jr 31:31; 32:40; Zch 9:11
5:14 - Lv 14:2-32	13:29 - Ps 107:3	22:21 - Ps 41:9
5:21 - Is 43:25	14:8-10 - Pr 25:6-7	22:31 - Am 9:9
6:1 - Dt 23:25	14:26 - Dt 33:9; 1 Kgs 17:9	23:33 - Is 53:12
6:3-4 - 1 Sm 21:1-6	15:4 - Eze 34:11,16	23:34 - Ps 22:18; Is 53:12
6:4 - Lv 24:5-9	15:13 - Pr 29:3	23:35-36 - Ps 22:7-8
6:21 - Ps 126:5-6; Is 61:3; Jr 31:25	15:18 - Ps 51:4	23:36 - Ps 69:21
6:23 - 2 Chr 36:16	15:20 - Tob 11:9	23:44-45 - Am 8:9
6:27 - Ps 25:21	16:9 - 1 En 63:10	23:45 - Ex 26:31-33; 36:35
6:35 - Lv 25:35-36	16:15 - Pr 24:12	23:49 - Ps 38:11; 88:8
6:46 - Mal 1:6	17:12 - Lv 13:46	23:56 - Ex 12:16; 20:10; Dt 5:14
7:12 - 1 Kgs 17:17	17:14 - Lv 14:2-3	24:4 - 2 Macc 3:26
7:15 - 1 Kgs 17:23; 2 Kgs 4:36	17:26 - Gn 6:5-12	24:27 - Dt 18:15; Ps 22:1-18; Is 53
7:19 - Ps 40:7; Mal 3:1	17:27 - Gn 7:6-23	24:46 - Is 53; Ho 6:2
7:22 - Is 35:5; 61:1	17:28 - Gn 18:20-21;	
7:44 - Gn 18:4		
7:46 - Ps 23:5		

John

1:3	- Wsd 9:1	5:46	- Dt 18:15	10:8	- Jr 23:1-2; Eze 34:2-3
1:14	- Is 60:1-2; PsSol 7:6	6:14	- Dt 18:18	10:9	- Ps 118:20
1:17	- Ex 31:18; 34:28	6:31	- Nu 11:7-9; Ps 105:40	10:11	- Ps 23:1; Is 40:11; Eze 34:15
1:18	- Ex 33:20	7:2	- Lv 23:34	10:16	- Is 56:8; Eze 34:23; 37:24
1:21	- Dt 18:15,18	7:22	- Gn 17:10-13; Lv 12:3	10:22	- 1 Macc 4:59
1:29	- Is 53:6-7	7:24	- Lv 19:15; Is 11:3,4	10:33	- Lv 24:16
1:45	- Dt 18:18; Is 7:14; 9:6; Eze 34:23	7:37	- Lv 23:36	11:24	- Dn 12:2
1:49	- Ps 2:7; Zph 3:15	7:38	- Pr 18:4; Is 58:11	11:55	- 2 Chr 30:17
1:51	- Gn 28:12	7:40	- Dt 18:15	12:8	- Dt 15:11
2:5	- Gn 41:55	7:42	- 2 Sm 7:12; Ps 89:3-4	12:27	- Ps 6:3; 42:5,11
3:8	- Ec 11:5	7:51	- Dt 1:16	12:34	- Ps 89:4; 110:4; Is 9:7; Dn 7:14
3:12	- Wsd 9:16	8:5	- Lv 20:10; Dt 22:22	12:41	- Is 6:1
3:13	- Pr 30:4	8:7	- Dt 17:7	14:15	- Wsd 6:18
3:14	- Nu 21:9	8:12	- Is 49:6	16:21	- Is 13:8; 21:3; 26:17; Mic 4:9
3:21	- Tob 4:6	8:15	- 1 Sm 16:7	16:22	- Is 66:14
3:28	- Mal 3:1	8:17	- Dt 17:6; 19:15	16:32	- Zch 13:7
4:5	- Gn 33:19; 48:22; Jos 24:32	8:33	- Ne 9:36	17:3	- Wsd 15:3
4:9	- Ezr 4:3; 9:1 – 10:44	8:35	- Ex 21:2; Dt 15:12	17:12	- Ps 41:9; 109:4,5,7,8
4:20	- Dt 11:29; 12:5-14; Jos 8:33; Ps 122:1-5	8:41	- Dt 32:6; Is 63:16; 64:8	19:7	- Lv 24:16
4:22	- Is 2:3	8:44	- Gn 3:4	19:28	- Ps 22:15
4:37	- Mic 6:15	9:2	- Ex 20:5; Eze 18:20	19:29	- Ps 69:21
4:48	- Dn 4:2,37	9:5	- Is 49:6	19:30	- Job 19:26,27
5:10	- Jr 17:21	9:7	- 2 Kgs 5:10	19:31	- Dt 21:22-23
5:22	- 1 En 69:27	9:24	- Jos 7:19	20:9	- Ps 16:9
5:29	- Dn 12:2	9:31	- Ps 34:15; 66:18; Pr 15:29; Is 1:15		
5:45	- Dt 31:26-27	9:34	- Ps 51:5		

No. of O.T. quotations in each of the four Gospels
No. of verses containing O.T. quotations in each of the four Gospels



% of verses allocated an O.T. quotation in each of the four Gospels
% of verses containing an O.T. quotation in each of the four Gospels

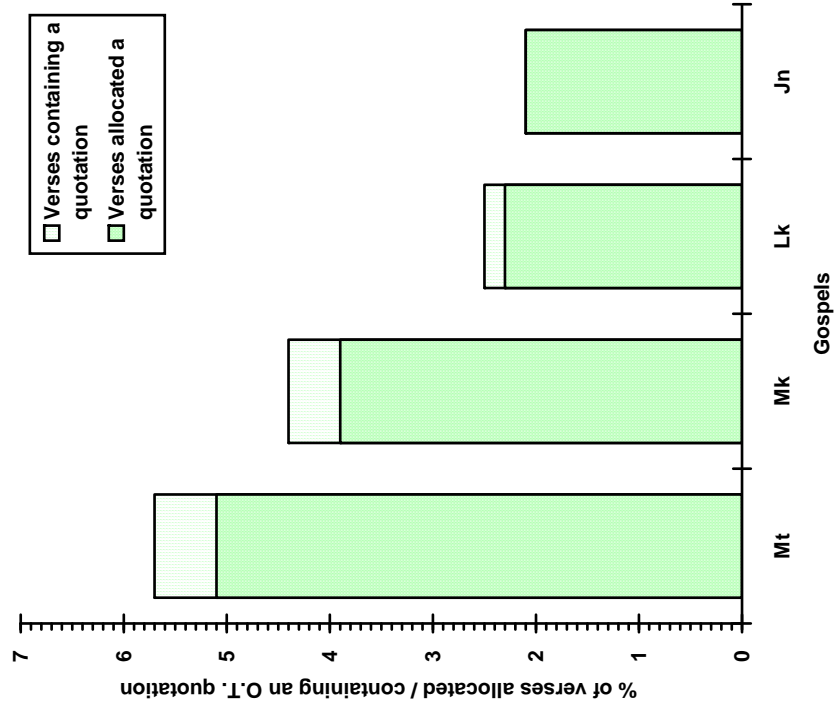
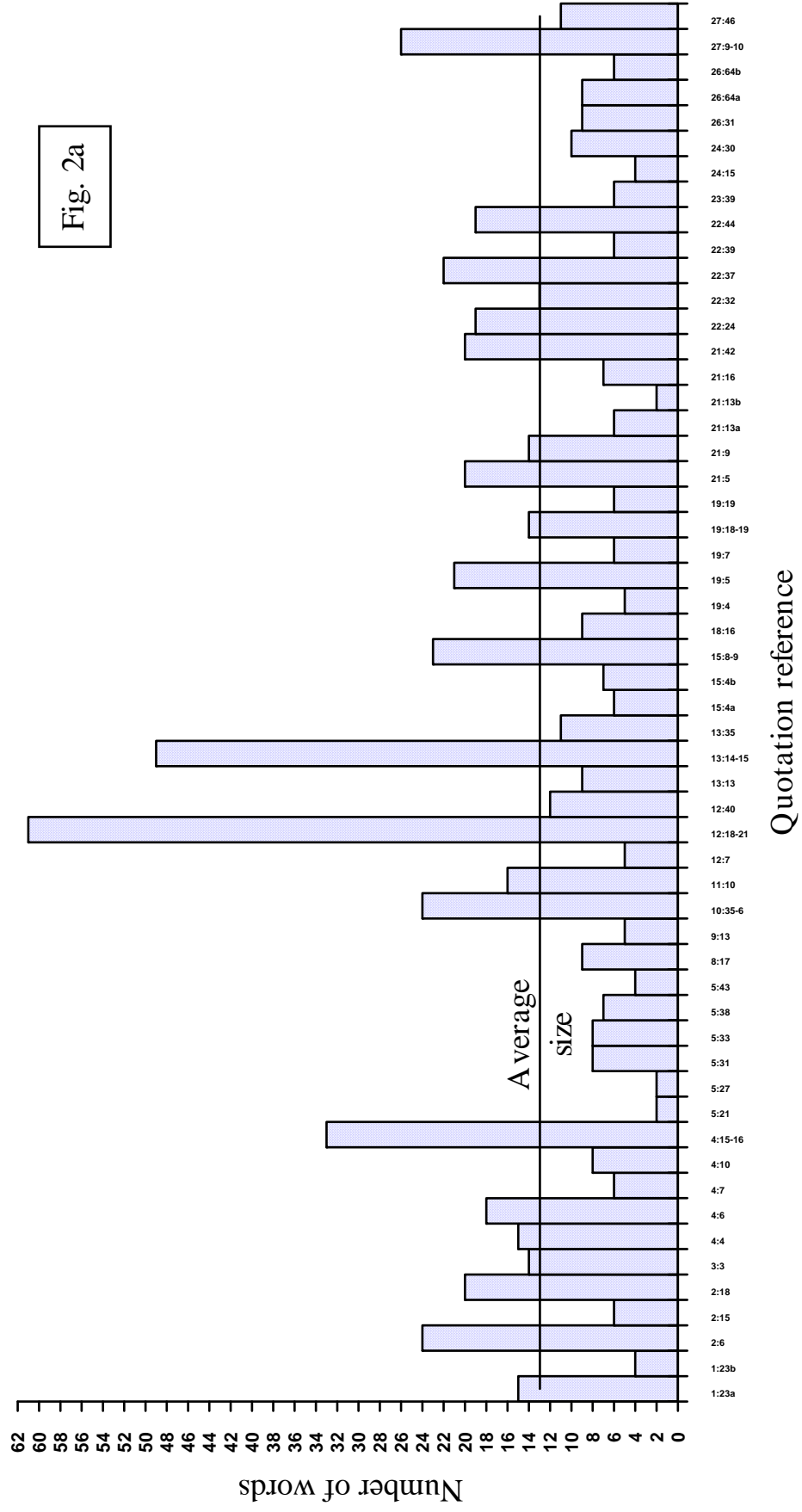
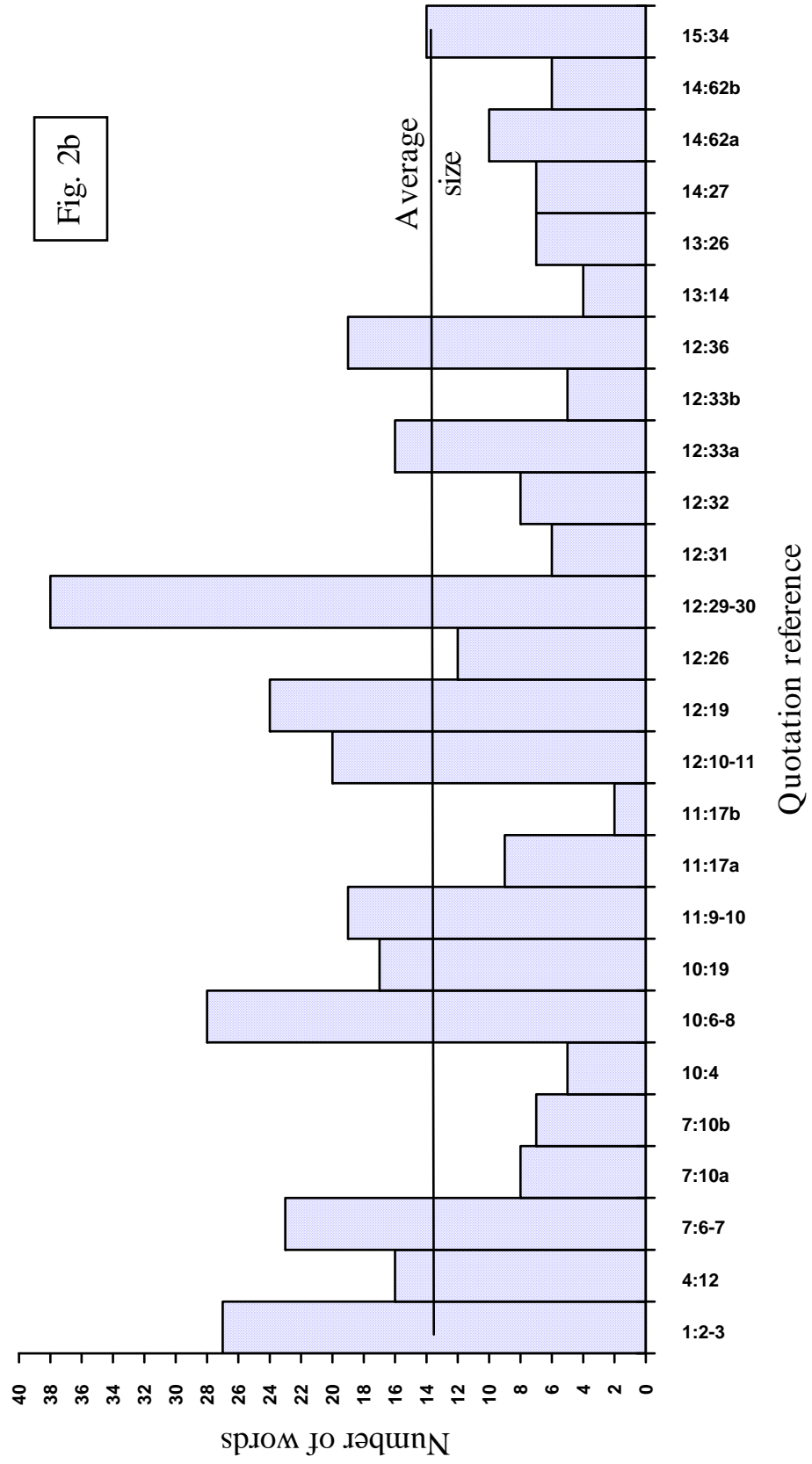


Fig. 1

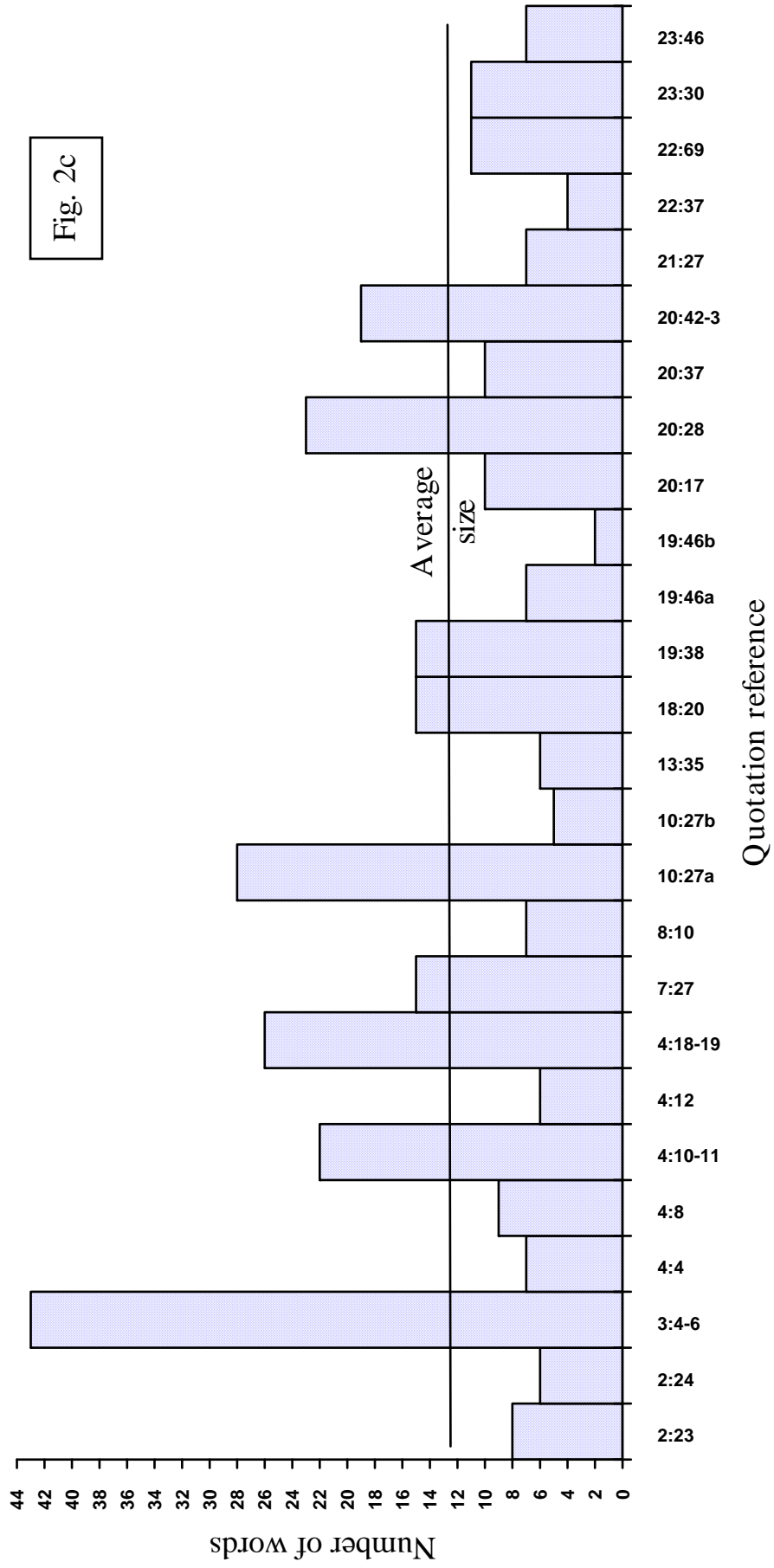
The number of words in each O.T. quotation in Matthew's Gospel and their distribution



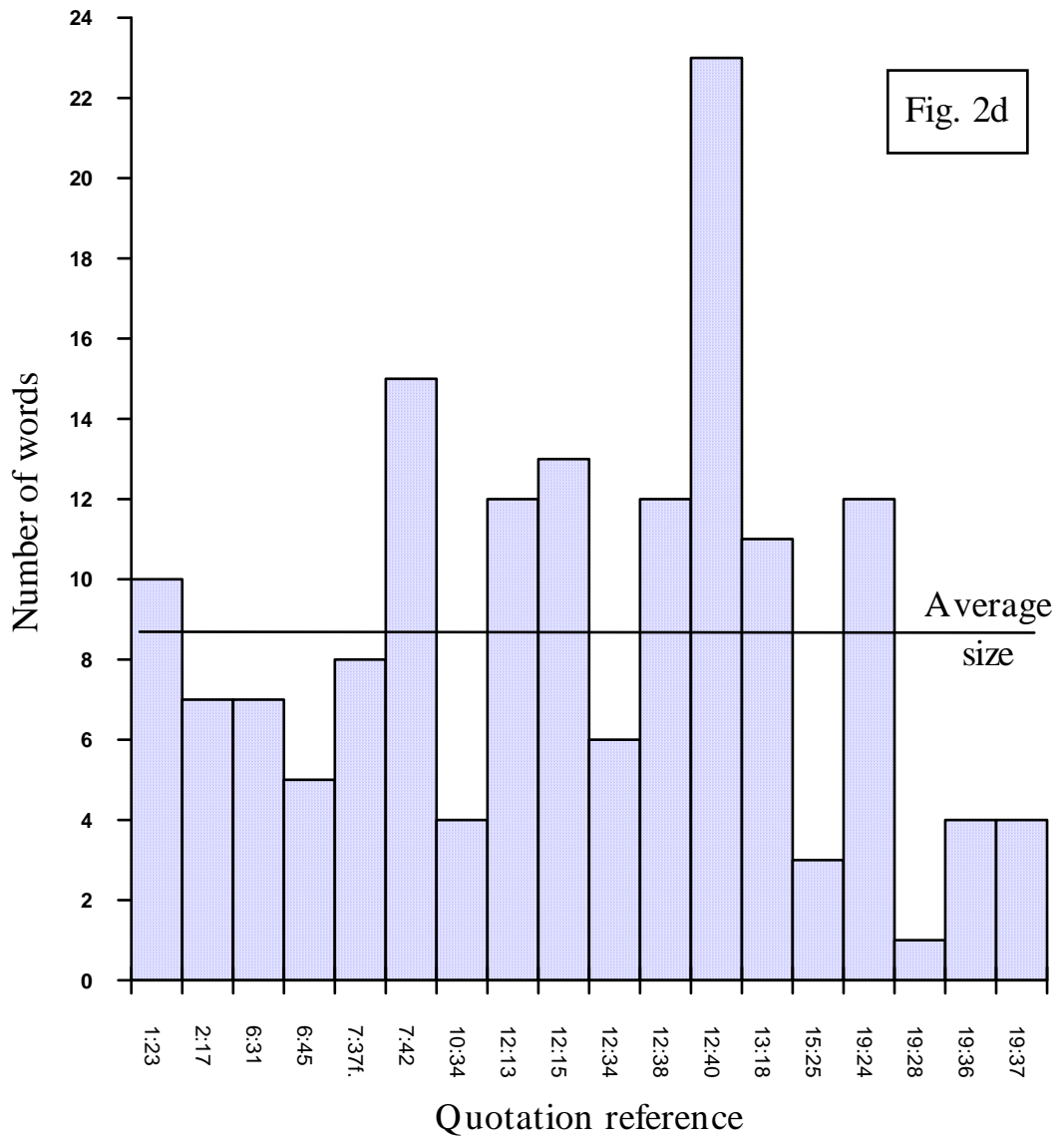
The number of words in each O.T. quotation in Mark's Gospel and their distribution



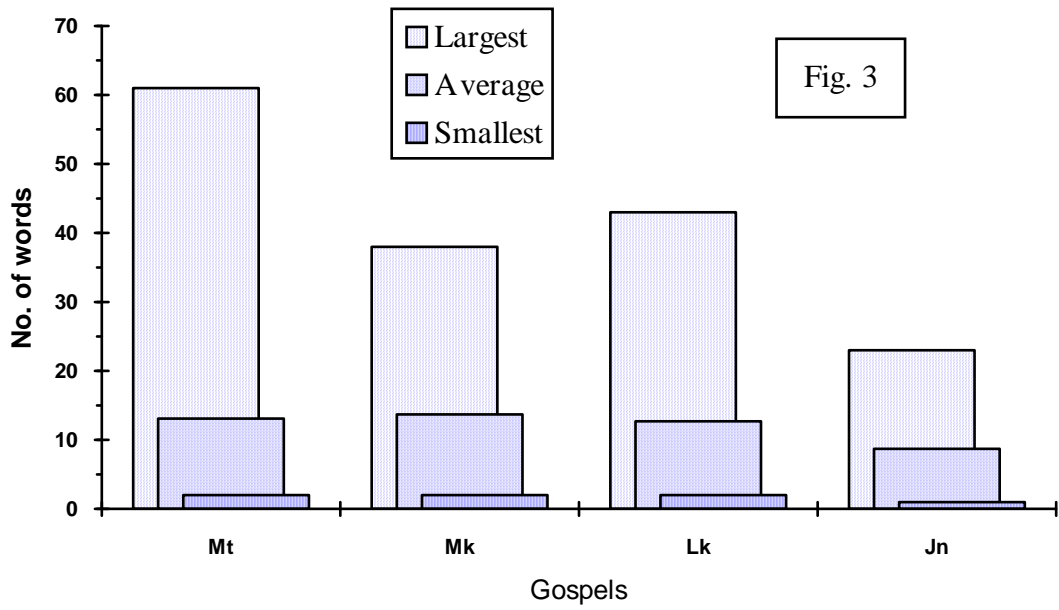
The number of words in each O.T. quotation in Luke's Gospel and their distribution



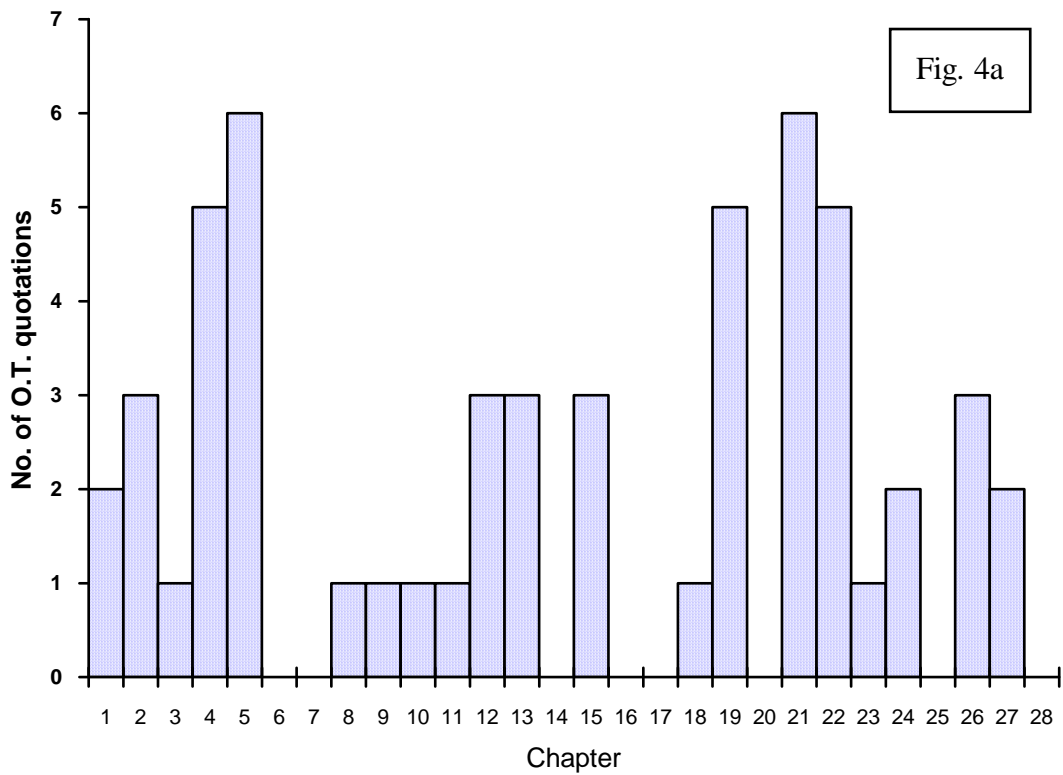
The number of words in each O.T. quotation in John's Gospel and their distribution



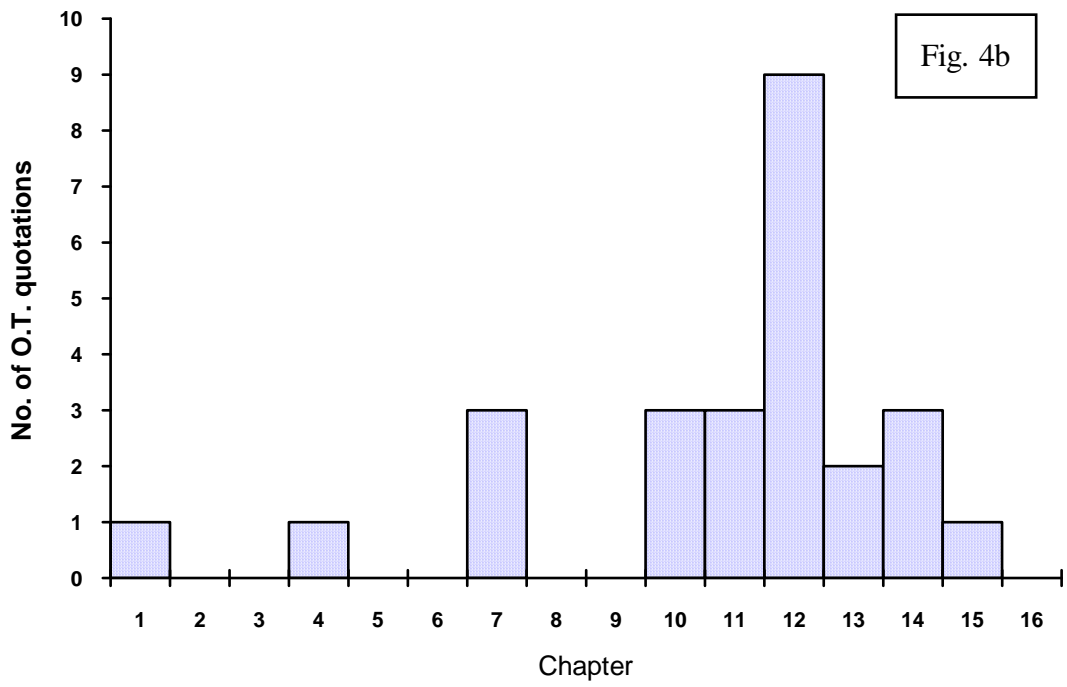
The no. of words in the O.T. quotations in each of the four Gospels



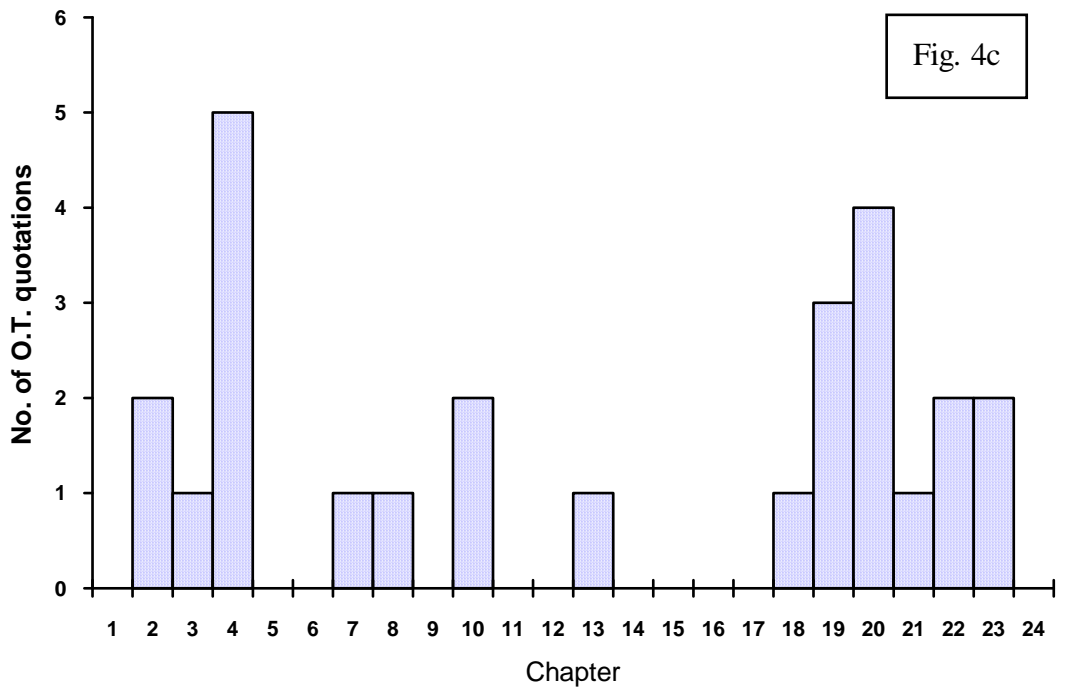
The distribution of O.T. quotations in Matthew's Gospel



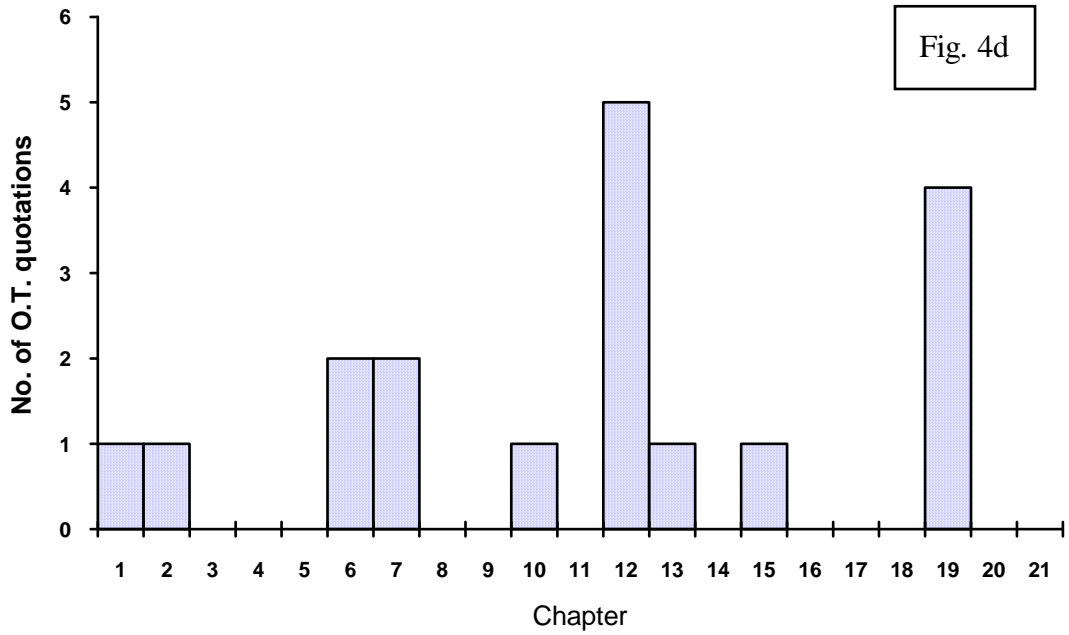
The distribution of O.T. quotations in Mark's Gospel



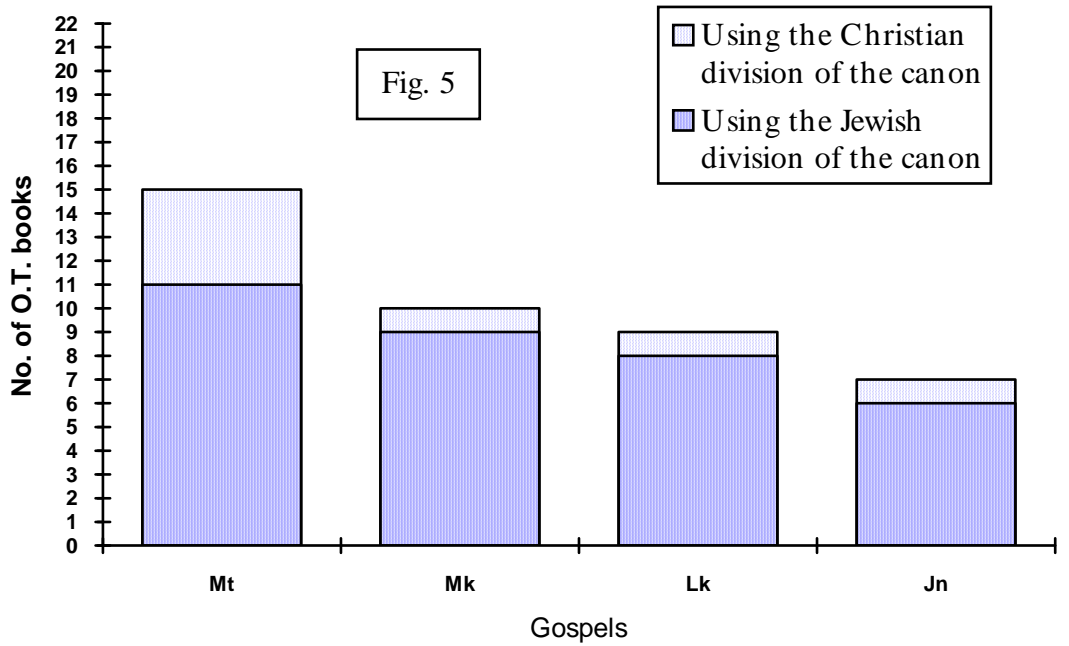
The distribution of O.T. quotations in Luke's Gospel



The distribution of O.T. quotations in John's Gospel



The no. of O.T. books quoted from in each of the four Gospels



The no. of O.T. books quoted from in each of the four Gospels expressed as a percentage of the total no. of verses in each respective Gospel

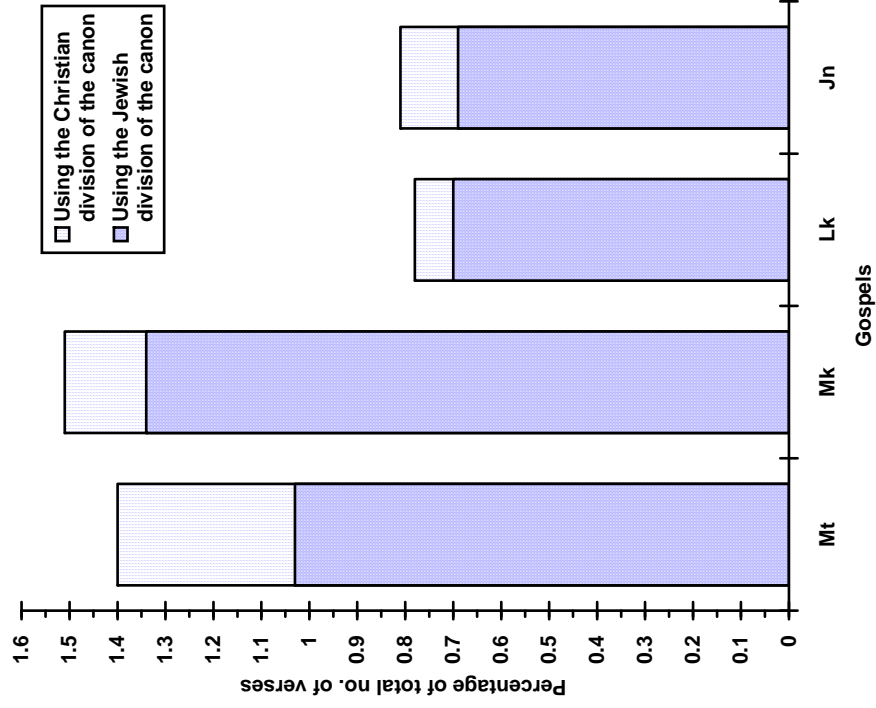
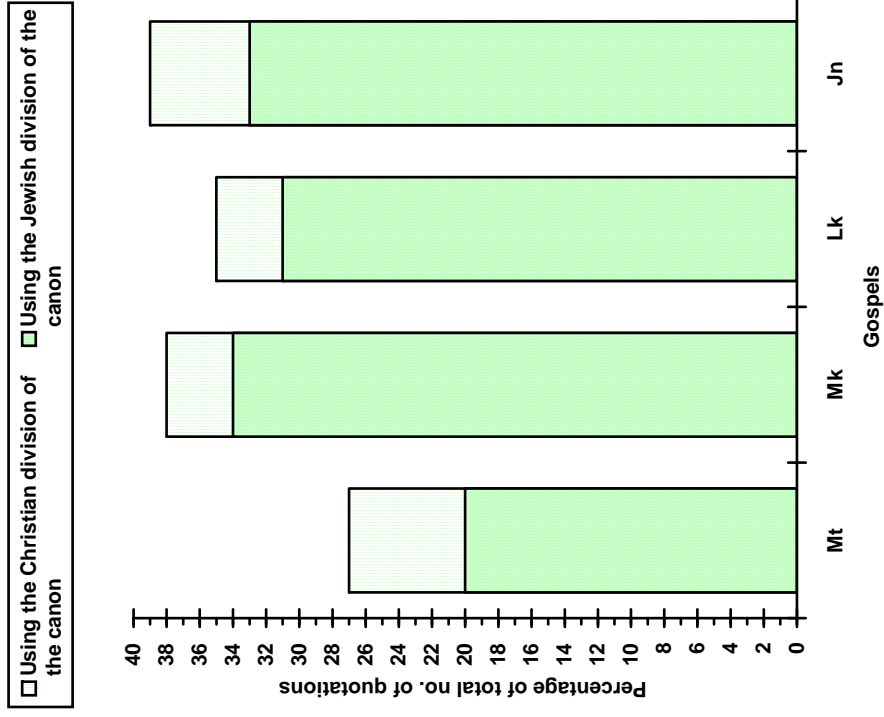


Fig. 6

The no. of O.T. books quoted from in each of the four Gospels expressed as a percentage of the total no. of O.T. quotations in each respective Gospel



The no. of O.T. books used to construct non-conflate quotations from in each of the four Gospels

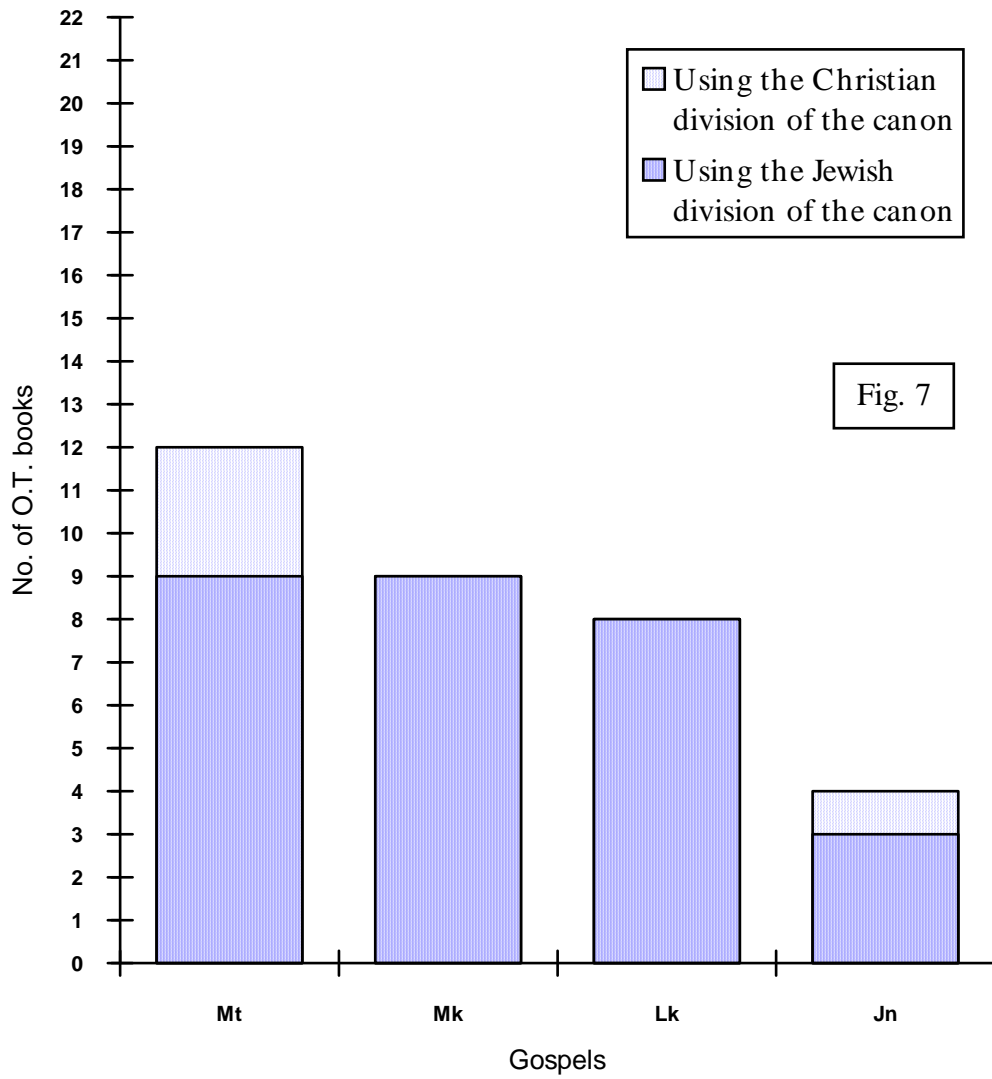


Fig. 7

The no. of O.T. books used to construct non-conflate quotations from in each of the four Gospels, expressed as a percentage of the total no. of verses in each respective Gospel

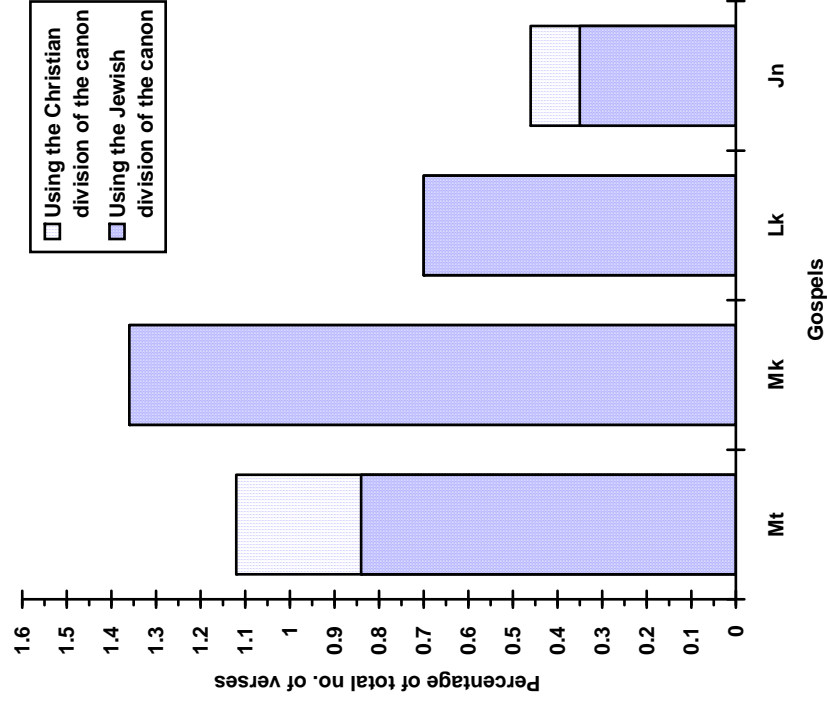
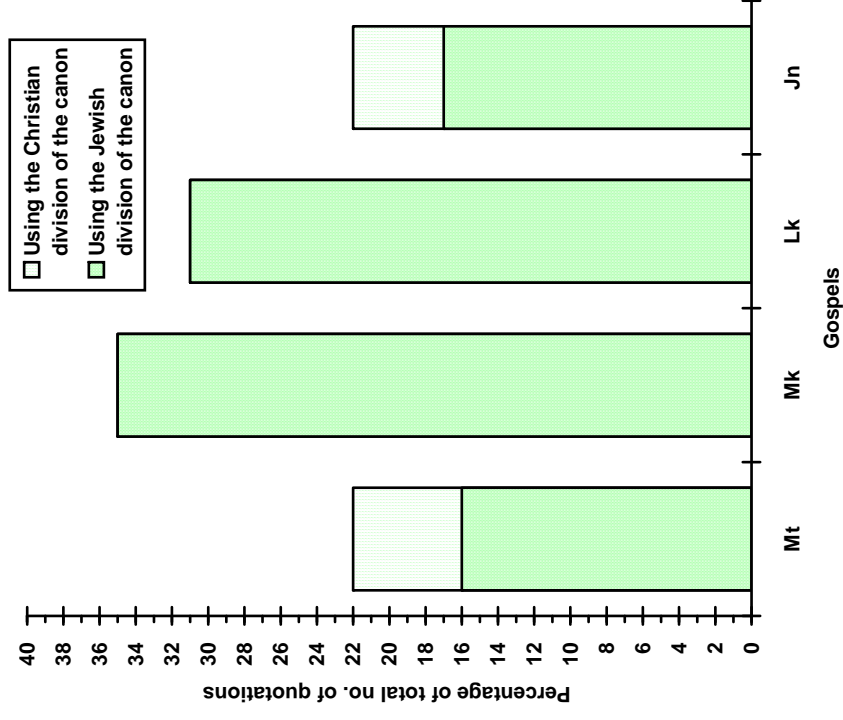
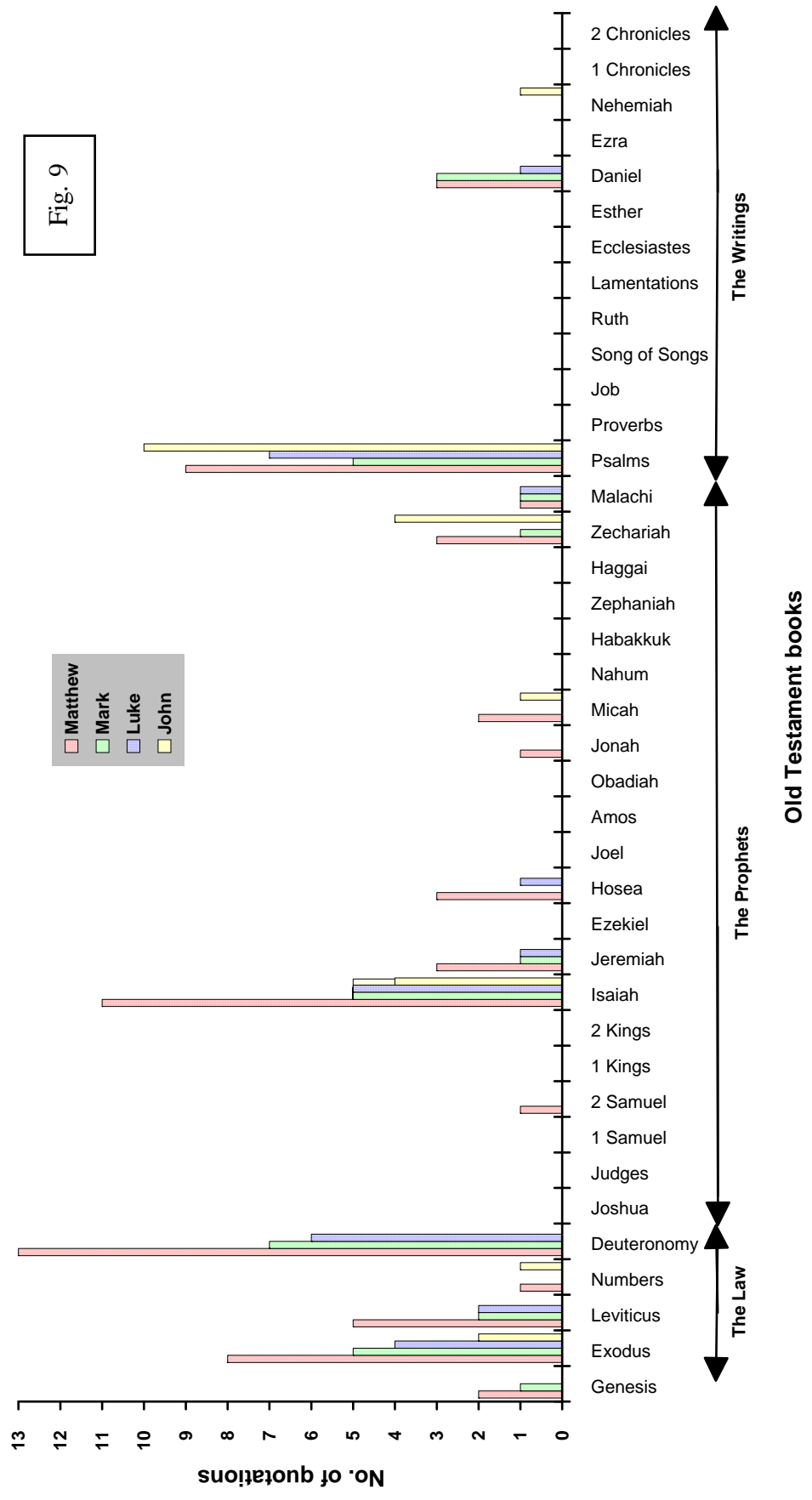


Fig. 8

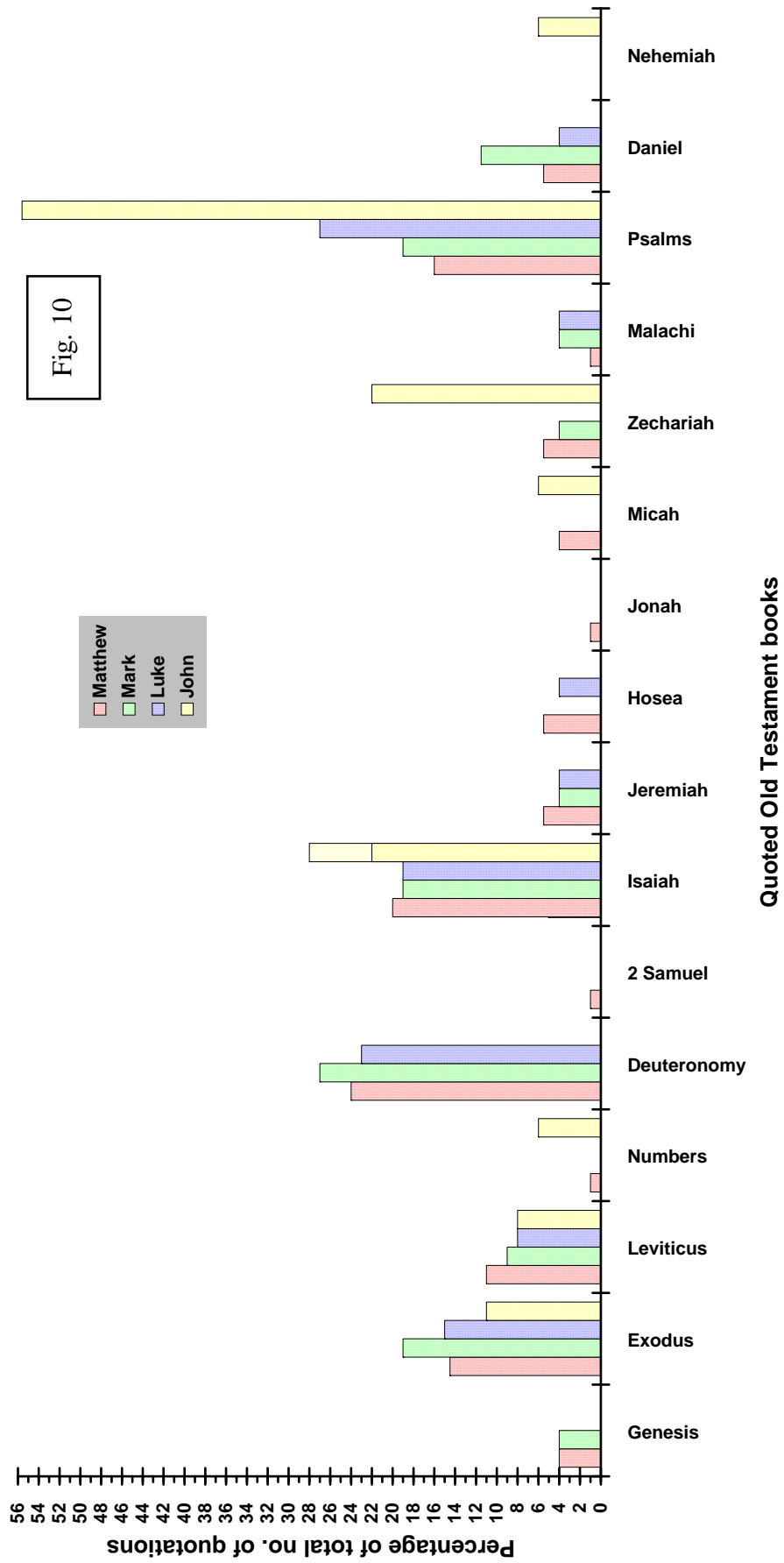
The no. of O.T. books used to construct non-conflate quotations from in each of the four Gospels, expressed as a percentage of the total no. of O.T. quotations in each respective Gospel



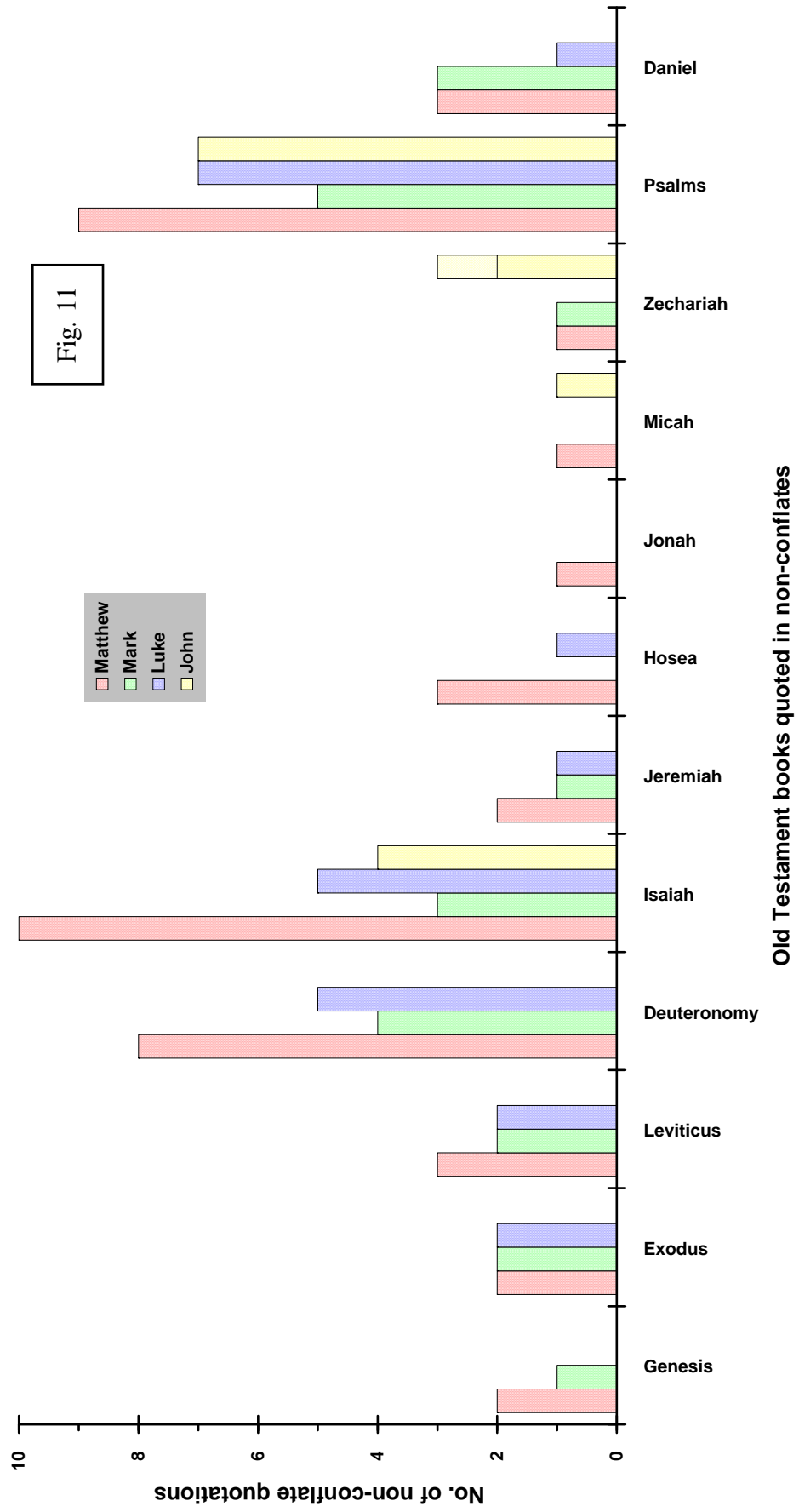
A comparison of the no. of quotations each O.T. book appears in in each of the four Gospels



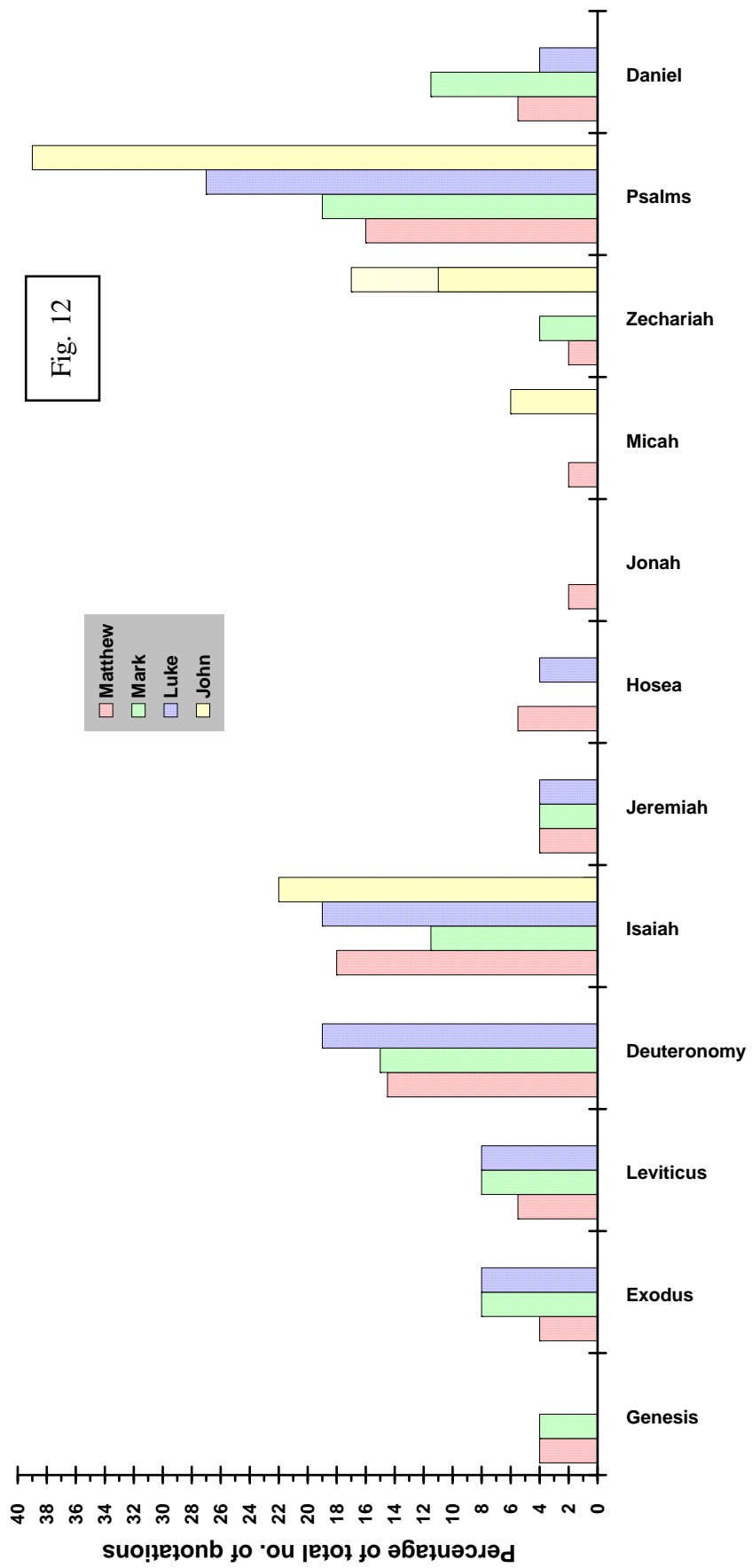
A comparison of the no. of quotations each O.T. book appears in in each of the four Gospels, expressed as a percentage of the total no. of O.T. quotations in each respective Gospel



A comparison of the no. of non-conflate quotations each O.T. book appears in in each of the four Gospels



A comparison of the no. of 'non-conflate' quotations each O.T. book appears in in each of the four Gospels, expressed as a percentage of the total no. of O.T. quotations in each respective Gospel



Old Testament books quoted in non-conflates

A Comparison of John's Old Testament Sources and the Versions he uses

Fig. 13

O.T. version	Def LXX verbatim	Prob LXX (poss) Heb	Prob LXX (poss) Heb (poss) mem	Prob LXX (poss) Heb (from mem?)	Prob LXX & prob Heb	Poss LXX poss Heb poss mem	Prob no version (poss) LXX (poss) Heb (poss) Xian	Heb or <i>testimonium</i> (or other Xian version)	Prob Xian (poss) LXX (poss) Heb	Heb / LXX Def <i>via</i> Xian version	Def Xian (poss) also LXX / Heb
O.T. source											
Def Is	12:38	1:23			12:40						
Def Is + prob others			6:45								
Def Ps	10:34; 19:24	2:17		15:25	13:18	19:28					
Def Ps: last In def Zch											
Prob Ps + prob others		12:34									12:13
Prob Ps + poss Ex, Ne		6:31									
Prob Ex, Nu & Ps			19:36								
Def Zch								19:37			
Def Zch										12:15	
Prob based on Zch + def others							7:37f.				
Prob Mic + def others									7:42		

Isaiah - Zch Psalms Ex + Nu/Ne Zch - Micah

Possibility ⇒ Probability that the version is Christian (inc. *testimonia*)

LXX Heb

The no. of speakers used for O.T. quotations in each of the four Gospels

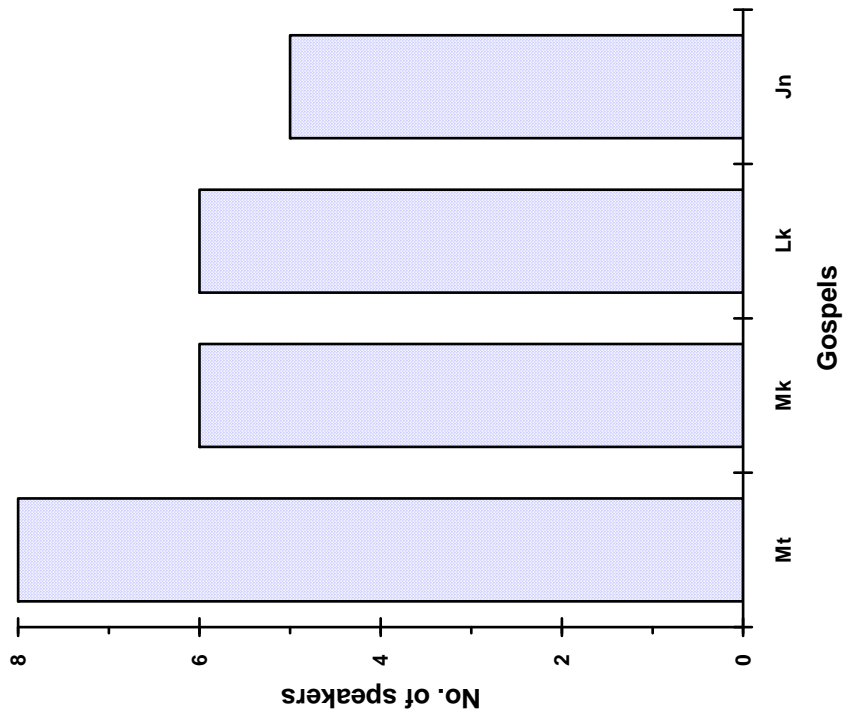
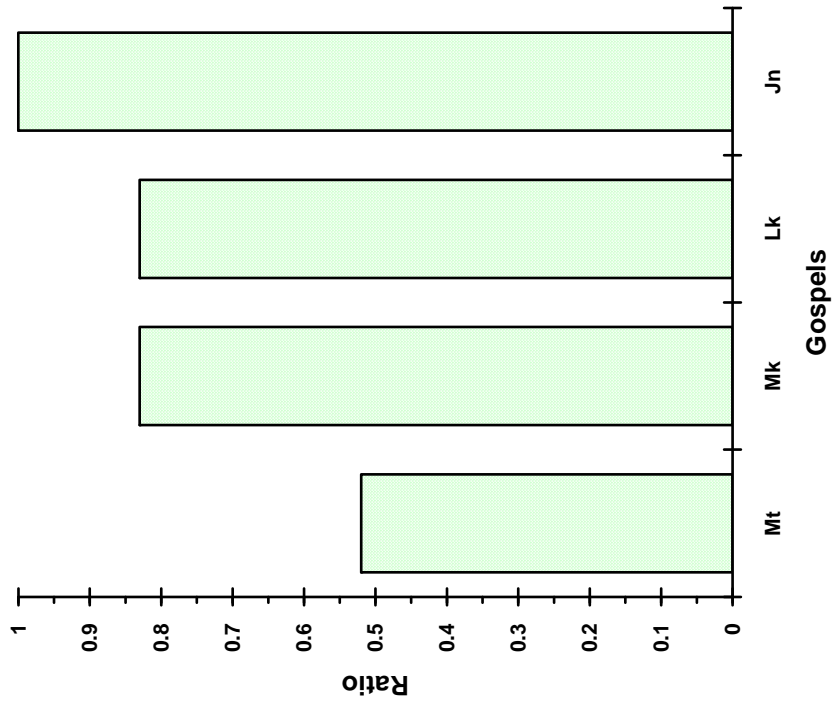
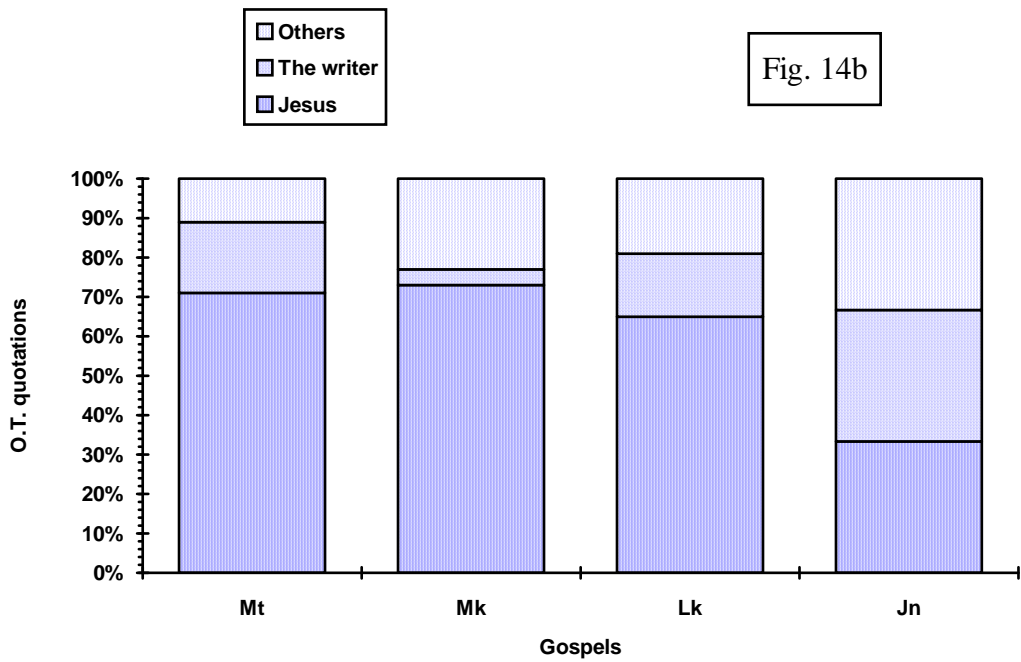


Fig. 14a

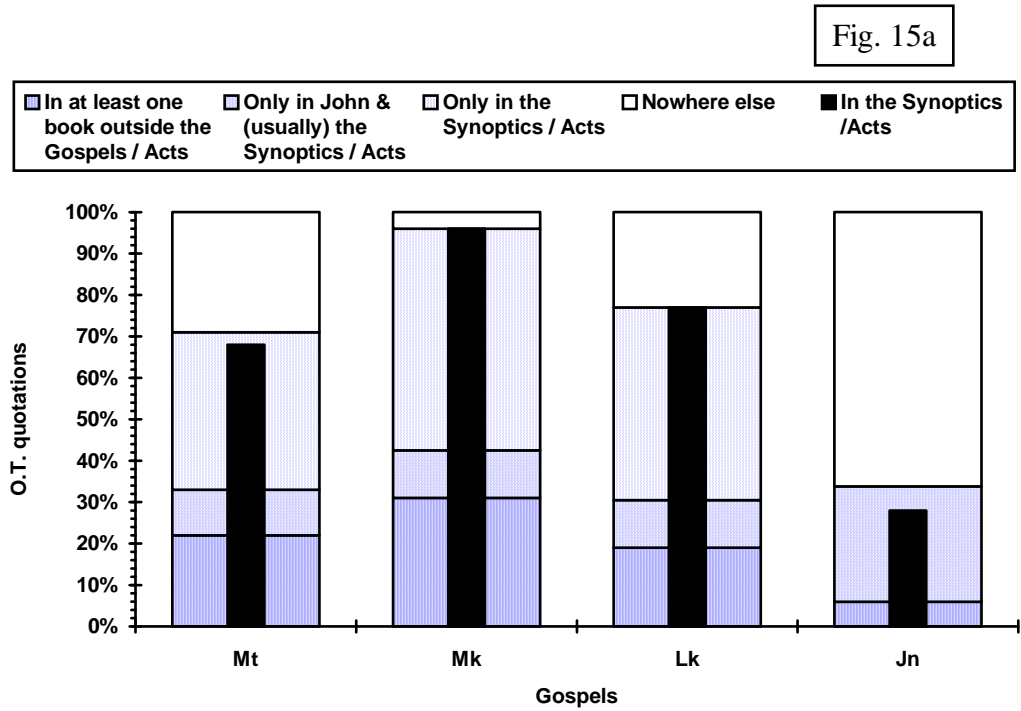
The no. of speakers per O.T. quotation in each Gospel expressed as a ratio of the no. of speakers per O.T. quotation in John



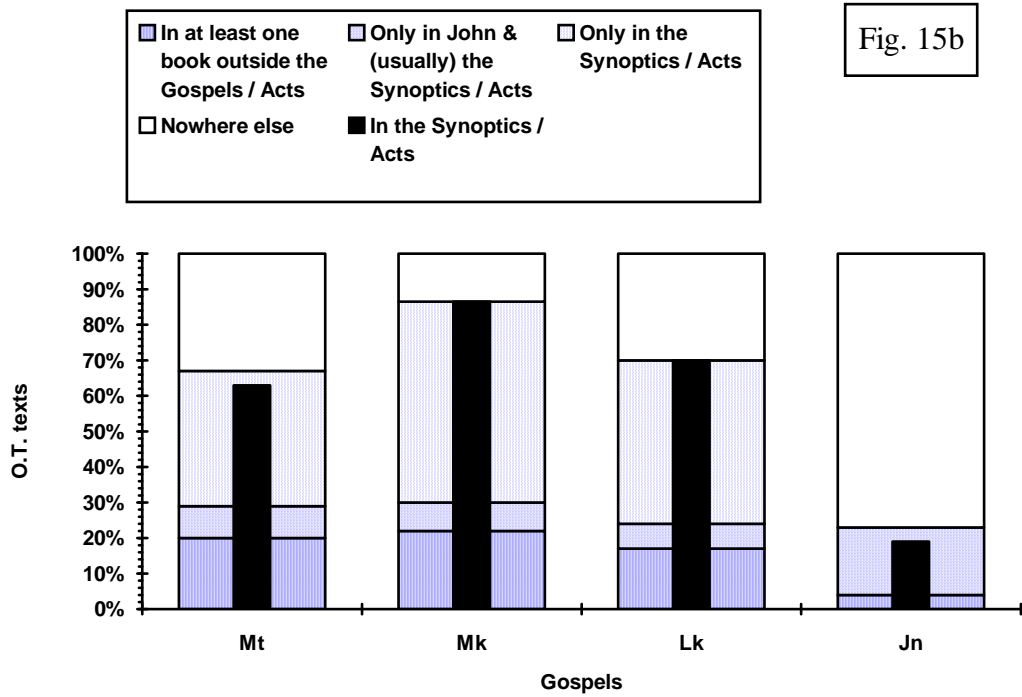
The percentage of O.T. quotations given by the various speakers in each of the four Gospels



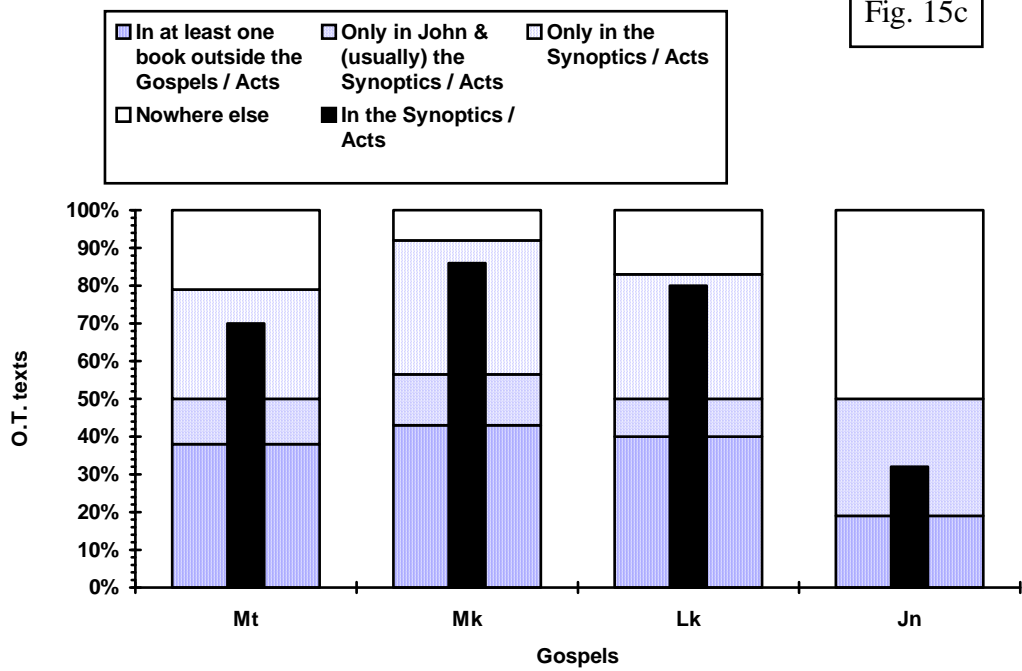
The percentage of O.T. quotations in each of the four Gospels also quoted elsewhere in the New Testament



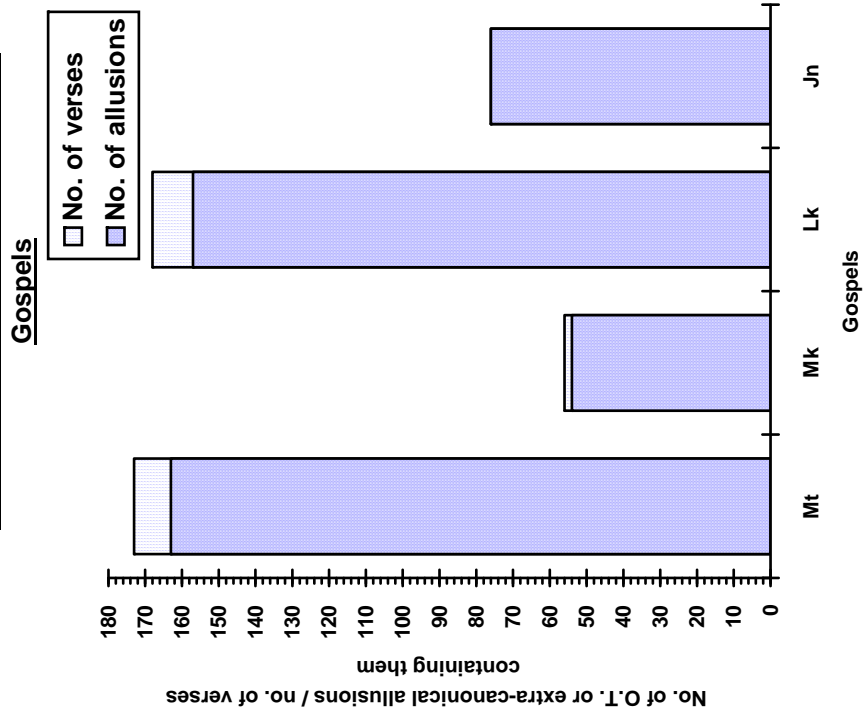
The percentage of O.T. texts quoted in each of the four Gospels also quoted elsewhere in the New Testament



The percentage of O.T. texts quoted in each of the four Gospels also used in some way elsewhere in the New Testament



No. of O.T. or extra-canonical allusions in each of the four Gospels
No. of verses containing an O.T. or extra-canonical allusion in each of the four Gospels



% of verses allocated / containing an O.T. or extra-canonical allusion in each of the four Gospels

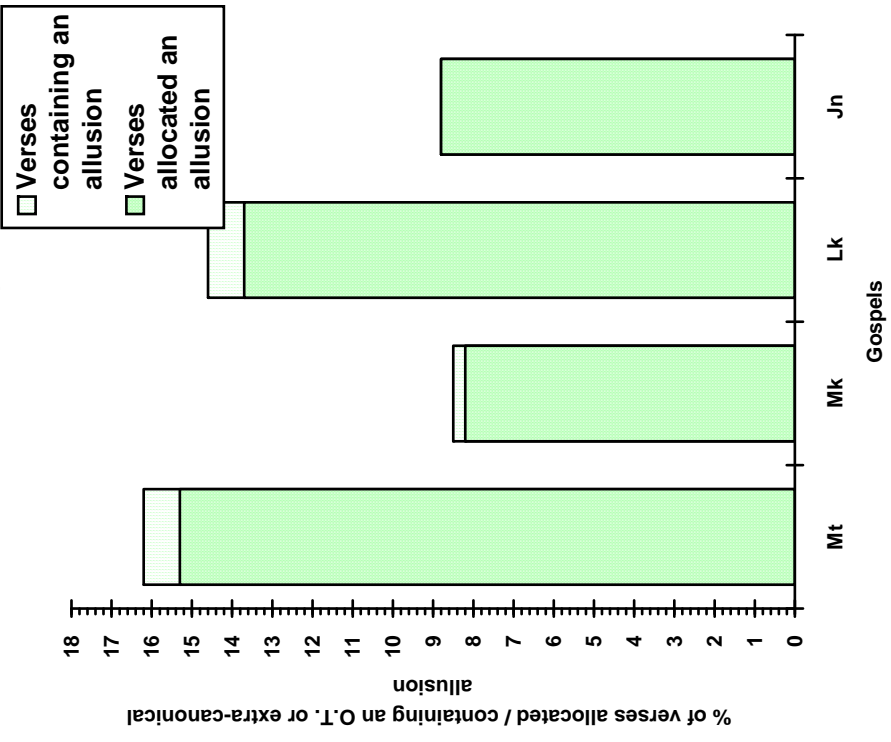
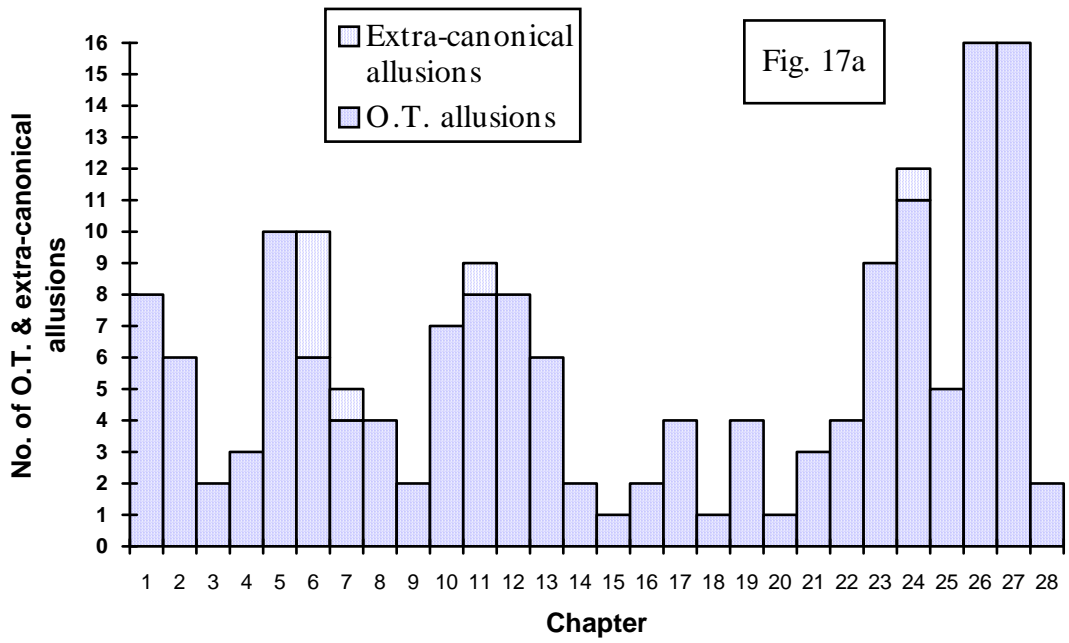
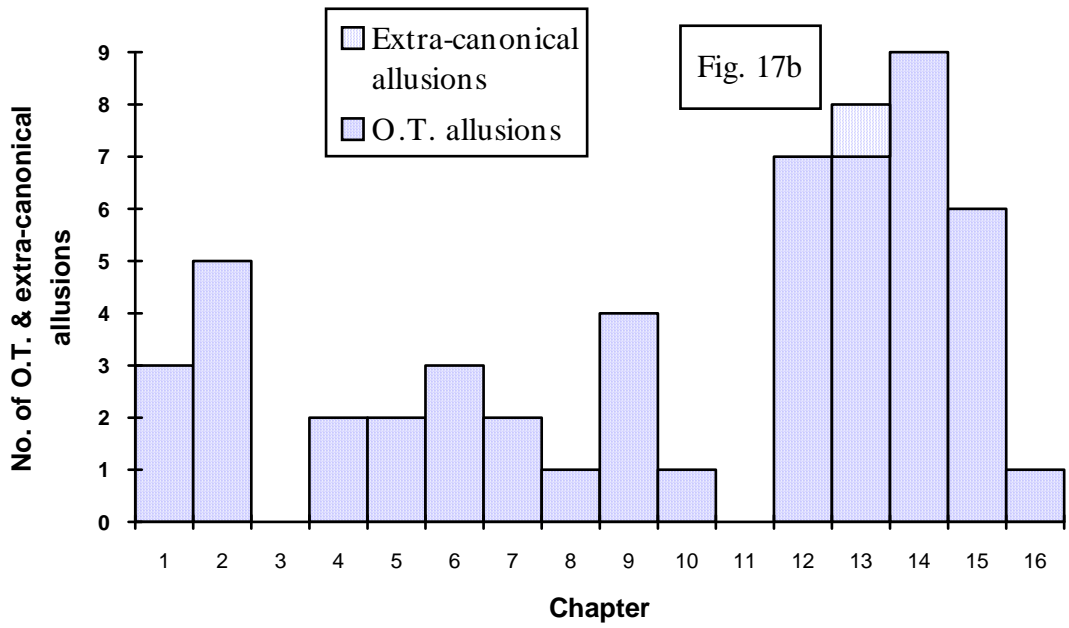


Fig. 16

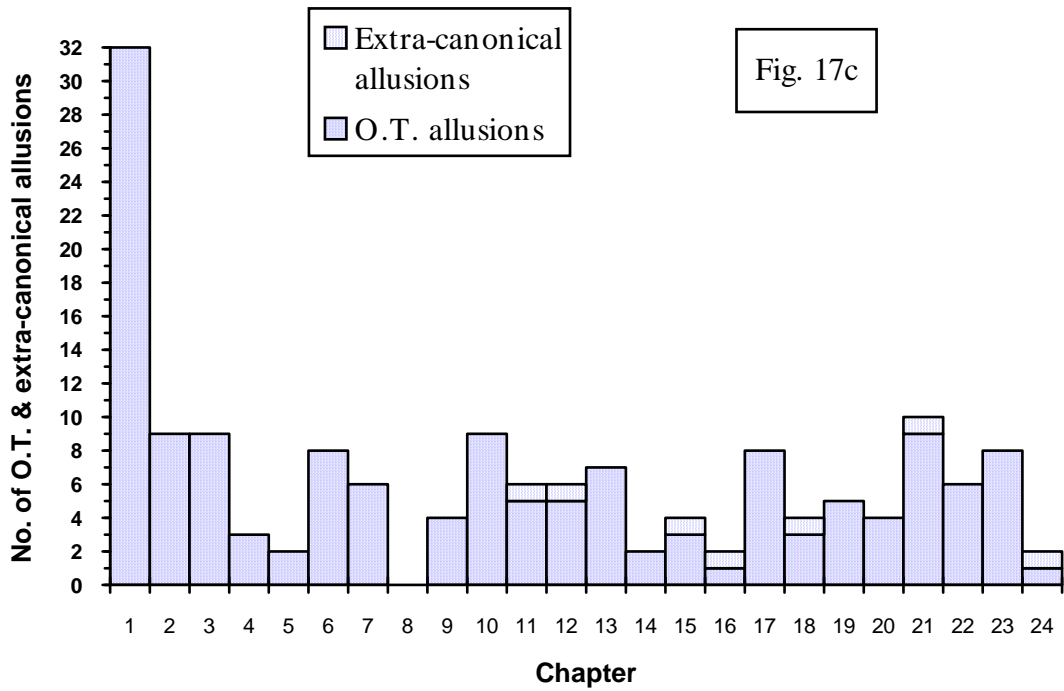
The distribution of O.T. & extra-canonical allusions in Matthew's Gospel



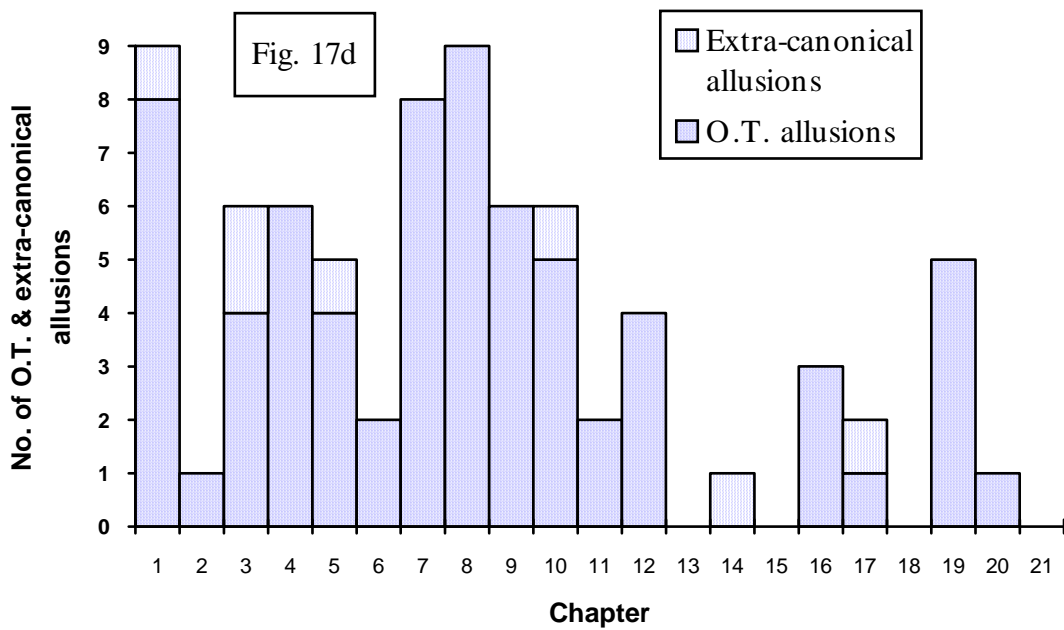
The distribution of O.T. & extra-canonical allusions in Mark's Gospel



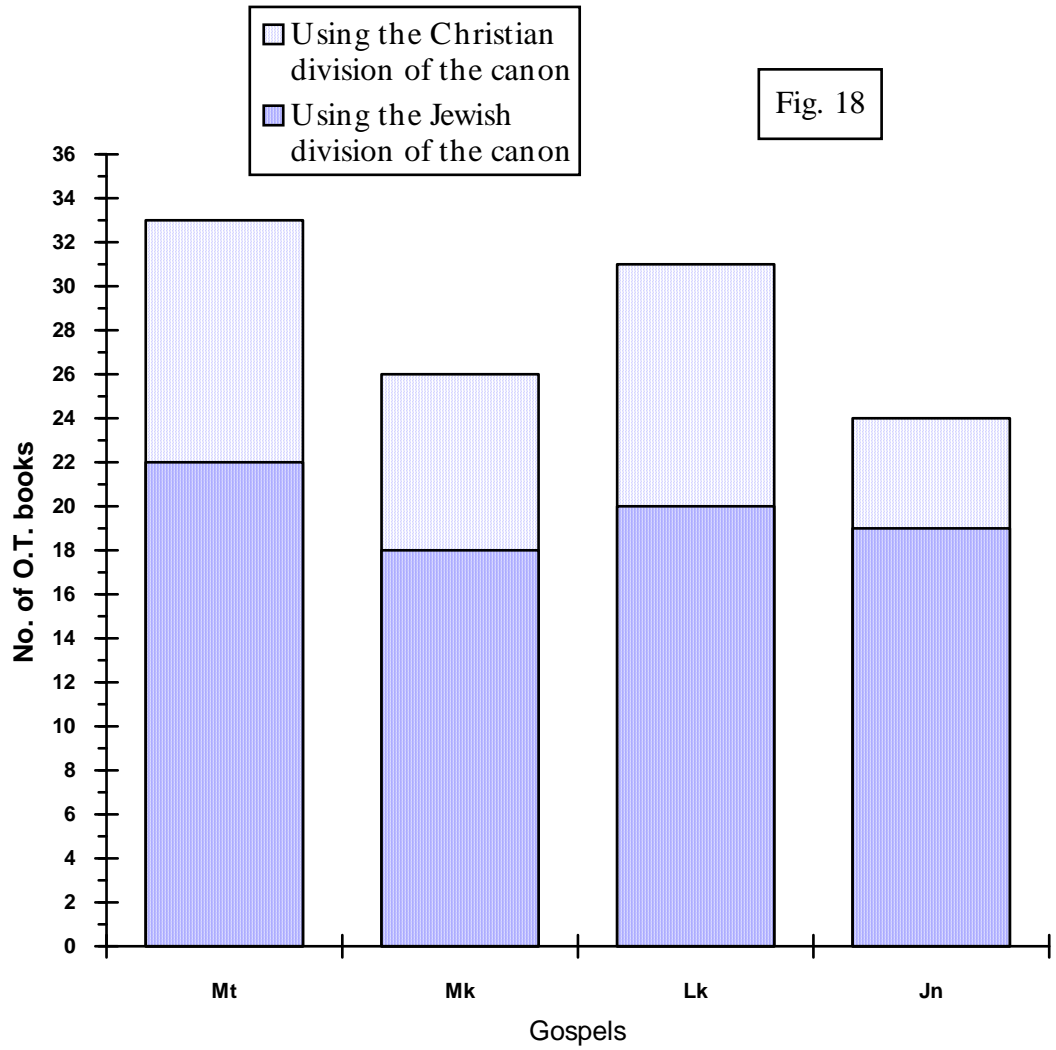
The distribution of O.T. & extra-canonical allusions in Luke's Gospel



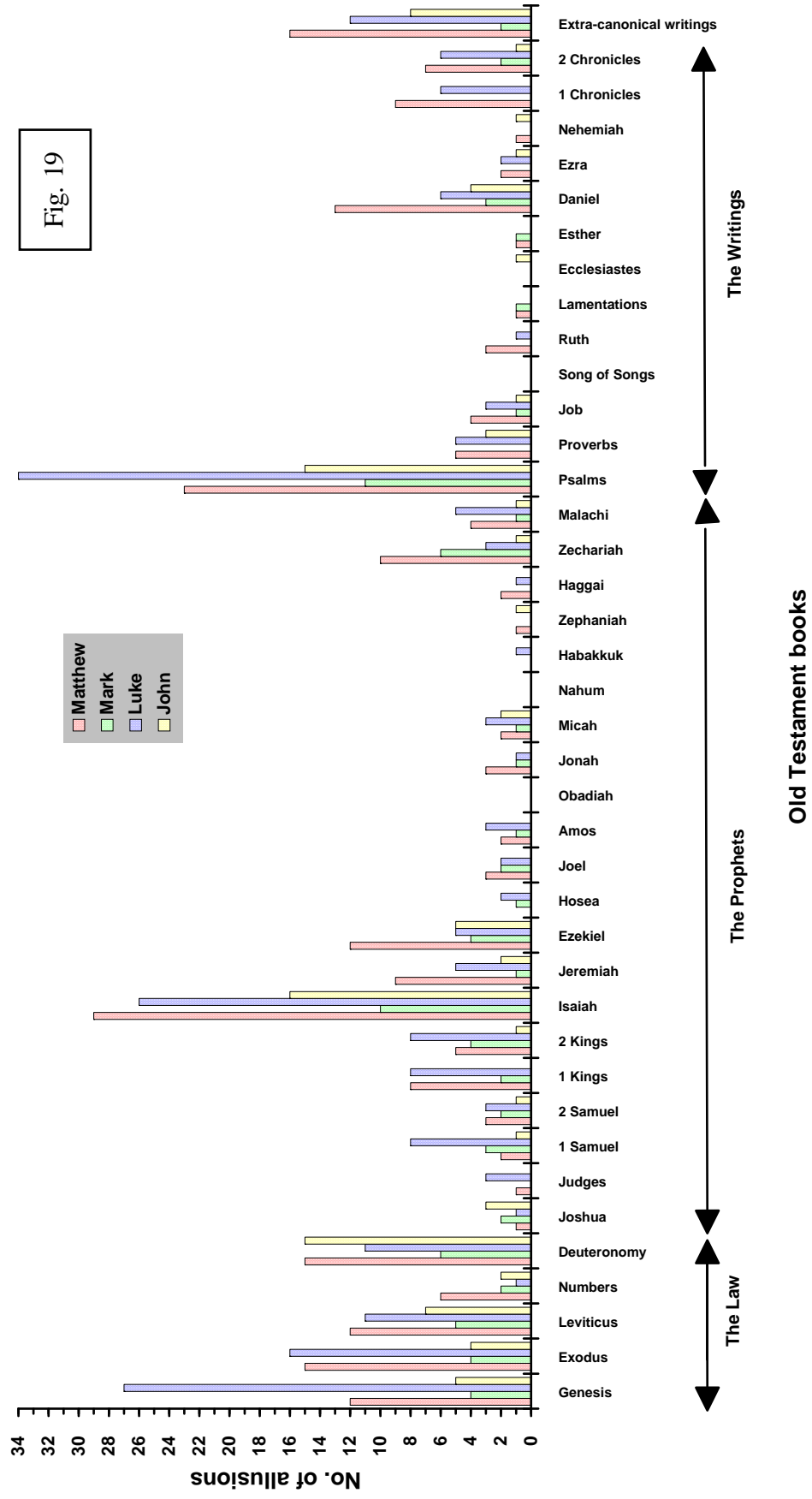
The distribution of O.T. & extra-canonical allusions in John's Gospel



The no. of O.T. books alluded to in each of the four Gospels



A comparison of the no. of allusions each O.T. book appears in in each of the four Gospels



Abbreviations and Bibliography

Sources cited only once in the footnotes are given full bibliographical details at the place of citation. They are not included in the bibliography below. Sources cited more than once are given minimal bibliographical details at the places of citation (the author's name and a truncated title). They are included in the bibliography below.

Abbreviations of the titles of biblical books are taken from UBS⁴ (45-46). Abbreviations of Philo's, Josephus's and other Greco-Roman writers' works are taken from the *Loeb Classical Library* (London & Cambs, Mass.: Harvard & Heinemann). Abbreviations of other ancient Christian and Jewish works, and of the titles of periodicals and serials, follow the conventions prescribed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988), 584-596, with the following additions:

- AGSU - Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Christentums
- ATRSS - Anglican Theological Review Supplementary Series
- B - The Bridge
- BAT - Biblical Archaeology Today
- BCH - Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenistique
- BNTC - Black New Testament Commentary
- C - Commentary
- CC - The Christian Century
- DR - Downside Review (Bath)
- EncBib* - *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Cheyne, T.K., & Black, J.S. (eds.) (4 vols.; London: A. & C. Black, 1899-1903)
- JChS - Journal of Church and State
- JewEnc* - *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York & London: Funk & Wagnells, 1902)
- JSPSup - Journal of the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
- LA - Liber Annus (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem)
- NCW - New Catholic World
- PAM - Palestine Archaeological Museum. See Tov, E. with Pfenn, S.J., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden, etc.: Brill, 1993)
- RAT - Revue Africaine de Théologie (Kinshasa)

- RL - Religion in Life
- RTR - Reformed Theological Review
- S - Salesianum
- SNTU - Studien zum Neuen Testament und Seiner Umwelt
- W - Worship
- YJS - Yale Judaica Series
- Z - Zion

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