

THEMES, LEXEMES, AND “MNEMES”:
COMPOSITE ALLUSIONS IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN
AND OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE

SAMUEL L. VOO (B.SC., M.DIV., TH.M.)

SUPERVISORS

PROF. CATRIN H. WILLIAMS

ASSOCIATE PROF. KATHARINA ZINN



PRIFYSGOL CYMRU

Y Drindod Dewi Sant

UNIVERSITY OF WALES

Trinity Saint David

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DECLARATION

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STATEMENT 1

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines composite allusions to the Jewish scriptures in the Gospel of John and compares these to similar phenomena in late Second Temple Jewish literature. Composite allusions are defined in this study as allusions clustered together in a single literary unit that are best interpreted together. To analyze such allusions, I develop a three-fold method integrating 1) literary analysis; 2) Jewish catchword exegesis; and 3) insights from studies in ancient media culture. The passages I examine are, first, six passages from Jewish literature (CD 1:1–3; 1QH^a 16:5–12a; Sir. 33:7–15; Exod. 15:3 LXX; Ps. 71:17 LXX; and Isa. 3:9 LXX); secondly, a double citation in John (12:37–40); and, finally, three composite allusions in John (1:29, 7:37–39, 15:1–11). I argue that the composite features across all of these passages function on the basis of common lexemes, common themes, and metonymy. For all the cases in question I offer fresh insights on how different ancient texts and traditions were likely to have become associated with each other, and how, in the Gospel of John, these associations are embedded in the narrative and utilized for the author’s theological and literary purposes. In my synthesizing conclusion, I apply the results of my findings to the current debate about the “Jewishness” of John. On the one hand, the Gospel of John demonstrates a sophisticated interaction with its scriptural sources—and thus situates itself squarely within the Jewish exegetical traditions of its day. On the other hand, scriptural allusions are employed above all in the interests of christology—setting it outside of and beyond the compass of other Jewish writings.

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For my parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>ACR</i>	<i>Australasian Catholic Record</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
<i>AThR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BDAG	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 3rd ed.</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BPC	Biblical Performance Criticism
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZHT	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>ChrCent</i>	<i>Christian Century</i>
<i>CV</i>	<i>Communio Viatorum</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CurBS</i>	<i>Currents in Research Biblical Studies</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

<i>DJGSE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels, 2nd ed.</i>
<i>DNTB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i>
<i>ECL</i>	Early Christianity and its Literature
<i>ESCO</i>	European Studies on Christian Origins
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FZAT</i>	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
<i>HUT</i>	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
<i>IVP</i>	InterVarsity Press
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAJS</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements Series
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JGRCJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JThInt</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LHBOTS</i>	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
<i>LHJS</i>	Library of Historical Jesus Studies
<i>NAC</i>	New American Commentary
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NICOT</i>	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
<i>NSBT</i>	New Studies in Biblical Theology

NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLAB	SBL Academia Biblica
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLECL	SBL Early Christianity and its Literature Series
SBLEJL	SBL Early Judaism and its Literature Series
SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Study Series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
SBLSymS	SBL Symposium Series
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible commentary
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	SNTS Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture and Early Judaism and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>ThTo</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

INTRODUCTION

This study falls under the wide-ranging subject of the use of the Jewish scriptures in the Gospel of John.¹ Specifically, the project centres on implied scriptural references or *allusions* in the Gospel. Even more specifically, it focuses on *composite* allusions, that is, those places where scriptural evocations are clustered together to form a single literary unit and are best interpreted together. More nuanced definitions will be offered in the following chapter, but in this introductory chapter I begin by offering definitions of the three words in the title of the dissertation: “themes,” “lexemes,” and “mnemes.” These three words represent the three main components of the method to be adopted in this study, and thus serve as an appropriate entry-point for our discussion.

Themes. Through an examination of the scriptural allusions contained in the various Johannine passages selected for close investigation in this study, it is argued that *themes* and thematic coherence between the passages under consideration and the sources to which they allude are of primary importance. A major part of the analysis, then, is comprised of *literary* analysis. I examine in detail both the alluding texts as well as the source texts to which allusion is made, thereby seeking to first understand them exegetically and thematically in their own respective contexts. This includes both a diachronic consideration of the texts from a cultural, social, and historical perspective, as well as, and especially, a synchronic examination of the passage in its wider literary and narrative context.

Lexemes. It is lexemes, or, in non-technical language, *words* that serve as the necessary starting-point in every analysis of allusive referencing. This is, in the end, an endeavour which involves the study of ancient *texts*, and so every analysis must begin with a detailed lexematic examination of both the alluding texts as well as the source texts in their original languages. I am especially alert to Jewish catchword exegesis, which considers not only the words that

¹ For a relatively recent article that surveys some of the newer developments in this sub-field of biblical studies, see further David M. Allen, “Introduction: The Study of the Use of the Old Testament in the New,” *JSNT* 38, no. 1 (2015): 3–16. In the same vein, for a compilation of essays on methodological issues and approaches that currently surround this sub-discipline, see David Allen and Steve Smith, eds., *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, LNTS 597 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020).

serve as the lexical bridge between the texts in question but also the wider contexts of those words. With regard to the Jewish scriptures, consideration will be given to both the Hebrew scriptures as well as their Greek translation in the Septuagint, noting differences between them where significant.

“*Mnemes.*” It is this third component of my dissertation title that requires most explication. It is not—despite the age of “internet memes” in which we live—a typographical error. While the word in English is sometimes used in the field of psychology to refer to “the ability to retain memory,”² I employ it here in a slightly different sense. It represents, rather, the third main component of the method underpinning this investigation, one that involves the application of insights from the study of ancient media culture. This emerging field of enquiry consists of a combination of three separate but interrelated issues: the nature of ancient oral cultures and the interplay of text and orality; the dynamics of the oral reading or performance of texts; and the workings of memory along with their impact on the text.³ This will be further discussed in the next chapter, but, in short, a “mneme” can be thought of as a scriptural motif that is recollected cognitively via the memory. Metonymy—the representation of larger motifs and themes via key phrases or words⁴—plays a crucial role in this third part of my method. It is this mnemonic perspective that brings to my interpretation fresh insights, both as to how various scriptural traditions were likely to have become associated in the ancient Jewish world, as well as how they were subsequently employed in their respective literary contexts. It is through themes, lexemes, and “mnemes” that composite allusions in all of the selected passages from John’s Gospel are associated with each other, and it is through this three-tiered

² “Mneme Definition and Meaning,” Collins English Dictionary, accessed January 26, 2023, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/mneme>.

³ See further Anthony Le Donne and Tom Thatcher, eds., *The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture*, ESCO, LNTS 426 (London: T&T Clark International, 2011), 1.

⁴ Although, technically, the word “theme” generally refers to a central, unifying idea in a literary work whereas a “motif” usually refers to a smaller, discrete element within that work (see, e.g., J. A. Cuddon and Rafey Habib, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 5th ed. [West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013], 448, 721), I use the terms more or less interchangeably in this study. I have found that the biblical employment of motifs and themes usually falls into that grey area between these two literary categories.

approach that modern readers can best gain insight into how these allusions function in their respective contexts.

But the question may arise: “So what?” Aside from the insights gained into ancient methods of referentiality, of what relevance is such understanding to the critical study of the Gospel of John? By way of illustrating how such a discussion can and does intersect with wider academic interests, I take a further step and reflect on the implications that the results of this study have on a specific, significant, and ongoing debate in Johannine scholarship: that of the “Jewishness of John.” The findings of this study, it will be argued, have direct implications for that wider discussion. In particular, I will consider the hypothesis that seeks to understand the Gospel as a work written predominantly from a Jewish (Christian) perspective and—at least in part—to a Jewish audience. There are, nevertheless, important qualifications to this hypothesis, especially on the basis of John’s christology, and it is these christological qualities that set John’s Gospel apart from other contemporaneous Jewish works.

The central argument of the thesis, then, unfolds in the following manner. Chapter I provides a methodological foundation for this study, at the same time offering a review of the relevant scholarly literature in the three main sub-fields of the method adopted within the thesis: composite citations and Jewish catchword exegesis; the literary theory of allusive activation and referencing; and insights from ancient media culture.

Having laid this methodological foundation, Chapter II examines six passages in late Second Temple literature: one each from the *Damascus Document* (CD 1:1–3), the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 16:5–12a), and *Sirach* (Sir. 33:7–15), and three from the Septuagint (Exod. 15:3; Ps. 71:17; and Isa. 3:9). The range of this material is selected on the basis of their variety in genre and historical milieu, thus representing as broad a range of Jewish materials as possible within this period. This chapter concludes with the formulation of a classification system for composite allusions that will then be utilized in subsequent chapters of the dissertation.

Chapter III begins an investigation into John’s Gospel proper by examining the double scriptural citation at 12:37–40 (Isa. 53:1 and 6:10). I argue that the composite features identifiable in that critical locus of the Johannine text display characteristics that are exactly

analogous to the composite allusions under consideration in this study, of which I have chosen three.

Although there are probably many other composite allusions in the Gospel, the three that have been selected have been chosen on the basis of their variety in kind and place in the Gospel, as well as because of their exegetical importance to the Gospel. This selection, it is hoped, will be representative of composite allusions in the Gospel as a whole. Chapter IV proceeds to examine the first of these composite allusions in John's Gospel, beginning with the composite allusion in John 1:29 that has famously been called "ein Eingangstor zum joh Verstandnis Christi."⁵ I argue that in John the Baptist's words, "Behold, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world," the evangelist has embedded at least three implied references: to the Passover lamb, to the servant of Isaiah 53, and to cultic sacrificial imagery in the Jewish scriptures. Each of these three references is intricately related not only to the composite allusion in John 1:29, but to each of the others as well.

Chapter V focuses on the invitation placed on Jesus' lips in John 7:37b–39: "If anyone thirsts, let him come to me and drink. Whoever believes in me, as the Scripture has said, 'Out of his heart will flow rivers of living water.'" This passage is a complex literary entity described in this dissertation as a "composite citation-allusion," exhibiting characteristics of both a composite citation and a composite allusion. The crucial point for this study, however, is the resulting pluriform image constituted by 1) prophetic imagery of God's invitation to drink, 2) the exodus tradition of water from the rock, and 3) the prophetic tradition of YHWH's eschatological gift of the Spirit.

Chapter VI advances into the second half of John's Gospel by examining the metaphor of the vine and its branches in Jesus's Farewell Discourse (15:1–17). This passage differs from the other three Johannine passages examined in this study, most notably by its length in comparison with the compact nature of the previous cases. Nevertheless, I argue that the

⁵ Jörg Frey, "Edler Tod – wirksamer Tod – stellvertretender Tod – heilschaffender Tod: Zur narrativen und theologischen Deutung des Todes Jesu im Johannesevangelium," in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 67.

exegetical mechanics enabling the composite allusion to work in this passage are precisely the same as those encountered in the previous examples. In John 15:1-17 it is possible to detect scriptural allusions to Isaiah 5, Jeremiah 2, Ezekiel 15–19, and Psalm 80. Because of the extended length and theological nature of this passage, I also offer a detailed analysis of the exegetical and theological impact of these scriptural allusions on John 15 in its context within the Farewell Discourse.

Finally, Chapter VII summarizes and synthesizes the results of the investigation, comparing and contrasting composite scriptural allusions in the Gospel of John to the Jewish literatures examined in earlier parts of this study. The results of this investigation are then applied to the question of the relationship of John's Gospel with ancient Judaism. This study makes a concrete contribution to the ongoing debate, emphasizing just how "Jewish" John is by focusing on a kind of evidence that has not yet been examined in the discussion, its mode of scriptural allusions. The fact that John shares a close affinity, and to such a high degree of granularity, with other Jewish texts in this mode of scriptural usage argues strongly for its Jewish character. At the same time, John's *christological* focus in all of its scriptural allusions does set it apart from other roughly contemporaneous Jewish works.

CHAPTER I: THE STUDY OF COMPOSITE ALLUSIONS

I.1.0 Introduction

The study of composite allusions in the New Testament, or in any ancient literature for that matter, is essentially uncharted territory: no monograph, book-length work, or even journal article has yet been dedicated to this topic.¹ While I will propose a more refined definition of a composite allusion below, for the time being, a composite allusion can be considered as a literary device that is comprised of a blend, mixture, or combination of multiple *implied* references clustered together in a single literary unit that are best interpreted together. The present study proposes to examine such composite allusions in the Gospel of John,² which is well-known for its abundance of allusions to the Jewish scriptures, allusions which often seem to be interwoven together in the very same passage. I have chosen to study three composite allusions and one double citation from John taken from both halves of the Gospel, and from a cross-section of, roughly, the beginning, the middle, and the end of the Gospel, and also representing different kinds of composite allusions; these are: John 1:29, 7:37b–39, 12:37–40, and 15:1–11(17). En route to my ultimate goal of examining in detail these passages in the Gospel, I will also examine several composite allusions in late Second Temple Jewish literature, taken from the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, *Sirach*, and the Septuagint.³ The decision to limit the primary comparative background of this study to Jewish materials is more by virtue of necessity than by design. Constrained by time, space, and resources, this study

¹ Since this project was first conceived, there has emerged at least one exception to this statement, namely the article by Wally V. Cirafesi, “‘Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay’: Compound Allusions and Scriptural Exegesis in 1QH^a 11:20–37; 20:27–39 and Ben Sira 33:7–15,” *DSD* 24, no. 1 (2017): 81–111. In Ch. II below, I shall further comment on this article, which serves as an important stimulus for some of my own research.

² Although I utilize the terms the “Gospel of John,” “Fourth Gospel,” “John,” and the “Gospel” interchangeably, I recognize the complexity of the issue of its authorship and do not presume any particular theory about the identity of its author(s). For the most part, the issue of authorship does not impact our study, except that, in general, I assume that the final literary product that we have before us is edited, compiled, or written into its final form with a measure of intentionality and literary skill. For a seminal literary approach to John, see R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987). When abbreviating, I employ only “FG” (rather than, e.g., “GJ”) for the sake of stylistic consistency. For a scholarly perspective on authorship with which I generally align, see Richard J. Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple Narrative, History, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007).

³ These are: CD 1:1–3; 1QH^a 16:4–12b; Sir. 33:7–15; Exod. 15:3 LXX; Ps. 71:17 LXX; and Isa. 3:9 LXX.

focuses on the cultural context that is widely regarded as most relevant to the FG: that of ancient Judaism. However, being situated in the wider Greco-Roman literary world, all of the New Testament authors would have been heavily influenced by that cultural context as well, whether consciously or not, and an investigation into classical and non-Jewish Hellenistic literatures with regard to composite allusions and literary techniques would certainly also be highly informative for our own project.⁴

Although the study of composite allusions is virtually an unbroached area of study, two main scholarly pathways in the last few decades have led directly to our present point of departure. The first, and arguably more significant, of these is the study of composite citations in the ancient world; the second is the literary, intertextual study of scriptural allusions in the New Testament. These two pathways thus represent two of the three facets of the proposed methodology of this thesis: first, focusing on composite constructions in the text, and secondly, with a view to the literary function of the allusions within their narrative context. The third and final element in our method augments these two approaches with the recent, growing question of ancient media criticism, as scholars increasingly recognize the predominately oral environment of the ancient world. Our present task, then, in order to properly situate our research, is to review the literature in these three areas of investigation.

I.1.1 Composite Citations in the Ancient World

The study of composite citations first came into scholarly focus in a preliminary way in the essays of Edwin Hatch (1889),⁵ Franklin Johnson (1895)⁶ and, later, Jindřich Mánek (1970).⁷ Hatch touched upon composite quotations in a brief essay following his (much more

⁴ See, for instance, the fascinating study by Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Roman Literature and Its Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 17–52, on Roman poetry and complex, allusive references. Hinds' study demonstrates significant parallels between allusivity in Roman literature and the composite allusions in my own study, and warrants a more detailed comparative analysis than can be offered in this study.

⁵ Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889).

⁶ Franklin Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old Considered in the Light of General Literature* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896).

⁷ Jindřich Mánek, "Composite Quotations in the New Testament and Their Purpose," *CV* 13, no. 3–4 (1970): 181–88.

extensive) text-critical examination of early quotations of the LXX (in Philo, the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, and Justin Martyr); he presented eleven examples of composite quotations in relation to the hypothesis of the existence of collections of *excerpta* drawn from the LXX. That a variety of authors combined quotations from the Old Testament in the same fashion is best explained, according to Hatch, by their dependence on a third source, which scholars now call *testimonia*, rather than by defect of memory.⁸ Hatch adduces examples from four sources: Clement of Rome, *Barnabas*, Paul’s letter to the Romans, and Justin Martyr.⁹

Johnson’s examination of composite quotations occurs in his book-length apology on the use of the Old Testament in the New—especially the quotations found in the epistle to the Hebrews and in Pauline literature. In this study, seeking to demonstrate how these quotations have not “disregarded the laws of literature,”¹⁰ he provides a chapter dedicated to composite quotations where he surveys a number of ancient authors, including Plato, Xenophon, Lucian, and Philo, among others, as well as a few modern authors. His treatment of these, however, are better described as a cataloguing rather than an analysis of the quotations in question.¹¹ Furthermore, his interaction with New Testament examples is extremely limited, as he considers there to be “but few of these composite quotations in the New Testament.”¹² Johnson’s purpose in bringing attention to these various composite quotations was simply to demonstrate that this mode of citation—though perhaps problematic for the modern reader since the authors seem to distort their source, either intentionally or accidentally—was

⁸ Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 203.

⁹ Hatch is apparently aware of other examples from the New Testament (and presumably also the Fathers); see his comments on p. 203, “The existence of composite quotations in the New Testament, and in some of the early Fathers...”, which indicates an awareness of multiple instances in the New Testament. However, he provides only one example (Rom. 3:1–10), and only as comparison to the parallel citation in Justin. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 204–214.

¹⁰ Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, xi.

¹¹ See further Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 7.

¹² Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, 93.

apparently not so for the ancient world, and was a phenomenon not peculiar to the New Testament.¹³

Three-quarters of a century later, in his 1970 article, Mánek argued, on the basis of his examination of thirteen instances of composite citations in the New Testament which he considers “the main composite quotations” in the NT,¹⁴ that their composite quality was intentional—that is, not the result of faulty memory—and was for the purpose of providing multiple, that is, trustworthy, testimony to the key events of the Gospel story in line with the rule of Deuteronomy 19:15 (which states that legal matters ought to be settled only with the presence of two or more witnesses).¹⁵ His thesis, while presented in an incipient fashion, is worthy of further testing and will be further explored below (Chs. III, VII).

Each of these three treatments have only obliquely broached the topic of composite citations in the New Testament. But a significant development occurs first with Dietrich-Alex Koch’s monograph on Paul’s use of Scripture (1986),¹⁶ and then with Christopher Stanley’s study of Pauline citation technique (1992),¹⁷ both of which treat composite citations as part of larger investigations of Paul’s use of Scripture.

Koch’s work is the first to give sustained treatment to the phenomenon of composite citations in the New Testament. As an integral part of his project of describing Paul’s usage (*Verwendung*) and understanding (*Verständnis*) of Scripture, he examines, in nearly a hundred pages of detailed analysis, Paul’s method of citation, scrutinizing each of Paul’s various textual deviations from his source, noting differences in word order, grammatical modifications in person, number, gender, time, tense, and mood, as well as other changes in construction, such as omissions and additions of words. In this substantial chapter, he devotes two sections to Paul’s composite citations, that is, to what he calls “mixed citations”

¹³ Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, ix–xi.

¹⁴ These are: Mk. 1:2–3, 11:17, 1:11, 9:7, 14:62; Mt. 2:6, 21:5, 27:10, 24:30b / Rev. 1:7; Rom. 11:8–10; 1 Cor. 15:54d–55; Heb. 10:37–38.

¹⁵ Mánek, “Composite Quotations,” 181–88.

¹⁶ Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BZHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986).

¹⁷ Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

(*Mischzitate*) and “citation combinations” (*Zitatkombinationen*). These are distinguished from each other in that the first, “mixed citations,” are where “...ein Teil eines Schriftwortes unter Verwendung einer anderen Schriftstelle umgeformt worden ist,”¹⁸ whereas “citation combinations” are where “zwei (oder mehrere) Schriftworte unmittelbar zusammengefügt, jedoch nicht ineinander geschoben sind.”¹⁹ In the case of “mixed citations,” one citation serves as a primary reference whose sense is modified by the addition of a secondary source; for “citation combinations,” two or more citations are joined together, and viewed by the reader as a single citation, but the relative weighting of the respective citations therein varies. These analyses give important clues as to Paul’s interpretation and understanding of Scripture, contributing to Koch’s argument that Paul often employs Scripture in service of his own purpose and argument in his letters.

This leads us to consider Stanley’s comprehensive study of Pauline citation technique,²⁰ which builds upon and refines Koch’s work in several key areas. In line with the two categories of “mixed citations” and “citation combinations,” Stanley adopts the terms “conflated” and “combined citations.” Similar to Koch, “conflated citations” for Stanley are where two separate passages have been “merged to create a new text;” in such citations “one of the verses is generally primary and the other secondary,” and where the presence of the secondary text imposes an altered meaning onto the original, primary, text.²¹ In the same way, and again following Koch, “combined citations” are where Paul joins two or more citations into a single unit, presenting them to his readers as a single quotation.²² Although Stanley does not lift out the topic of composite citations to form a separate discussion (as Koch has done), he utilizes these categories throughout his analysis of all of the citations in the entire Pauline

¹⁸ Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p.160, “a part of a scriptural quotation has been transformed using a different Scripture passage.”

¹⁹ Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, p.172: “two or more Scripture citations are directly joined together but not pushed together.”

²⁰ The textual analysis portion alone consists of three chapters (183 pages).

²¹ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 258–59.

²² Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 258.

corpus.²³ In the end, Stanley enumerates four instances of “combined citations” and seven instances of “conflated citations;”²⁴ together, these amount to a total of 24 per cent of Paul’s formal quotations.²⁵ Stanley’s other major contribution in this regard is his examination of citation techniques in other contemporaneous literature, both Graeco-Roman as well as Jewish. His investigations uncover, among other things, a number of composite citations—mostly of the “combined” rather than “conflated” kind—in sources as varied as Longinus, Heraclitus, Plutarch, the Qumran materials, *Sibylline Oracles*, *4 Maccabees*, the *Damascus Document*, *1 Esdras*, and Philo, among others.²⁶ Cumulatively, Stanley’s observations on citation technique in Paul and in other ancient works lead him to a two-fold conclusion: first, Paul actively adapted his biblical quotations according to his needs, and secondly, in doing so Paul was working consciously but unreflectively within the literary conventions of his day.²⁷

Finally, and most recently, Koch’s and Stanley’s significant contributions to the identification and interpretation of composite citations lead us to Sean Adams’ and Seth Ehorn’s two-volume compilation of essays that, first, investigate composite citations in the Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian literature outside of, but roughly contemporaneous with the New Testament, and then, secondly, examine the New Testament documents themselves (2016, 2018). These two volumes can, to a large degree, be seen as an extension of Koch’s and Stanley’s works. The first volume extends and deepens the contemporary contextual analysis in the second part of Stanley’s study; the second volume extends Stanley’s and Koch’s focus on Pauline literature to the rest of the New Testament. Together, these two volumes help set the immediate stage for my own work, and therefore warrant close examination. In what follows, I will treat these two volumes in a topical rather than serial fashion, focusing especially on those areas most pertinent to my own research.

²³ Stanley restricts his investigation to the four Hauptbriefe, wherein the vast majority of the Pauline citations are found.

²⁴ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 258.

²⁵ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 252.

²⁶ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 342.

²⁷ Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 29.

I.1.2 Definitional Issues

One of the first matters that Adams and Ehorn address in their introductory volume is that of definitions. What, exactly, comprises a composite citation? The definition that Adams and Ehorn provide, and that all the contributors to these two volumes subsequently adopt, is that a composite citation is a “literary borrowing... that includes two or more passages (from the same or different author) fused together and conveyed as though they are only one.”²⁸ Thus, ruled out because of this definition are serial or juxtaposed citations linked by conjunctions and phrases, like *καί*, or *καί πάλιν*, which clearly delineate where one citation ends and another begins, as well as lists of citations preceded by the indication of a plurality of sources or authors.²⁹ Although Adams and Ehorn do not further delimit this definition in their introduction, they do make note of Stanley’s aforementioned categories of “conflated” and “combined” composite citations,³⁰ and several of the other contributors to the first volume refer to this distinction.³¹

In addition to defining what these two volumes *do* investigate, Adams and Ehorn also describe what they do *not* investigate. They carefully describe how a citation itself can be properly identified, considering only with caution “more allusive examples of literary borrowing.”³² Intriguingly and of particular interest for this study, although they decide that composite allusions lie beyond the scope of their investigation, Adams and Ehorn do acknowledge their significance in ancient literature. In part, they state that this decision is because of the rhetorical function of citations, which they imply to be significantly absent in allusive references.³³ While their study very appropriately focuses only on citations, this comment betrays a certain judgment against the study of allusions that, I will argue below, is in fact unwarranted.

²⁸ Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 4.

²⁹ Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 4.

³⁰ Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 8.

³¹ E.g., Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 41–49; and Garrick V. Allen, “Composite Citations in Jewish Pseudepigraphic Works: Re-Presenting Legal Traditions in the Second Temple Period,” 141ff.

³² Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 3.

³³ Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 2.

The results are diverse, and each essay addresses key issues that are peculiar to the literature under examination in that chapter. This is to be expected given the diversity of the texts under scrutiny and the slightly different methodologies adopted by each author. Nevertheless, a fundamental datum common to all the investigations included in the volume (except, perhaps, in the case of the epistolary writing in the Roman literature) is the *presence* of composite citations. This fact strengthens the probability of the idea that composite citations were a recognized literary practice in the ancient world, as Johnson had first suggested in 1895, and as Adams reaffirms in his essay on Homer.³⁴ Thirdly—though respect for the wider literary contexts of the antecedent texts varies for each instance—the texts almost always either share certain keywords, or key themes and ideas, and sometimes both.³⁵ Thus, it seems that verbal links and common themes are important motivating factors for bringing together the various antecedent texts to forge the new composite text. Among Stanley’s concluding comments in the final essay of the volume, he notes that in virtually every case where composite citations are formed, the antecedent texts behind them evince either shared language or ideas.³⁶ He posits, quite reasonably, that it may well have been the presence of these features that first caused their being associated with each other in the mind of the original author. It is these very same two elements—in combination with the third element of ancient media criticism—that will be at the heart of our own study of composite allusions in the central sections of this thesis.

³⁴ Sean A. Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 17.

³⁵ There are some exceptions to this: Adams gives one example of Plutarch citing two Homeric lines “While they were weeping and wailing / black darkness descended on them,” that seem to share neither a common word nor theme.

³⁶ Most of Stanley’s concluding comments will be noted in the course of our review, but three others merit noting again: first, composite citations were an established, albeit somewhat uncommon, literary technique in the Greco-Roman world; secondly, there are two distinct modes of composite citation, as he observed in his previous study—“combined citations” and “conflated citations;” thirdly, composite citations are literary compositions in their own right, having usually undergone a degree of alteration, from minor grammatical adjustments to major omissions or additions that may in fact transform radically their original meaning. Christopher D. Stanley, “Composite Citations: Retrospect and Prospect,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 204–8.

I.1.3 Composite Citations in Greco-Roman Texts

Adams concludes from his study that “composite citations, though rare, are an important literary practice among Greek authors.”³⁷ Providing a kind of backdrop for the other chapters in this volume, he proposes three different purposes for the creation of composite citations, illustrating each with examples: a) to summarize a certain passage, e.g., Plato’s *Resp.* 3.391a³⁸; b) to express or further the author’s argument or example, i.e., “tailored,” e.g., Plato’s *Resp.* 3.389e³⁹; c) for purely stylistic reasons, that is, to demonstrate the literary prowess of the author, e.g., Socrates’ *Ion* 538c.⁴⁰ Although useful distinctions, we bear in mind that these three purposes are not mutually exclusive, and it is conceivable that a composite citation might theoretically fulfill two of these purposes—either the first and third, or, the second and third—at one and the same time. Indeed, it is anticipated that the second and third functions will be shown to be relevant for composite allusions in John. Particularly instructive for us is an example from his second, “tailored,” category. There, in *Resp.* 3.389e, the common theme of the same group of people, and the keyword *σιγγῆ* are what seem to link the two citations.

Ehorn’s analysis likewise finds a “small” number of composite citations in Plutarch’s corpus.⁴¹ Here, he distinguishes between “condensed citations,” “conflated texts” sharing key words, and citations that “share a thematic similarity.”⁴² Ehorn’s “condensed” citations, akin to Adams’ “summative” citations, involve the omission of words or lines no longer relevant to their new contexts, and sometimes also includes changes of syntax and inversions of word order. In his section on “conflated texts,” he provides three main examples,⁴³ though one of these (*Mor.* 505c) seems to better fit the “combined” category where two citations are placed side-by-side and treated as though they were one. In all three examples, incidentally, a

³⁷ Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” 17.

³⁸ Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” 18.

³⁹ Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” 21–22.

⁴⁰ Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” 25.

⁴¹ Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 55.

⁴² Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 43–49.

⁴³ Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 45–49. The examples are *Mor.* 287b, *Mor.* 497b, *Mor.* 505c.

common theme among the antecedent texts is present. Indeed, from a survey of the composite citations in Adams' and Ehorn's essays, the vast majority of the source texts evince the same general theme or have in them common shared vocabulary.⁴⁴

Margaret H. Williams both adopts a different tone and finds somewhat different results in her examination of Roman Epistolary Writing.⁴⁵ After surveying the Roman epistolary writings of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny, she concludes that her study yields "hardly any composite citations," with a few rare exceptions in Seneca's *Moral Epistles* and a unique instance in Cicero.⁴⁶ However, her example of Cicero's citation of the *Odyssey*⁴⁷ and two in Seneca's *Moral Epistles*⁴⁸ do not include any detailed analysis in the essay of these composite citations so it is impossible without examining in detail the sources to make any inferences about the nature of these few composite citations themselves.

I.1.4 Composite Citations in Second Temple Jewish Literature

In Philonic literature, James R. Royse uncovers two summative composite citations,⁴⁹ and four additional (non-summative) examples of composite citations.⁵⁰ Each of these last four examples contains antecedent texts with the same or very similar themes, and, in addition to this, one of them, *Sacr.* 87, provides an identical catchphrase of four words, *καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός* (and I will be your God), that is shared between them.⁵¹ Once again, this confirms the previous essays where common themes and catchwords form the basis for the pairing of texts.

⁴⁴ An exact count eludes us since the contexts of the various citations are not all reproduced by the authors, and, in some cases, are no longer extant.

⁴⁵ One senses, strangely, a certain criticism against the employment of composite citations in her essay. Thus, descriptors like "manipulation" (p.68), "manufactured" (p.70), "less than honest" (p.70), and "manipulating the evidence" (p.72) accompany her account of the composite citations in question. See Margaret H. Williams, "Citation in Elite Roman Epistolary Writing," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 57–74.

⁴⁶ Williams, "Citation in Elite Roman Epistolary Writing," 59.

⁴⁷ Williams, "Citation in Elite Roman Epistolary Writing," 67.

⁴⁸ Williams, "Citation in Elite Roman Epistolary Writing," 70–71.

⁴⁹ James R. Royse, "Composite Quotations in Philo of Alexandria," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 75–81.

⁵⁰ The four composite citations are found at: *Sacr.* 87, *Leg.* III.8, *Leg.* III.108, and *Mut. Nom.* 187. Royse, "Composite Quotations in Philo," 84–87.

⁵¹ Royse, "Composite Quotations in Philo," 81–82.

Especially significant for my investigation is his fourth example in *Mut. Nom.* 187, where the second element of the composite citation contains just a single allusive word from its reference.⁵² Here, Philo takes Genesis 32:25, ἐνάρκησεν τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ (he touched the broad part of his thigh) and connects it seamlessly to ἐπέσκαζεν (he limped) from Genesis 32:32 with the transition ὧ καὶ (and on it.) The final product, ἐνάρκησεν τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ ὧ καὶ ἐπέσκαζεν (he touched the broad part of his thigh and he limped on it), contains the dual emphases—human mortality in the metaphors of limping and stiffness—that Philo desired in the context of his argument.

Jonathan D. H. Norton’s analysis of the *Damascus Document*, and especially his astute comments about the relationship between allusions and citations in the *Damascus Document*, are especially pertinent to our own investigation.⁵³ He claims that the study of composite citations cannot be fully detached from the study of implicit forms of reference, namely, allusions and echoes, since attempting to identify a “subordinate excerpt in a composite citation is analogous with identifying allusion or subtle reference,” and the same kinds of uncertainties attendant in the study of allusions are present in composite citations as well, especially in an allusively rich and intentionally exegetical work like the *Damascus Document*.⁵⁴ We will have an opportunity to test these claims in Chapter II below. But as for composite citations, Norton provides two examples from the *Damascus Document*, 3:21–4:2 citing Ezekiel 44:7 and 44:13, and 8:14 citing Deuteronomy 9:5a and 7:7–8a. The first example may possibly be interpreted as a condensed citation, but the second example clearly falls under Stanley’s conflated category. Nevertheless, both examples evince shared themes among the source texts, and Norton’s second example contains, additionally, similar thematic structures in the broader contexts of the source passages, as well as the presence of the catchword כִּי (because) found in the heart of both source passages. These findings are, once

⁵² Royse, “Composite Quotations in Philo,” 86–87.

⁵³ Jonathan D. H. Norton, “Composite Quotations in the *Damascus Document*,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 92–93.

⁵⁴ Norton, “Composite Quotations in the *Damascus Document*,” 114.

again, aligned with our general observations thus far about the construction of composite citations.

Among the writings of the Septuagint Apocrypha, Adams and Ehorn examine four composite citations: *4 Maccabees* 18:18–19 (Ehorn), *1 Esdras* 1:55 (Ehorn), *2 Maccabees* 2:11 (Adams), and *4 Baruch* 2:28–35 (Adams). Of these four, the most clear-cut case is *4 Maccabees*. Ehorn finds in *4 Maccabees* 18:18–19 a “textbook example” of a composite citation: the author has taken words from a subsidiary text (Deut. 30:20), merged them into a primary text (Deut. 32:39), and, in so doing, transformed the meaning of the first.⁵⁵ Its original context had to do with Israel living in the land of Canaan under God’s covenant, but in its new context to close a catena of citations, it now is part of the scriptural support that is summoned to strengthen the author’s conception of the immortality of the soul.⁵⁶ The words “life” and “death” and the themes associated with these words provide the rationale for bringing these two passages together, continuing to corroborate the claim that common themes and / or catchwords link source texts together. Interestingly, the other examples that Adams and Ehorn examine, like the references in the *Damascus Document*, are less explicit than most of the other composite citations in this volume and somewhat akin to implicit citations, viz. allusions.⁵⁷

Rounding out the volume’s investigation of composite citations in Second Temple Jewish literature is Garrick Allen’s examination of Jewish Pseudepigraphic works. On examining three representative passages, *Letter of Aristeas* 155, *Jubilees* 2:26–27, and *Temple Scroll* 48:7–10, Allen concludes that “thematically linked, but disparately located, traditions were recombined based on their shared legal referent [i.e., thematic content] and linguistic overlap.”⁵⁸ This is especially clear in the second example, where—if Allen’s reconstruction of

⁵⁵ Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, “Composite Citations in the Septuagint Apocrypha,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 122.

⁵⁶ Adams and Ehorn, “Composite Citations in the Septuagint Apocrypha,” 124.

⁵⁷ See for example, Adams’ comments on pp.132–133. Adams and Ehorn, “Composite Citations in the Septuagint Apocrypha.”

⁵⁸ Allen, “Composite Citations in Jewish Pseudepigraphic Works: Re-Presenting Legal Traditions in the Second Temple Period,” 151.

the Hebrew is correct—Exodus 35:2 is conflated with the primary text of Exodus 31:14. Both antecedent texts pertain to Sabbath observance and the penalty for Sabbath breaking, and share several keywords; they are combined in their new context into a single legal construction while retaining the corresponding elements from both sources. Finally, we also note how in the course of his investigation, as in the two previous essays, the subject of allusions once more emerges in the discussion. “Signalled composite citations” are relatively uncommon in this literature, but “unsignalled combinations of scripture,” viz. composite allusions, are “ubiquitous;”⁵⁹ he names *Jubilees*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, among others, as works exemplifying such phenomena.⁶⁰

I.1.5 Summary and Analysis: The Formation of Composite Citations and their Relationship to Composite Allusions

Having reviewed in detail the most pertinent essays in *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, Vol. 1, I offer now further critical reflections to bring into focus our own study of composite allusions. First, I review the general “mechanics” of composite citation that have emerged thus far. In almost every case where a composite citation is formed, present in the source excerpts are either common themes and ideas, or else prominent key words, and sometimes both. Often, the excerpts are from similar genres of scriptural material, e.g., prophetic, or legal, but not always; sometimes, perhaps more often than not, material is drawn from nearby texts, but often enough, the excerpts in question are drawn from significant distances. There are at least two distinct “modes” of composite citation: “combined,” where each stands with equal footing in the new context, and “conflated,” where one text is primary and the other becomes secondary—in these cases either of the texts’ original meanings may take on a modified or different meaning altogether based on the new context; the degree to which the contexts of the antecedent excerpts are respected varies widely, depending on, among other factors, the nature

⁵⁹ Allen, “Composite Citations in Jewish Pseudepigraphic Works,” 157.

⁶⁰ Allen, “Composite Citations in Jewish Pseudepigraphic Works,” 156–157, notes 50–53.

of the work where the composite citation is found, and the purpose of the composite citation; finally, we also observe as a general rule that composite citations are considerably more abundant in Jewish and Christian writings than Greco-Roman sources.

Secondly, it should not be overlooked how the study of composite citations and composite allusions share a very close methodological kinship. As attested multiple times in this volume, the identification of certain composite citations—especially the subsidiary component of conflated citations, where the linguistic connections often consist of only one or two words—is precisely the same process that occurs in the identification of allusions.⁶¹ In essence, one searches the wider context of the potential source passage, alert to thematic or key verbal points of contact between the potential source and the citation in question, as well as points of contact between the context of the citation and the context of the potential source text. These similarities are especially evident for literary works whose relationship with their source(s) are intentionally exegetical in nature, like the *Damascus Document*, for instance.

Thirdly, the editors of this volume note in their introduction that partly what distinguishes allusions from citations is their rhetorical function—or rather, the lack thereof on the part of allusions. But, again, as we have seen at various points in this volume, the fact that a reference is judged to be an allusion rather than a citation has little to no impact on the judgment of whether that reference is intentional, or of what purpose that reference may serve in its new context. Strictly speaking, in fact, as Norton reminds us, an allusion, by literary definition, is always intentional, whereas a citation may not be.⁶² Authorial intentionality (and its correlate, audience receptivity of said reference), though related to textual analysis, is in fact a distinguishable and subordinate question that needs to be pursued independently. In fact, it can be argued that allusive references, far from being unintentional or non-purposive, are, in

⁶¹ See, e.g., Norton's comments in his chapter, "Composite Quotations in the *Damascus Document*," 92–93.

⁶² See Norton, 116. Here Norton is referencing accidental, unmarked citations, that is, citations unaccompanied by introductory formulae and consisting only of the verbatim replication of a literary extract. He gives the modern example of the phrase "a man after my own heart" in which the speaker is quoting the KJV of Acts 13:22 but not intentionally alluding to it.

their subtlety, in fact the opposite. Thus, for example, Dale Allison writes of the allusive references in Matthew 5:

Allusions, which give us more to do and so heighten our attention, invite informed imaginations to make their own contributions. Meaning is infolded [*sic.*] not to obscure but to improve communication. The implicit allows the pleasure of discovery, and readers who are invited to fill gaps appreciate authors who respect them enough not to shout.⁶³

Allison has captured poignantly the view that what many see as the primary weakness of studying allusive reference—viz. its subtlety—may perhaps be its very strength. In a similar vein, Catrin Williams, in an essay on allusions in John 10, explores the ancient “rhetoric of elusiveness,” where what is left *unspoken* is just as important as what *is* spoken.⁶⁴ All this to say that the study of composite allusions should not be unduly neglected as a legitimate and potentially fruitful area of research, including for the purpose of analyzing possible rhetorical aims. Only through a detailed textual analysis on a case-by-case basis can we adjudicate whether an interpretation is sensible or whether it be considered fanciful.

This leads to my fourth and final point: what is needed for the study of composite allusions is not so much skepticism or even caution, but rather the presence of clear *controls*. And this is precisely what the current investigations into composite citations, both in the present volume and in its sequel, have in part provided. It was necessary from a methodological perspective that composite citations be studied as a matter of priority, since there is one undeniable quantitative difference between an explicit citation and an allusion that gives exegesis a place to begin: the presence of an identifying, introductory formula. But,

⁶³ Dale C. Allison, *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2005), 71.

⁶⁴ Catrin H. Williams, “Persuasion through Allusion: Evocations of Shepherd(s) and Their Rhetorical Impact in John 10,” in *Come and Read: Interpretive Approaches to the Gospel of John*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Lindsey Trozzo (Lanham, Md.: Lexington / Fortress Academic, 2019), 2–4. See also the various studies she cites: Kathy R. Maxwell, *Hearing Between the Lines: The Audience as Fellow-Worker in Luke-Acts and Its Literary Milieu*, LNTS 425 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 74–76; and Frank Thielman, “The Style of the Fourth Gospel and Ancient Literary Critical Concepts of Religious Discourse,” in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Duane F. Watson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 169–83.

subjecting the technique of composite *citation* to various forms of scrutiny and gaining insight into the mechanics behind their construction, we gain vital tools that can be applied to its sibling, the composite *allusion*. If indeed allusive reference is an important mode of communication in the Gospel of John—which it certainly seems to be—and if composite citations are present to any significant degree in the Gospel—which we will confirm below—then, it is not too much to say that it is virtually incumbent on us to explore, in lock-step, the potential presence and possible impact of composite *allusions* in the Gospel. Before running too far ahead, however, our next step is to continue our historical investigation by turning to the New Testament documents themselves and assessing the contribution of the second volume of this series.

1.2.0 Composite Citations in the New Testament

In the second volume, Sean Adams and Seth Ehorn have assembled an impressive array of scholars whose collective goal is to examine composite citations—as they were defined in the first volume—across a range of writings in the New Testament. Adams and Ehorn begin by noting that composite citations are of three types—combined, conflated, condensed. We are, by now, familiar with these categories, the first two of which originated in Koch’s and Stanley’s works and the third of which was apparent in several studies in the first volume.⁶⁵ In their sizeable conclusion, after quantitatively summarizing their findings,⁶⁶ they proceed to comment on various and sundry issues, but of particular relevance to us are their suggestions for further avenues of research, including, among other things, the study of composite allusions.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See Sean A. Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” 18–21; Seth M. Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 43–45; and James R. Royse, “Composite Quotations in Philo of Alexandria,” 78–81, in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016).

⁶⁶ Taking the findings of the various chapters at face value, Adams and Ehorn count a total of 54 composite citations out of 288 formal citations in the New Testament, that is, almost 20 per cent, or approximately, one-fifth of all quotations. See Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Antiquity: A Conclusion,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 593 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 210.

⁶⁷ Other issues include, among other things, whether composite citations were inherited or authored; exploring the relationship between composite citations and the direct speech of Jesus; further refining the definition of

Once again, we will adopt a more strategic approach, reviewing the various essays in thematic rather than simple sequential order. Two chapters, methodologically, stand to bear greatest fruit for our study of composite allusions.⁶⁸ The first is Catrin Williams' essay on composite citations in the Gospel of John; the second is Maarten Menken's essay on the Gospel of Matthew. Happily, the fact that the focus of Williams' chapter, the Gospel of John, coincides with our own gives this essay special weight for us; thus, her essay will become our primary reference point for this section. But I will begin first with a methodological analysis of the various essays in this volume, culminating with Williams' essay, followed by a review of pertinent principles and illustrations from the various essays, and finally, again, culminating with a detailed examination of Williams' essay on John.

I.2.1 Methodological Analysis

As is expected in a collection of essays from various scholars, methodologically, the chapters display a degree of unevenness from one to the next. More precisely, the approaches taken, first, in identifying potential source texts, and secondly, in discussing the significance of the presence of these sources in the presenting text, vary considerably. That is, given the same data, one scholar might be inclined to lean towards a clearer identification of sources, another, less so; one scholar might be inclined to lean towards finding meaningful connections between the source text and the final context, another may not. The specific grounds for these assessments are not always clear, and when they are, are often not consistent from one essay to the next. Crucial to our task, then, will be a careful delineation of method, both in how we will *not* proceed as well as how we *will* proceed; to this end, we give the following critical observations.

composite citations, delineating three distinct purposes for confections; providing further additional distinctions between true composite features and textual clusters; making further comments on condensing techniques; and finally, making several suggestions for further avenues of research. The editors have, incidentally, since the publication of these two volumes, begun planning a third volume which will treat the topic of composite allusions in the New Testament. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, "Composite Citations in Antiquity: A Conclusion," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 209–49.

⁶⁸ Stanley E. Porter, "Composite Citations in Luke-Acts," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 67–68.

Steve Moyise often begins his analysis with a reader-oriented line of inquiry, asking whether ancient audiences would have recognized or understood Mark's potential references to Scripture, and often proceeding to argue on this basis.⁶⁹ Such assessments, even if accurate, will necessarily be provisional as we simply do not have enough data about specific audiences to make definite judgments. Moyise's analysis weighs heavily on the *reader* side of the author- vs. reader-centered debate, and thus possesses an inherent weakness—neglecting to investigate an author's apparent intentions. Stanley Porter and Mark Reasoner often begin with textual analysis, and, upon identifying source texts, can then draw significant conclusions about theological and literary intention, such as Porter's comment: "A conflation of two passages for a theological purpose probably explains the usage best."⁷⁰ However, the unnecessarily restrictive criterion that a citation must consist of "a minimum of three identical words"⁷¹ may cause him to miss important connections. Also, his reluctance to recognize the possibility of Jewish exegetical methods at Luke 4:18–19a is somewhat puzzling.⁷² In the same way, Reasoner's negative assessments regarding Pauline attribution may result in his discounting valid instances of composite citation.⁷³

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Steve Moyise, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of Mark," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 17–19. Moyise's critique of Hays and Watts (pp. 22–23), similarly, follows this line of argument. On the distinction between author- and reader- oriented approaches and intertextuality, see further Margaret Daly-Denton, "Going Beyond the Genially Open 'Cf.': Intertextual Reference to the Old Testament in the New," *Milltown Studies* 44 (1999): 48–60.

⁷⁰ Porter, "Composite Citations in Luke-Acts," 70.

⁷¹ Porter, "Composite Citations in Luke-Acts," 82. While from a modern literary perspective this criterion seems reasonable enough, this simply was not the mode in which ancient Jewish authors operated, as Williams and Menken demonstrate in their essays.

⁷² Porter, "Composite Citations in Luke-Acts," 67–68. Although Porter observes how the two passages from Isaiah share "many lines of connection," he makes clear to avoid affirming any kind of catchword linkage between the two since it is larger phrases and clauses rather than individual words which are deleted and inserted. This is somewhat perplexing, as Porter seems to misunderstand the method: the fusion of longer phrases from another source is precisely what composite citations are in their combined (as opposed to conflated) variation.

⁷³ For example, Reasoner argues negatively on account of a lack of evidence at Rom 3:10–18 rather than providing any positive evidence of the catena being used elsewhere prior to Paul (pp. 135–6), where both Stanley and Koch, incidentally, assess the data positively; so, also, at 9:33, pp.144–15; see also my comments at n. 101, below. Mark Reasoner, "'Promised Beforehand Through His Prophets in the Holy Scriptures': Composite Citations in Romans," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 128–158.

Ciampa's and Docherty's method are much closer both to each other as well as to Williams' and Menken's. Ciampa provides a detailed textual analysis and displays an awareness of Jewish exegetical methods, e.g., of *gezerah shavah*,⁷⁴ leading him to describe Paul as "quite adept at writing with Scripture," not unlike "a skilled musician."⁷⁵ So also, Docherty, in her essay, displays a similar sensitivity to Jewish exegetical methods,⁷⁶ but the paucity of composite citations in Hebrews leads her to explore several other modes of referencing, including, among other things, composite allusions.⁷⁷ Through these explorations, she observes how the author is able to deliberately advance his rhetorical and theological goals, possessing a "deep familiarity with the totality of Scripture."⁷⁸

This leads us now to consider Williams' and Menken's methodologies. The particular exegetical method that is articulated by them in their composite citational inquiries is called, in Williams' essay, "analogical exegesis" or "catchword associations,"⁷⁹ where passages are linked together by certain keywords, common themes, or perhaps narrative settings. A very similar Jewish exegetical method attested in later rabbinical writing is more commonly known as *gezerah shavah* / גזרה שווה (similar decrees), but the technique, or something very close to it, is already well-attested in Second Temple Jewish sources by the first century CE, and is even found within the Hebrew scriptures themselves.⁸⁰ That is, ancient Jewish exegetes would

⁷⁴ Roy E. Ciampa, "Composite Citations in 1-2 Corinthians and Galatians," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 176.

⁷⁵ Ciampa, "Composite Citations in 1-2 Corinthians and Galatians," 188.

⁷⁶ Susan Docherty, "Composite Citations and Conflation of Scriptural Narratives in Hebrews," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 191.

⁷⁷ Docherty, "Composite Citations and Conflation," 205–6. Her comments here, suggestive as they are, are nevertheless cursory in nature and do not provide any sustained analysis or exegesis of the various texts to which she draws the readers' attention.

⁷⁸ Docherty, "Composite Citations and Conflation," 207.

⁷⁹ Catrin H. Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 99, 106, 113–15, 126–27. In his essay, Menken frequently uses the term "analog" or "analogous text" for this phenomenon, e.g., Maarten J. J. Menken, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), e.g., pp. 35, 36, 38, 44, 46.

⁸⁰ For a recent discussion of this exegetical technique, see especially Catrin H. Williams, "John, Judaism, and Searching the Scriptures," in *John and Judaism: A Contested Relationship in Context*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and P. N. Anderson, SBLRBS 87 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 80–85; also George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran:*

have understood these analogical passages—which may stem from disparate loci and which may sometimes treat quite different matters—as being organically connected together as God’s word,⁸¹ and thus speaking univocally on any given subject for God’s people *in their present context*. The linkage may occur through as narrow a bridge as a single word, but often multiple words, and usually, common subject(s), tie the passages together, sometimes extensively so. The method requires a careful textual scrutiny of the text in question, its potential source texts, as well as the surrounding contexts of the possible source texts, alert to potential similarities, both in word and in theme. We will see a number of these examples below in the sections on composite citations especially in Matthew, and uniquely so, in the Gospel of John.

I.2.2 Some Examples of Composite Citations in the NT⁸²

First, however, we examine a few illustrative examples from the New Testament at large. In their introductory essay, Adams and Ehorn examine four passages, concluding that only 1 Peter 2:24 is a true composite citation—a conflation of Isaiah 53:12 and 53:4.⁸³ Adams and

4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1985), 166, 294, 297–98, 306–8, 319; and Maarten J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15 (Kampen: Kok Pharos Pub. House, 1996), 52–53, 83–84, 88–89, 94–95, 117–18, 131–36, 159–60, 195, 197; and, for “inner biblical exegesis” within the Old Testament itself, see Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 155–57, 247–50, as noted in Williams, *Judaism*, 84, n.10. On the wider discussion of the parallels between the NT authors’ exegetical technique and Qumran, see George J. Brooke, “Shared Exegetical Traditions between the Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 565–91; and idem, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996*, ed. M. E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 28 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 35–57. Cf. also, from a rabbinic perspective, Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner, *Encyclopedia of Midrash: Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism*, vol. 1 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 477–83; and Alexander Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 194–225.

⁸¹ See further David Instone Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE*, *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 30 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992), 181; and Patrick W. Skehan, “Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament,” *BA* 28, no. 3 (1965): 99–100.

⁸² While we provide only a few examples in this section from the various essays in this volume as is most critical for the development of our own thesis, we note that every essay in this volume, despite the differing methodologies, contains at least one clear example of a composite citation. These include, among others, and in addition to the ones below: Mark 1:2–3, Luke 4:18–19, Romans 11:8, and Hebrews 10:37–38.

⁸³ Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 8–14.

Ehorn note the significant points of contact between Isaiah 53 on the surrounding verses in 1 Peter, that is, vv. 21–25, and conclude that the author adapted Isaiah 53:12 in order to personalize this passage for his audience, altering the emphasis from the third-person to the first-person, so that the Messiah is said to have borne τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν (our sins) rather than τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν (their sins). From this investigation, we glean two methodological principles on the identification of composite citations. The first is to observe the commonness of the lexemes under investigation. Adams and Ehorn conclude that Acts 15:16–18 was *not* a composite citation partly because the lexical links between the purported source texts was too common to provide a true connection. While this is generally true, this consideration must be balanced against other factors, since common words *can* in fact clearly serve as catchwords between passages.⁸⁴ A second principle is that the utilization of the same source passage (or its immediate context), within the immediate context of the citation, even if none of the words are found in the presenting citation *per se*, is an indication of composite construction.

Ciampa, examining 2 Corinthians 6:16–18, concludes that, here we have either an extensive composite citation of five or six texts, or, alternatively, “multiple citations, with at least one still being a composite citation.”⁸⁵ It is the most sophisticated of the composite citations in 1–2 Corinthians and Galatians, and Ciampa offers a detailed discussion of each of the six proposed source texts. For the sake of brevity, we will not attempt to summarize the textual analyses, but we note Ciampa’s conclusion, following Webb,⁸⁶ that the catena is a well-crafted literary unit displaying a chiasmic structure, with two imperatives of separation at its center (Isa. 52:11), surrounded by two promises of God’s presence (Lev. 26:11–12 / Ezek. 37:27, Ezek. 20:34, 2 Kingdoms 7:14, and 2 Kingdoms 7:8) probably composed by Paul himself, now found in the context of his command not to be “unequally yoked with unbelievers” (2 Cor. 6:14).⁸⁷ Ciampa reports how scholars have found within these texts the

⁸⁴ We saw, for example, how in the *Damascus Document*, a composite citation was formed on the basis of the single, common, keyword, “because” (כי), Norton, “Composite Quotations in the *Damascus Document*,” 108–9.

⁸⁵ Ciampa, “Composite Citations in 1-2 Corinthians and Galatians,” 161.

⁸⁶ See further William J. Webb, *Returning Home: New Covenant and Second Exodus as the Context for 2 Corinthians 6.14-7.1*, JSNTSup 85 (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1993).

⁸⁷ Ciampa, “Composite Citations in 1-2 Corinthians and Galatians,” 173–74, 188.

common themes of separation from idolatry, postexilic restoration, and new covenant / exodus. In this example, we see that ancient authors were capable of an extremely high level of complexity and artistry in the construction of these kinds of compound citations, reinforcing the probability of the notion of intentionality in the creation of composite citations.

We turn now to Maarten J. J. Menken's essay and to the example of Matthew 27:9–10.⁸⁸ Although this is not the most straightforward case of a composite citation in Matthew, it presents three elements that are instructive for us. First, although Jeremiah is invoked in the citation, in actuality, it is clearly Zechariah 11:13 which is the primary text cited, and Jeremiah, as we will see, is a secondary (in fact, tertiary) text. This phenomenon happens in Matthew 13:35 as well, and it occurs, Menken and Gundry surmise, so that the reader might not miss the secondary reference altogether due to its subtlety.⁸⁹ Secondly, linked by analogy to the Zechariah text is Deuteronomy 23:19 with the phrase “into the house of the Lord” as well as the fact that both Matthew 27:3–10 and Zechariah 11:12–14 share the topic of bringing money into the Temple. The phrase υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ (sons of Israel) at Matthew 27:9, not found in the Zechariah text, evidently is a conflation from the preceding verse, Deuteronomy 23:18. Thus, what we see is the importance of the role the immediate contexts of the analogous passages have, both in linking the passages together, as well as in furnishing specific possibilities for the wording of the actual citation under scrutiny. And thirdly, in the text from Jeremiah 32:8, which shares with the Zecharian and Matthean passage the word ἀργύριον (silver pieces), the word ἀγρόν (field) is used for Matthew's citation—an element completely missing in the Zechariah text. Once again, the immediate contexts of the analogous passages play a vital role. In his conclusion, Menken notes that almost all of the composite citations in Matthew are “legitimated by their analogy,” displaying similarity in words or content,⁹⁰ and

⁸⁸ Maarten J. J. Menken, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 34–59.

⁸⁹ Menken, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew,” 56, 58. See also Robert Horton Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1967), 557.

⁹⁰ Menken, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew,” 60.

therefore infers that Matthew was “an expert scribe, probably having access to biblical scrolls in his local Jewish-Christian synagogue.”⁹¹ We will now see these same principles clearly at work in the Gospel of John.

I.2.3 Composite Citations in the Gospel of John

1. The first Johannine text to be scrutinized is John 6:31 [Ps. 78 (77):24; Exod. 16:4, 15]. Here, John’s phrase ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν (bread out of heaven he gave to them) appears to be a fusion of three distinct but clearly analogous passages: Psalm 77:24 LXX, ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς (bread of heaven he gave to them), Exodus 16:4 LXX, ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (I rained on you bread *out of heaven*) and Exodus 16:15 LXX, ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν (bread, which the Lord *gave* to you *to eat*). Leaning on the verbal influences from the Exodus passage, notes Williams, John supplements the primary Psalm reference of heavenly bread with wording from the other two passages, resulting in a christological emphasis that Jesus comes ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (out of heaven); and preparing the reader for Jesus’ invitation later on in the chapter to “*eat* of the flesh of the Son of Man” (6:53).⁹² All three passages share in common the word ἄρτος (bread), while two of them share the word οὐρανοῦ (heaven), two of them share the word ἔδωκεν (gave) and all three of them share the originating narrative setting of the Exodus wilderness feeding. Here, the ties that bind these three passages together are clear, multiple and, consequently, very strong. Williams concludes: “it is catchword associations or ‘analogical exegesis’ that, more often than not, provide exegetical legitimation for John’s fusion of ‘distant’ scriptural verses”; the shared narrative settings of the originating event played a “decisive role in the composition of the citation.”⁹³ We will see this type of analogical exegesis repeated again and again in John.

2. Another passage in this essay that warrants a detailed review is John 7:38 (Ps. 78(77):16, 20; Isa. 48:21, Zech. 14:8) which contains, relative to John 6:31, two additional complicating factors. In this verse, whose setting is the temple on the last day of the Feast of

⁹¹ Menken, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew,” 61.

⁹² Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 97–100.

⁹³ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 99.

Tabernacles, Jesus invites those who thirst to come to him, and then, with a characteristic introductory formula, cites Scripture. However, despite the presence of the introductory formula, scholars have debated whether 7:38 qualifies as an explicit citation, since a single clear referent text is not easily identifiable. There is, in addition, uncertainty about its syntax and punctuation which also bears on the question of the identification of its source(s), and vice versa. The syntactical question turns on whether the source of the living waters here refers to Jesus or to the believer. Williams notes that adopting a christological reading aligns it well, on the one hand, *functionally* with John's other explicit citations, and, on the other, *thematically* with Jesus' identity in John 7–8; furthermore, such a reading connects it with the subsequent giving of the Spirit (7:39, 19:34).⁹⁴

Textually, the critical verbal elements in this citation are the words *ρεύσουσιν* (will flow) and *ὑδατος* (waters) for which Psalm 78:16 and Isaiah 48:21 together, both retellings of the Exodus event of the miracle of water from the rock, are the main contenders as the primary source. The main difficulty in opting for one over the other is that in both these passages only single words, rather than a *sequence* of words, are the touchpoints with John's passage; nevertheless, the presence of the word *ποταμούς* (rivers) may tip the balance in favor of the Psalm text.⁹⁵ Two other textual elements, *ζῶντος* (living), and *ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας* (out of his heart) can be traced, respectively, to Zechariah 14:8 (and along with it, Ezek. 47:1–2) in its eschatological vision of living water from Jerusalem, and Psalm 77:16 (water *from* a rock), in coordination with corresponding birthing imagery, cf. Deuteronomy 32:18 (rock that bore you) and John 3:4–5, anticipating the subsequent giving of the Spirit (cf. 7:39, 19:34). Once again, what we have here is an intricate network of texts connected together by key concepts and words: life-giving water, the shared Exodus setting of miraculous water from the rock, and birthing imagery. Whereas in 6:31 the ties that bind the texts together is thicker, here the threads are somewhat finer, consisting only of isolated words, but the mechanics of aggregating two or more texts together into a single citation, based on shared elements among

⁹⁴ Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," 101.

⁹⁵ Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," 102.

them, is the same. In so doing, John maps the scriptural motif of the life-giving source of water onto Jesus, and, at the same time, connects it with the giving of the Spirit to come. Since this text will be one of the texts we examine in our study, we will reserve more extensive commentary for our discussion in Chapter V below. However, we note here that the presence of the introductory formula has enabled it to be considered an explicit citation, but its mode of citation, as just witnessed, might be considered as allusive as it is quotation-like. The connections, though substantive in their conceptual content, are linguistically subtle and allusion-like. Indeed, they might be better described as an allusion(s) *within*, or *functioning as*, a citation.

3. A third passage instructive for detailed examination is John 12:40 (Isa. 6:10; 42:18-20; 44:18). In John's summary of Jesus' public ministry at the end of chapter 12, we find a double citation at 12:38-40. Here, in this second part of the double citation, citing Isaiah 6:10, John's focus is the theme of blindness and unbelief, having omitted the Isaianic references to "this people," "ears," and "hearing." These omissions are likely Johannine redactions that can be readily explained by the immediate context of John 12 in which the emphasis is on seeing Jesus' signs which leads to belief, and its inverse, blindness (of the heart) leading to unbelief.⁹⁶ John's citation is likely dependent on the Hebrew version,⁹⁷ but John's word choice of *τυφλόω* (to blind) in favor of *καμύω* (to close) of the LXX, is likely an *intratextual* reference to John 9:39 with its story of the healing of the blind man, and also *intertextually* to Isaiah 42:18-19 and 43:8, which are both set in the context of blind and deaf Israel. In fact, it seems to me very conceivable that these three Isaianic texts, bound together by their analogy of the blindness of Israel, could have been a major source of literary and theological inspiration for John as he reflected upon the contours that his gospel would take. But, again, of specific interest to us is that John is able to include, within the gamut of his associative texts, *intratextual* lexemes, or another way to express this is that John can exercise a certain freedom

⁹⁶ Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," 111.

⁹⁷ Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," 112.

to modify citations so that they fit comfortably within his own literary and theological structure.⁹⁸

Along with the word *πηρόω* (to maim, not *πωρόω* [harden] as attested in some, later, manuscripts⁹⁹) together, the two words “to blind, maim” amount to an intensification of the Hebrew *גָּשַׁף* (to paste) and *גָּשַׁף* (to make insensible). The effect of the text, both in John and saiah, is to place the initiative of those who disbelieve in Jesus back onto God. Finally, Williams reports that in the fourth line, the words *νοήσωσιν* (they might understand), and *τῆ καρδίᾳ* (with the heart), are widely thought to bear influence from Isaiah 44:18 LXX, another passage “replete with verbal and thematic catchword links to Isaiah 6:10.”¹⁰⁰ That passage describes the spiritual state of those who fashion and worship idols, and how they consequently become spiritually blind and obtuse.

Once again, as in the previous examples, seeing these linkages of the source texts behind the presenting citation, it is possible to see how they operate *together* to confluence the wording that we now find in John. Williams does not, in this particular study, draw out all of the exegetical nuances of such interconnections among the Isaianic texts for John’s context, but we note how John has brought into close orbit these texts on blindness and idolatry at this critical juncture of the close of Jesus’ public ministry, and applied them to those who have witnessed but have failed to *truly* see, that is, to believe in Jesus. We will return to discuss some of these elements in Chapter III of our study below.

4. We now examine two final, important, and related, examples of John’s composite citation technique in the double citation at John 19:36 (Exod. 12:10, 46; Num. 9:12; Ps. 34:20) and 19:37 (Zech. 12:10; Isa. 52:10, 15). This double citation closes the second half of the Gospel recounting the crucifixion and mirrors the double citation at the end of Jesus’ public ministry discussed above at 12:38–40. The first of the two citations here explicates the significance of the fact that Jesus’ bones remained intact at his crucifixion, utilizing, it is

⁹⁸ This intratextuality is evident again in the John 13:18 composite citation; see Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 114.

⁹⁹ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 112, n. 54.

¹⁰⁰ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 113.

proposed, two discrete textual backgrounds. In the first cluster of texts, the two texts from Exodus and the one from Numbers share the setting of the meal of the Passover with its prohibition of breaking the Passover lamb's bones; in the second Psalm text, there is a description of God's protection over his righteous ones. While the three verbal links, ὀστοῦν (bone/s), οὐ συντριβήσεται (will not be broken), and αὐτοῦ / αὐτῶν (of him/them) are common to all four passages, John's specific rendering is closer, on the one hand, to the future passive tense of the Psalm's οὐ συντριβήσεται (will not be broken), while, on the other, being closer to the word order and singular αὐτοῦ in the Pentateuchal references. Once again, we see John's analogical exegesis at work, this time, as at 6:31 and 7:38, with both shared lexemes and a shared narrative setting. Williams observes that though it is difficult to decide whether the Psalm text or the Pentateuchal texts are primary, perhaps more pertinent to the discussion here is the recognition that in its Johannine form and context, the *composite* emphasis of both sets of texts are vital, signalling that Jesus is both the righteous one who receives God's deliverance and protection, as well as the Passover lamb whose bones shall not be broken. This latter portrayal, especially, will be significant for our discussion of John 1:29 in Chapter IV below.

5. We find the second part of the double citation in John 19:37 (Zech. 12:10; Isa. 52:10, 15). The primary scriptural citation here is likely Zechariah 12:10, with its prophetic pronouncement that "on that day" the house of David will look upon God, whom they have pierced. John evidently relies on the MT here, as the LXX's (deliberate?) rendering of the verb יִרְקֹךְ (they pierced) with κατωρχήσαντο from יִדְקֹךְ (they danced triumphantly over) seems to be a textual corruption. But John's ὄψονται (they will look on) is an atypical translation of וַיִּבְיְהוּ in the MT, which is normally rendered with ἐπιβλέψονται, as in the Greek versions. Although the translation as it stands is not impossible, there are alternative explanations that provide a more transparent motive. Among these is the theory that John is dependent here on an early Christian *testimonia* collection, since Zechariah also features prominently elsewhere in other

NT usage (e.g., Rev. 1:7) and early church usage (*I Apol.* 52.12; *Dial.* 14.8).¹⁰¹ But viewing this passage through the eyes of an analogical exegete, John's usage here could well be a composite citation reflecting influence from two additional sources. The first is John's *intratextual* influence—yet again—from elsewhere in the Gospel with its notable motif of *ὁράω* (seeing) and related to this, an *intertextual* influence from Isaiah 52:10, 13, 15 with its predictions that the nations *ᾄψονται* (will see) God's salvation in his servant. At the nexus point of the cross, in fact, the touchpoints are three-fold, for there is present a third, closely related theme, that of being *ὑψωθῆναι* (lifted up, cf. Jn 3:14–15; 8:28; 12:32–33), which is also found in the fourth Isaianic servant song at Isaiah 52:13 LXX—*ὑψωθήσεται και δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα* (lifted up and greatly magnified). The Johannine construction thus has the effect of mapping the Isaianic suffering servant onto Jesus in the event of the cross in a “gradual elucidation” in the course of the Johannine narrative with an “increasingly explicit outworking of links.”¹⁰²

In these last two examples of the double citation, we find encapsulated the various Johannine analogical exegetical techniques in compact form. Key words and a shared narrative tie the source texts together; otherwise, inexplicable elements can often be found to originate from the Johannine intratextual framework; and the incorporation of these elements together in the Johannine narrative cohere together to form a unified and intricate presentation of the story and person of Jesus with unique Johannine emphases.

In her conclusion, Williams summarizes her findings: eight out of the Gospel's fifteen explicit quotations are composite; seven out of these eight are conflated rather than combined. She then offers several cogent reflections, of particular significance are the following: first, although many of the explicit citations can be traced back to early Christian tradition, the composite features, that is, the additions, confluations, and modifications to these eight citations

¹⁰¹ See further Martin C. Albl, “*And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*”: *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, NovTSup 96 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999), 254–58.

¹⁰² Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 124.

in John, as far as we can tell, all originate from the evangelist’s redactions, and reflect a particularly Johannine view of Jesus.¹⁰³ That is, the redactional character of Johannine composite citations exhibits an exceptional degree of literary freedom and theological sophistication. Secondly, an important outworking of this creative power is seen clearly in John’s connection between seeing and faith—plausibly Isaianic in origin—and how this theme in turn then serves as one important element of the *intratextual* framework for two composite citations at key points in the Gospel of John (12:40, 19:37). Each of the composite citations, when exegeted analogically, displays a similar coherence with its context.¹⁰⁴ Thirdly, Williams also notes that this exegetical method of “analogical exegesis” or “catchword association,” finds its closest parallels in late Second-Temple Jewish texts, and, especially in the translation methods of the Septuagint—a claim that our study will explore in Chapter II.¹⁰⁵ And finally, she concludes, the employment of such a method “points to the work of a

¹⁰³ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 125. Looking across the various chapters in this volume, proportionally, no other NT author matches the redactional activity of John in the composite features of their explicit citations. Taking the various results of the chapters at face value, Mark created one out of four composite citations (see Moyise, pp. 17-25, 32); Matthew, five out of thirteen (see Menken, p. 60); Luke, one of eleven in Luke–Acts (see Porter, pp. 68, 70, 74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 89, 92); Paul, six out of ten in Romans (see Reasoner, p. 157), and four out of five in Corinthians and Galatians (see Ciampa, pp. 161–174, 175, 181–82, 185, 186); and the author of Hebrews, one out of three (see Docherty, pp. 206–207).

¹⁰⁴ This theological and literary coherence in John is clearly extraordinary with respect to the totality of the findings in volume 2. In the other chapters, the findings are far more modest. Although all of the other chapters contain at least one clear, strong case of this theological and literary congruence with its context (Mark 1:2–3, see Moyise pp.17–25; Matthew 2:6, 2:23, 13:35, 27:9-10, see Menken, pp.37–40, 52–54, 55–56, 58–60; Luke 4:18–19, Luke 7:27, Acts 13:22, see Porter, 68, 70, 90–92; Romans 9:25–26, 10:6, 11:8, 13:9, 14:11, 26–27, see Reasoner, p.157; 2 Cor. 6:16–18, see Ciampa, pp. 160–74; Hebrews 10:37–38, see Docherty, 193–6), John is exceptional in that every composite citation in the Gospel arguably exhibits this coherence. Methodological subjectivity notwithstanding, there is clearly both a qualitative and quantitative distinctiveness to John’s citation practice. Probably Paul comes in second place in this respect, especially in his more theologically-focused letter to the Romans. I should note, however, as alluded to above, that I have reason to disagree with several of Reasoner’s conclusions regarding the origin of the composite features in Romans, and therefore, also their theological function in their respective contexts. Reasoner seems to err too far on the side of non-Pauline attribution and therefore assigns less contextual coherence to the citations overall. For example, among other places, I would demur with Reasoner at Rom. 3:10–18 and 9:33, in favor of both Stanley’s and Koch’s analyses at those points. And at 10:6 (Deut. 9:4, Deut. 30:12), Reasoner fails to discuss the significance of the critical catchphrase “in your heart” ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ in the nearby passages of Deut. 30:14 and Rom. 10:8, thereby connecting them both with Deut. 9:4; this provides a strong connection of analogy among these three passages. The effect of the analogy seems to be that Moses’ exhortation to Israel, reminding them of their covenant with God who has brought them out of Egypt, on the threshold of the land of Canaan, and being urged to keep covenant faithfully as they enter the land, that is, the entirety of the old covenant, in its law and promise, is now superimposed onto faith in Jesus as Lord, a faith that responds “in the heart.”

¹⁰⁵ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 126.

profoundly literate scriptural exegete, which... suggests the author's solid awareness of, and engagement with, the original contexts of the scriptural quotations in question."¹⁰⁶

I.2.4 Summary and Analysis: The Formation of Composite Citations in the New Testament and, Especially, in the Gospel of John

Some concluding words for this section are now in order. The exegetical method called “analogical exegesis,” as identified most clearly by Williams and Menken in their essays, seems to be the basis for many of the linkages between the source texts that are behind the composite citations in the New Testament. This is so especially for the Gospel of John, whose tendency towards composite citations significantly surpasses, in proportion to the number of explicit citations, the other documents of the New Testament studied in this volume. It seems that John especially favored subtle analogical textual connections whose multiple themes he then wove into the structure of his own Gospel.

To recapitulate, this exegetical technique brings together analogous passages based on their common subject(s), or, in the case of narrative texts, a common originating event, and very often, though not always, in combination with the presence of one or more catchwords. Once these texts have been identified, however, other words from that passage or its immediate context can then be conflated (or combined) together in order to produce the final form of the composite citation. This process seems to suggest: a conscious intentionality on the part of the citing author; a thorough familiarity with the scriptural texts; a certain authorial freedom and confidence to modify such texts to fit the presenting literary or theological need; and, finally, one supposes, access to written sources of Scripture (especially the LXX, though at times the Hebrew text as well)—although, as we will explore in the section on ancient media culture below, not, perhaps, in the precise mode that we moderns might envision. One other factor that may contribute to the identification of source texts or analogous passages is the commonness of the word(s), whether singly or in combination.

¹⁰⁶ Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” 127.

Finally, many of the composite citations in the NT display a high degree of coherence with their new embedded contexts in relation to the citing author's purposes, whether theologically or literarily. Once more, this is especially the case in the Gospel of John, where composite citations can also exhibit, in addition to *intertextual* influences, *intratextual* ones, on the basis of significant themes and motifs found elsewhere in the Gospel. These findings all bode well for our proposed study of composite allusions, furnishing us with significant resources with which to advance towards our chosen topic of study.

I.3.0 The Study of Scriptural Allusions in the New Testament

We come now to the second major component of our scholarly context: the study of scriptural allusions in the New Testament. However, unlike our account of the history of composite citations, the literature here is vast, not without considerable debate, and shows no signs of abating.¹⁰⁷ To address the topic comprehensively would bring us far afield from our primary task, and so our treatment here will necessarily be highly selective, lifting out for scrutiny the advances which are either critical to the field or are particularly significant for the development of our own method; I proceed under two main subheadings. First, I provide an account of the development of intertextual methods beginning in literary criticism; secondly, I survey two critical literary-theoretical studies on the "activation" and definition of allusions, highlighting various studies in the Bible which have incorporated these methods. In each of these sub-sections I begin with non-Johannine studies but culminate in surveying the significant Johannine material. I conclude this section by reviewing our current methodological insights, as well as by further formulating our own terminological definitions that we will need in order to proceed in our own study.

¹⁰⁷ For an excellent summary and relatively up-to-date and annotated bibliography, see B. J. Oropeza, "Intertextuality," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 453-463. See also the articles by Geoffrey David Miller, "Intertextuality in Old Testament Research," *CBR* 9, no. 3 (2011): 283-309; and Patricia Tull, "Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures," *CurBS* 8 (2000): 59-90. Also helpful for introducing many of the central issues is Gregory K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2012), 31-41; and Samuel Emadi, "Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship: Significance, Criteria, and the Art of Intertextual Reading," *CBR* 14 no.1 (2015): 8-23.

I.3.1 Intertextuality: Advent and Adoption in Biblical Studies

The term “intertextuality” was coined by Julia Kristeva in her 1967 essay, “Bakhtin, le mot, le dialogue et le roman,”¹⁰⁸ and, as utilized by Kristeva, represents a post-structural, semiotic, deconstructionist analysis of texts in relation to other texts, and, ultimately, in relation to culture.¹⁰⁹ Although our approach taken here, like the majority of intertextual studies in the Bible since Kristeva, will depart significantly from the specific methodological path carved out by her, her creative impulse is what first propelled the study of “intertextuality” forward in the biblical-exegetical guild. She developed intertextuality as an ideological and political counterpoint to her context, conceiving that a text is never an independent literary unit but is always “constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another,”¹¹⁰ and is, therefore, always ideological. The term intertextuality was met “with immediate success.”¹¹¹ But as the term was adopted into biblical studies, its post-structural, semiotic, and deconstructionist distinctives were often overlooked in favor of Kristeva’s more unoriginal claim that all texts exist in relation to previous texts, and, as we shall see, it has often been in this more basic fashion—as it is in this study—that it is broadly applied in biblical studies.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Julia Kristeva’s essay was first published in the journal *Critique* 239 (1967): 438-65, then as the fourth chapter in *Σημειωτική: Recherches pour une Sémanalyse*, Tel Quel (Paris: Seuil, 1969), which was subsequently translated into English only in 1980 as *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

¹⁰⁹ Helpful discussions of J. Kristeva’s thought in relation to biblical studies, which has been thoroughly documented, can be found in, among others: George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips, eds., *Intertextuality and the Bible* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995), 7–15; Stefan Alkier, “Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays and Leroy Andrew Huizenga (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2009), 4–7; Timothy K. Beal, “Ideology and Intertextuality: Surplus of Meaning and Controlling the Means of Production,” in *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992); Leroy Andrew Huizenga, “The Old Testament in the New, Intertextuality and Allegory,” *JSNT* 38, no. 1 (2015): 23–25; and Joseph Ryan Kelly, “Intertextuality and Allusion in the Study of the Hebrew Bible” (Ph.D., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014), 47–61. For more general introductions to Kristeva and intertextuality, see Toril Moi, “Introduction,” in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), and Patrick Cheney, “Intertextuality,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth Edition*, ed. Roland Greene et al. (Princeton University Press, 2012), 716–18.

¹¹⁰ As cited in Oropeza, “Intertextuality,” 454.

¹¹¹ Leon S. Roudiez, “Introduction,” in Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, 15.

¹¹² See the discussion, in, e.g., Kelly, “Intertextuality and Allusion,” 61–63, and Tull, “Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures,” 68–71, for helpful surveys of the adoption of the term intertextuality in biblical studies, as well as the works listed in note 109 above.

One of the early pioneers in this regard is Richard B. Hays and his monograph *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*.¹¹³ Hays begins the description of his method by rejecting, on the one hand, the Schleiermacherian approaches of those like Bultmann, which have largely denied the significance of Old Testament influence on Paul, while responding, on the other, to historical methods of reading Paul that have been engaging in the various technical questions of scholarship but have failed to re-assemble the “pieces of the puzzle” of Pauline use of the Old Testament.¹¹⁴ Although Hays acknowledges his theoretical dependence—at least in part—on those like Kristeva and on the then new intertextual method burgeoning in literary criticism, he nevertheless seeks to limit his investigation to the textual—as opposed to the semiotic, ideological, or post-structural—analysis of citations and allusions in Pauline literature.¹¹⁵ Additionally, Hays approvingly names John Hollander’s study *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After*¹¹⁶ as a source he will methodologically emulate in his own study.¹¹⁷ Hays articulates his method as attempting to “attend carefully” to the allusions and echoes¹¹⁸ of Scripture in a selection of Pauline passages,¹¹⁹ seeking to persuade his audience of a “common sense” reading of these metalepses¹²⁰—a term borrowed from Hollander and literary theory that he frequently employs—that both “occur within the literary structure of the text and can plausibly be ascribed to the intention of the author and the competence of the original readers.”¹²¹ In what would arguably become his greatest legacy to subsequent scholarship, Hays develops a set of seven criteria whereby these allusions or echoes can be evaluated.¹²² Such criteria, and especially sensitivity to the respective contexts

¹¹³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

¹¹⁴ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 8–9.

¹¹⁵ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 15.

¹¹⁶ John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

¹¹⁷ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 18–20.

¹¹⁸ Hays uses the terms “echo” and “allusion” somewhat interchangeably, although he notes how an echo is subtler than an allusion and that an allusion is tied to authorial intent in a way that echo is not. See Hays, *Echoes*, 29.

¹¹⁹ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 9.

¹²⁰ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 25.

¹²¹ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 28.

¹²² Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29–32. The seven criteria are: 1) the availability of the source to the original author and/or readers; 2) the volume of the echo, as determined primarily by the repetition of words and syntax; 3) the

of the passages (Hay's fourth criteria), help to guard against "parallelomania", that is, a tendency to see parallels between sources indiscriminately.¹²³ Although others have also developed criteria,¹²⁴ and Hays' method has not been without its detractors, his has probably been the single most influential work for the study of scriptural allusions and echoes in the New Testament during the last thirty years, with many having sought to overtly emulate or build upon his method.¹²⁵

In addition to his seminal work on Paul, Hays has also produced two subsequent books, one articulating a method of reading "figurally,"¹²⁶ and another extending that discussion and applying his method in detail to the four canonical Gospels.¹²⁷ By "figural reading," Hays intends to convey a "retrospective" rather than a "prospective" hermeneutic, understanding that the NT authors read *into* the Jewish scriptures a New Testament perspective, rather than that they read *out* of it in a prophetic (predictive) manner. He borrows the classic definition from Eric Auerbach:

recurrence of the citation or allusion elsewhere in Paul; 4) the thematic coherence of the alleged echo with its new context; 5) the historical plausibility of the intended meaning in its reconstructed historical setting; 6) the presence of historical precedents in the history of interpretation; and, finally, 7) the criterion of satisfaction, which is a cumulative assessment of whether the reading overall proves "satisfying." Hays reiterates these criteria and helpfully elaborates and clarifies some of them in a later essay on Paul's usage of Isaiah, see Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 34–45.

¹²³ Although the term "parallelomania" is not employed by Richard Hays, it is a useful concept that was first introduced in biblical studies by Samuel Sandmel in his article "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81, no. 1 (1962): 1–13. In this article, Sandmel argues, among other things, for a more judicious and careful exploration of the respective contexts of "parallel passages" from different ancient sources when positing parallels. The proper domain of Sandmel's essay—originally given as the Presidential SBL address in 1961—is comparative studies, which seeks to find literary parallels and genealogical relationships between the New Testament and other ancient sources, whether that be the Jewish Scriptures, rabbinic material, the Qumran corpus, or others. Sandmel's interest in particular is in the use of rabbinic and Qumran materials in the New Testament. What is especially significant for our purposes, however, is that whether from the older lens of comparative analysis or from our own lenses of literary allusion, composite citation, and media studies, a key element of responsible exegesis is *sensitivity to the broader literary contexts* of the sources being studied. See also Terence L. Donaldson, "Parallels: Use, Misuse and Limitations," *EvQ* 55 (1983): 193–210.

¹²⁴ Gregory K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, JSNTSup 166 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 62–63(75).

¹²⁵ For a recent survey of the reception of Hays' method, see David A. Shaw, "Converted Imaginations? The Reception of Richard Hays's Intertextual Method," *CBR* 11, no. 2 (2013): 234–45. See also Beale, *Handbook*, 34–40; and Kenneth D. Litwak, "Echoes of Scripture? A Critical Survey of Recent Works on Paul's Use of the Old Testament," *CurBS* 6 (1998): 260–88.

¹²⁶ Richard B. Hays, *Reading Backwards: Figural Christology and the Fourfold Gospel Witness* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2014).

¹²⁷ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2016).

Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons in such a way that the first signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second involves or fulfills the first. The two poles of a figure are separated in time, but both, being real events or persons, are within temporality. They are both contained in the flowing stream which is historical life, and only the comprehension, the *intellectus spiritualis* [emphasis original], of their interdependence is a spiritual act.¹²⁸

In other words, the NT authors, through a “conversion of the imagination,”¹²⁹ retroject a “spiritual” and christological hermeneutic onto the Jewish Scriptures by seeing therein the prefiguration of Jesus, in light of “new revelatory events.”¹³⁰ In essence, Hays’ method reinvigorates a pre-critical mode of biblical interpretation by juxtaposing a modern intertextual method alongside pre-modern readings (especially with reference to the early church fathers as well as to the Protestant reformers¹³¹). In my mind, this ingenious innovation of Hays’ method is at once its greatest strength as well as its greatest weakness. Its strength is to open wide the door to scholarly discussion of close intertextual readings between the NT and the Jewish scriptures, while at the same time linking this discussion to the scriptural interpretation of eras past in a way that modern historical methods have largely eschewed. However, the way that Hays has done this is, in my mind, fundamentally methodologically problematic. The path towards an appropriate understanding of the NT authors’ use of the Jewish scriptures is not, I argue, through the application of categories of understanding that arose in the centuries after the NT documents were written—even if these are, relatively speaking, early in the overall stream of Christian history—but to attempt to understand the NT documents within their own native timeframe and cultural, hermeneutical, and exegetical context. In my mind, Hays’ method simply does not reach backwards far enough historically, stopping short of the ancient biblical world in which the NT authors lived, thought, and wrote. There is, then, an underlying anachronism in Hays’ method that my own method will attempt to redress below.¹³²

¹²⁸ Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 2, citing Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 73.

¹²⁹ Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 4.

¹³⁰ Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 5.

¹³¹ Hays, *Reading Backwards*, see especially note 4, 367–68.

¹³² See also the relevant sections below on Jn 12:37–40, Jn 7:37b–40, and Jn 15 in which I interact with the respective portions of Hays’ work on the Gospel of John. Admittedly, the interpretive outcomes of Hays’ method

Nevertheless, Hay's original study *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* has been deeply influential in this sub-discipline of New Testament studies, inspiring many scholars to follow his basic method.¹³³ One of these is Michael B. Thompson in his study, *Clothed with Christ: the Example and teaching of Jesus in Romans 12:1–15:13*, which adapts Hays' criteria in search of parallels between the traditions of Jesus and this portion of Paul's writings.¹³⁴ Referencing the work of literary critics, Thompson first provides a three-fold definition of allusion as involving (1) the use of a sign or marker that (2) calls to the reader's mind another known text (3) for a specific purpose.¹³⁵ Although Thompson concludes that Paul rarely alludes to the traditions of Jesus, he also argues that "both Jesus' example and teaching significantly influenced the shape of [Paul's] admonitions."¹³⁶ What is particularly interesting for our purposes, however, are some of his methodological extensions of Hays' criteria in his own inquiry.¹³⁷ In the search for possible allusions, Thompson's method includes queries similar to those we posed in searching for composite citations. For example, Thompson asks: Is the combination of words significant or unique? and, are significant words from a related or parallel source context echoed in the immediate context? The convergence of his more literary-based method with the method we have termed 'catchword exegesis,' in relation to the Jewish exegetical method *gezerah shavah*, confirms and strengthens our methodology from a slightly different vantage.

and also of my own are similar, at least in two of the three passages addressed in this study. However, this fact does not lessen the fundamental methodological difference between Hays' method and my own. Hays' method essentially takes a modern approach (intertextuality) and attempts to offer insight into the NT authors' approach through that lens; mine attempts to understand the NT authors and their implied audience first of all in their own native, oral-literary and exegetical contexts without imposing upon them a foreign paradigm.

¹³³ In addition to the studies mentioned below by Michael B. Thompson, Christopher A. Beetham, and Daniel J. Brendsel, see also Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1–9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*, LNTS 301 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2005); and idem, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:10–19: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*, LNTS 317 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2005).

¹³⁴ Michael B. Thompson, *Clothed With Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1-15.13*, JSNTSup 59 (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1991).

¹³⁵ Michael B. Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 29. His references here include, significantly, the works of Carmela Perri and Ziva Ben-Porat, whose important work on the linguistic and literary definitions of the poetics of alluding we will introduce below. Thompson, perhaps not fully recognizing the methodological significance of these scholars, interacts briefly with these scholars in only two footnotes.

¹³⁶ Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 20.

¹³⁷ Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 31–35.

Moving now to Johannine studies, another Haysian-inspired work is Margaret Daly-Denton's monograph on the use of the Psalms in John, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*.¹³⁸ Like Hays, whose criteria she acknowledges as helpful,¹³⁹ she leans heavily on literary critic Hollander in her treatment of allusions and echoes, taking a predominantly synchronic approach to the Gospel.¹⁴⁰ The scope of her investigation ranges from formulaic quotations to allusions to echoes—she places the three on a “‘sliding scale’ of diminishing intentionality on the part of the author and decreasing visibility on the surface of the text,” where an echo is “covert, faint, blurred, subliminal.”¹⁴¹ Interestingly, in her chapter surveying a sampling of allusions and echoes of varying volume in John,¹⁴² she comments that these are frequently thematic rather than verbal, often involving “no more than a single word or a particular turn of phrase,” and that the verbal allusions “can be quite fragmentary and elusive.”¹⁴³ Also significant are her observations about the unity of the psalter as a whole, that, although often only one psalm was cited, readers were pointed to several other psalms in their interconnectedness.¹⁴⁴

Another closely related study is Andrew C. Brunson's examination of the use of Psalm 118 in John.¹⁴⁵ He examines the use of the psalm in John from multiple angles, demonstrating, arguably, the presence of the New Exodus motif in the use of Psalm 118 in the gospel. As with Daly-Denton, Brunson's study relies heavily on Hollander's definition of allusion and echo, and he readily employs Hays' criteria for the identification of allusions and echoes in his own

¹³⁸ Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, AGJU 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 323.

¹³⁹ Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 11.

¹⁴⁰ Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 12–14.

¹⁴¹ Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 9.

¹⁴² Her examination includes: Ps. (88)89 in John 7:42, 12:34, and possibly 20:17 and 8:51; Ps. (39)40 in John 4:34, 6:38 and others; Ps. (41–42) 42–43 in the passion narrative; Ps. (22)23 and Ps. (94)95 in John 10 and John 6; Ps. 44:7(45:6) and 34(35) in John 1:1 and 20:28; Ps. (109)110 and Ps. 8 in John 10:22–39, 1:18, 1:2, and 6:62; and Ps. 1–2 in John 20:29, 15:6, and in the binary structure of the whole Gospel. See Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 243–87.

¹⁴³ Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 287.

¹⁴⁴ Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 241.

¹⁴⁵ Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2.158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

assessments.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps most significantly for the development of our own method, we note how Brunson comments that John's allusions to Psalm 118 consistently respected the wider literary context of the whole Psalm.¹⁴⁷

Finally, Gary T. Manning, Jr. published a monograph on the use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John in 2004.¹⁴⁸ Since Ezekiel is never cited by John, the focus of his study is solely on allusions, which he treats under two separate headings, "major allusions" and "minor allusions."¹⁴⁹ Like Thompson, he develops Hays' criteria into his own method, providing six criteria for the identification of allusions, all of which, in some way, overlap with the method we have uncovered in our discussion of composite citations.¹⁵⁰ Most significant for our purposes is how Manning notes that many of the allusions, both in the extended passages as well as in individual verses or phrases, can often be combined allusions (Manning is not using the term technically but simply observing the phenomenon) where two or more OT passages are connected either thematically or by the usage of catchwords; this is a phenomenon he observes not only in John but also in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple Jewish literature.¹⁵¹

I.3.2 On the Activation of an Allusion: Ziva Ben-Porat

The study of allusions makes a significant advancement, first, with literary theorist Ziva Ben-Porat's study, *The Poetics of Literary Allusion* in 1976,¹⁵² and, building on this, Carmela

¹⁴⁶ Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 7–16.

¹⁴⁷ Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 363.

¹⁴⁸ Gary T. Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period* (London: T&T Clark, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ Manning, unfortunately, does not set out clear criteria as to what differentiates a "major allusion" from a "minor allusion." In the "major allusions" category he examines two extended passages: John 10:1–30 alluding primarily to Ezekiel 34 and Numbers 27, and John 15:1–10 alluding primarily to Ezekiel 15, 17, 19, as well as Jer. 2:21–22 and Isa. 5:1–7; Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 100–149. In the "minor allusions" category, he treats John 1:51 alluding to Ezek. 1:1; John 5:25, 28 to Ezek. 37:4, 9; John 20:21 to Ezek. 37:9–10; John 7:38 to Ezek. 47:1, 9; John 3:5, 4:13–14 to Ezek. 36:25–27, and John 21:1–11 to Ezek. 47:1–12; Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 150–97.

¹⁵⁰ Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 9–14.

¹⁵¹ Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 199–201. See, for one of several examples of this, his comments about John's combined allusions to Numbers 27 and Ezekiel 34 in John 10; Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 111–113.

¹⁵² Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *Ptl; a Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 105–28.

Perri's 1978 study, *On Alluding*.¹⁵³ Ben-Porat theorized that, linguistically speaking, an allusion is the evocation and activation of a source text(s) by a referent text, via four discrete stages.¹⁵⁴ First, some definitions: In Ben-Porat's schema, the "marker" (MR) in the alluding text (AT) consists of one or more words or themes which point to or recall the corresponding words or themes in an evoked text(s) (ET). These "marked" (MD) words and/or themes in the evoked text may or may not differ slightly from their corresponding "markers" in the alluding text, e.g., slight grammatical or syntactical changes to fit the context, but they must be identifiable to the reader. The quality of "being identifiable" and the process of identifying the ET is ultimately a subjective one, to which the application of some criteria may be helpful, but final judgment of the presence of the allusion—short of personal verification by the original author—rests on the reader in judging *the ability of the allusion to enhance one's understanding of and appreciation for the AT*.

The process of the activation of an allusion then follows these four stages: 1) One recognizes the corresponding marker (MR) in the alluding text. 2) One recalls or discovers the marked (MD) signs, and thus one identifies the evoked text(s) (ET). The second stage also involves understanding the significance of the marked (MD) reference in the context of its evoked text (ET). That is, there is a process of hermeneutical reflection required of the reader or audience in its hearing, studying, and knowledge of the ET. An echo for Ben-Porat is an allusion that progresses only to the second stage of actualization but not beyond. 3) The third stage in actualizing the allusion is the transference of the relevant components of the hermeneutical reflection onto the original alluding text, so that one's understanding of the AT itself is modified. Thus, this involves a *second* hermeneutical step of reflection that changes the reader's or audience's understanding and appreciation of the AT. At this stage, the allusion can be said to have been "actualized." 4) An optional fourth stage is that a further iteration of reflection on the ET, especially on its wider, intermediate, context, may uncover other

¹⁵³ Carmela Perri, "On Alluding," *Poetics* 7, no. 3 (1978): 289–307.

¹⁵⁴ Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 110-126.

corresponding elements in the ET with the AT which may then further deepen understanding of and appreciation for the AT.

Building on Ben-Porat's definition of allusion, Perri distinguishes five types of allusion. Perri classifies quotations or citations as allusions of "proper name," and also lists and describes allusions of "definite description," "paraphrase," "topical or historical," "self-echo," and "conventions of literature"¹⁵⁵—note that these different kinds of allusions are *not* mutually exclusive and can overlap. Perri's "definite description" is a broad category that can encompass a variety of forms, from a phrase to a word, and it is this category that is most relevant for our purposes. In Perri's "definite description" is a special category of allusions called "paraphrase," where an author alludes to a longer narrative or sequence of events, along with what that sequence signifies, where the allusion marker often will also take an extended form. A further distinction that Perri makes is the "topical" or "historical allusion"—which may refer to real-world events or persons, or to literary realities. Another kind of allusion closely connected with this is Perri's allusions to "conventions of literature," where certain poets or even genres are the marked referent; the markers refer not to certain texts but to literary 'conventions.'

I.3.3 Studies Utilizing Ben-Porat's Definition of Allusion

With these two landmark studies on the theory of allusion, biblical studies would become increasingly more precise in its study of intertextuality. Benjamin D. Sommer's monograph on Isaiah 40–66 is one of the earlier studies to fully incorporate Ben-Porat's insights.¹⁵⁶ While being aware of intertextual methods, Sommer eschews these in favor of diachronic models of inquiry¹⁵⁷ which he draws primarily from Michael A. Fishbane.¹⁵⁸ In his chapter on method,

¹⁵⁵ Perri, "On Alluding," 303–5.

¹⁵⁶ Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁷ Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 7–9.

¹⁵⁸ Michael A. Fishbane's method, focusing on the Hebrew Scriptures, sought to connect later midrashic methods of rabbinic interpretation with what he deems to be evidence of exegetical, allusive, and editorial activity within the Hebrew Scriptures themselves; this activity he termed "inner-biblical exegesis." See further Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985). For responses to his significant and, in many ways, precedent-setting work, see Wolfgang Roth, ed., "Interpretation as Scriptural Matrix: A Panel

Sommer defines allusion by leaning heavily on Ziva Ben-Porat and Carmela Perri. Sommer also discusses the differences between an allusion and literary influence, which is a broader literary form of study that seeks to correlate authors, works, and even traditions, as opposed to individual texts. Further, he discusses some of the reasons for the employment of allusion, which includes, among other things, a desire to acknowledge a source and assert dependence on it, perhaps to bolster one's own authority; another reason is for the simple enjoyment of the exercise of alluding.¹⁵⁹ Overall, Sommer moves us toward a more robust methodological basis from which to examine scriptural allusions.

In New Testament studies, Marko Jauhiainen focuses on the use of Zechariah in the book of Revelation¹⁶⁰ and Christopher Beetham on scriptural allusions and echoes in Colossians.¹⁶¹ Both incorporate Ben-Porat's insights of the four stages of an allusion, and both also make further helpful distinctions—e.g., between an allusion to a motif as opposed to a specific text,¹⁶² and between allusions and “parallels,” where relationships between texts do *not* exhibit signs of influence but may originate from shared themes or motifs in the broader culture, historical milieu, or even universal human experience.¹⁶³

Moving on to Johannine studies, Susan Hylén's work examines allusions to the Exodus story in John 6, involving exegetical, historical, and what might be characterized as typological components.¹⁶⁴ Hylén defines clearly her use of the terms allusion, typology, intertextuality, and echo, referring frequently to literary theorists Ben-Porat and Perri.¹⁶⁵ In the last sections of her chapter on method, Hylén also provides an interesting discussion of metaphor theory, which she utilizes to better understand how allusions convey meaning. Although we will not detail that discussion here, what is of special interest is her insight that

on Fishbane's Thesis,” *BR* 35 (1990): 36–57; and Benjamin D. Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger,” *VT* 46, no. 4 (1996): 479–89.

¹⁵⁹ Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 10–20.

¹⁶⁰ Marko Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*, WUNT 2.199 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

¹⁶¹ Christopher A. Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians*, *BibInt* 96 (Atlanta, Ga.: Brill, 2008).

¹⁶² Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah*, 30.

¹⁶³ Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture*, 24–27.

¹⁶⁴ Susan Hylén, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, *BZNW* 137 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ Hylén, *Allusion and Meaning*, 44–46, 53–56.

multiple metaphors—and, by implication, multiple allusions—can, and in John, do work *together* to facilitate understanding and convey meaning. She writes in her conclusion:

Interpreting John's allusions metaphorically means that multiple allusions may contribute to the reader's understanding of Ch. 6. The point is not to choose one metaphor over the others, but to ask what each one brings to the conversation.

This statement has implications for our own study as we seek to understand composite allusions in John. Hylen's claim causes us to pose certain questions: how precisely do multiple, juxtaposed, or perhaps overlapping, allusions interact with one another in the Gospel of John? What is their impact on our exegesis of the texts, and, finally, on our understanding of the Gospel? These are some of the questions that we will continue to hold before us as we proceed to our own texts.

We take note of one final allusion study in John that benefits from Ben-Porat's and Perri's methodological clarity: the work of Daniel Brendsel on the use of Isaiah 52–53 in John 12.¹⁶⁶ Methodologically, Brendsel defines allusion as the evocation of a marked text, by way of a marker(s) in the alluding text, adopts the functional distinction between an echo and an allusion, and adapts Hays' criteria for the identification of allusions, providing a total of ten criteria. By now, these emphases and this kind of study are fairly standard for us and do not require further elaboration. However, Brendsel's interest in John 12 overlaps significantly with our own and we will return to his study in more detail as we interact with it in Chapter III.

I.3.4 Summary, Further Methodological Considerations and Definitions

We pause here to summarize and clarify the critical terms and methods surveyed in this section, and to rearticulate them for our own purposes. First, we note that Hay's adaptation of Kristeva's intertextuality, especially his criteria for the detection of allusions, has become a standard feature of allusion studies since his ground-breaking work. Seen from a methodological perspective, however, these insights largely overlap with the insights already

¹⁶⁶ Daniel J. Brendsel, *"Isaiah Saw his Glory": The Use of Isaiah 52-53 in John 12* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

gained in our study of composite citations and catchword exegesis, thus helping to confirm and reinforce the validity of our method, but not significantly contributing anything new to it.

Next, to summarize Ben-Porat, **an allusion** is *the literary act of evoking one or more texts by the presence of a marker(s) in the alluding text*. The process of the activation of an allusion follows four stages:

- 1) The recognition of a corresponding marker (MR) in the alluding text.
- 2) The recollection or discovery of the marked (MD) signs, and thus the identification of the evoked text(s) (ET), including hermeneutical reflection on that text.
- 3) The transference of the relevant components of the hermeneutical reflection onto the original alluding text, so that one's understanding of the AT itself is modified. This involves a *second* hermeneutical step of reflection that changes the reader's or audience's understanding and appreciation of the AT. At this stage, the allusion can be said to have been "actualized."
- 4) A further iteration of reflection on the ET, especially on its wider, intermediate, context which may then further deepen understanding of and appreciation for the AT.

In this schema, an **echo** is an allusion that progresses only to the second stage of actualization but not beyond.

Thirdly, we summarize Perri's five types of allusions: "definite description," "paraphrase," "topical or historical," "self-echo," and "conventions of literature." Perri's "definite description" is what we shall regularly denote when we use the term **allusion**. In Perri's "definite description" is a special category of allusions called "paraphrase," which in our study we will call an **extended allusion**, where an author alludes to a longer narrative or sequence of events, along with what that sequence signifies, where the allusion marker often will also take an extended form. A further distinction that Perri makes is the "topical" or "historical allusion"—which may refer to real-world events or persons, or to literary realities. Yet another kind of allusion closely connected with this is Perri's allusions to "conventions of literature," where certain poets or even genres are the marked referent; the markers refer not to certain texts but to literary 'conventions.' We combine and utilize these last two categories, "topical/historical" and "of conventions" in our study to formulate another category: **thematic**

allusions. Thematic allusions do not evoke a specific text per se but instead evoke a well-known or recognizable theme or motif which may derive from any combination of texts, or from history. Finally, Perri also recognizes the “self-echoing” allusion, which we will call an **intratextual allusion**, which is an allusion that has as its source of marked text an element taken from within the alluding text itself. For our purposes, this refers to an allusion which directs us back (or forwards) to some part of the Gospel of John. Again, these categories of allusion are not intended to refer to ontological categories that are mutually exclusive, but rather are formulated so as to provide greater granularity to and understanding of allusions as literary phenomena.

This last category, the intratextual allusion, begs the question of the utilization of the term **intertextual allusion**. Indeed, we have already been introduced to these terms a number of times now in our review of the history of the study of composite citations, where we have used them descriptively, *intertextual* to describe *an allusion referring to some other source outside of John*, and *intratextual* to refer to a loci or theme within the Gospel itself. Having been enlightened as to the origins of the word *intertextuality* in its post-modern sense, we are sensitized to a proper differentiation between source- and author-centric methods of intertextual study, that is, the study of allusions, and the post-modern versions as represented by Kristeva. Thus, in the rest of the study, I will opt for the term allusion over intertextuality whenever possible, but when by necessity the word intertextual or intertextuality is employed, it shall refer to its “non-post-modern” version except when I indicate otherwise.

I.3.5 The Definition of a *Composite Allusion*

It would be appropriate at this point to pursue one last, crucial definition: What exactly is a *composite* allusion? A composite citation has been clearly defined by Adams and Ehorn, but an allusion, by its unmarked nature cannot be quite so simply defined. Most conspicuously, the “boundaries” of a citation are usually clear and without dispute, whereas the boundaries of an allusion are not so straightforward, especially, as in our situation, where we are referring to

more than one allusion. Where does one allusion begin, and another one end? How does one determine what “composite” refers to?

We begin, then, with the general notion of a composite allusion. By definition, a composite allusion must have an identifiable “outer boundary.” That is, there must be a sense in which it is intelligible to speak about *this* particular literary or poetic entity. The size of that unit may vary depending on the context, but we need to be able to articulate where and why this boundary exists. At one end of the spectrum, it is conceivable, although admittedly unusual, that the outer boundary of a composite allusion may refer merely to a single word that alludes simultaneously to more than one marked text. More conventionally, the smallest unit would be a particular recognizable phrase or expression consisting of at least two words. Widening the scope a little, another possibility for a discrete unit may be grammatical in nature, like a nominal or verbal clause or a discrete sentence. Widening yet further, several clauses or sentences may form the unit but be ‘bordered’ in another way, for example, as a formally marked citation or as a speech on the lips of a character in narration. At the furthest end of the spectrum, the outer boundary may refer to a longer recognizable literary unit, perhaps to an extended narrative or parable of several paragraphs. The key here is that the unit in itself must be clearly identifiable and articulated as such. Of course, all things being equal, the tighter and clearer this outer boundary is, the clearer the composite allusion will be, and the greater the likelihood will be for meaningful interpretation of the composite allusion under examination.

A second criterion of composite allusions is that the two or more alluded-to texts, themes, or motifs, in the context of the alluding text, must interact with each other for *added* interpretive value. This criterion is related to Ben-Porat’s third stage of activation for allusions. A composite allusion is only meaningful when the components of that composite entity bring added interpretive value to the hearer and reader. That is, if within the outer boundary of the purported composite allusion there are two distinguishable allusions, but whose signifying sources are so disparate in nature, theme, or content that any relationship between them requires an implausible leap of imagination or other forced connection, then

what we have are two individual allusions rather than a single composite allusion. While each of these allusions may individually be illuminating for the hearer to perceive, there is no added value in positing a composite allusion. The whole of the composite allusion, so to speak, must be greater than the sum of its parts. Note that these two criteria are *functional*, not formal. This is an important distinction, since the boundaries of an allusion may therefore shift and overlap, depending on the scope of our examination.

A **composite allusion**, then, *is a literary or poetic unit whose markers within the alluding text, in signaling to corresponding, recognizable marked signs in an evoked text(s), interact together to provide the hearer or reader additional interpretive value.*

To summarize thus far: our approach has, to this point, been two-pronged, first, to understand the field of the study of composite citations in the New Testament, and secondly, to understand allusion study in the New Testament. The first part of our review has led to an appreciation of an exegetical technique called catchword association, where two (or sometimes more) texts are juxtaposed by virtue of a common word(s) or theme; such texts can then be cited in a fused form as a single, composite, citation. The second part of our review has examined the modern development of the study of intertextuality and allusion, leading us to formulate precise terms and definitions to be applied in our own study. Although these theories of allusion are modern concepts, they have been applied fruitfully to ancient texts, as is clear from the literature surveyed. Our intent here is not, however, to impose a modern theory upon an ancient text, but rather to improve our understanding of how ancient texts worked in their own historical contexts. There thus remains one more prong essential to our basic methodology, which will place us once again back into the ancient context—ancient media criticism.

I.4.0 On Ancient Media Culture

In recent decades, with the advent of media criticism, scholarship has increasingly recognized the differences in communication between orally-dominant and writing- or print-based

societies.^{167, 168} These differences are significant for a wide variety of disciplines, including scholarly inquiry into the biblical texts. In what follows, I begin by surveying the origins of the development of this field, then illustrate with two alternative approaches that biblical scholars have taken in incorporating ancient media criticism into the study of the Bible, then I proceed to focus on two specific media-sensitive methodologies that are especially consequential for our thesis, and, finally, I review an important essay that applies many of these insights to the study of the use of scripture in the New Testament. I conclude the section with a general summary of Chapter I in preparation for the following stages of our research.

¹⁶⁷ An in-depth and up-to-date survey of this development can be found in the articles by Kelly R. Iverson, “Orality and the Gospels: A Survey of Recent Research,” *CBR* 8, no. 1 (2009): 71–106; and Nicholas A. Elder, “New Testament Media Criticism,” *CBR* 15, no. 3 (2017): 315–37. For another good overview of this topic, see Raymond F. Person and Chris Keith, “Media Studies and Biblical Studies: An Introduction,” in *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media*, ed. Tom Thatcher et al. (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 1–15; see also P. R. Eddy, “Orality and Oral Transmission,” in *DJGSE*, ed. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP Academic, 2013), 641–50. For a more detailed, but somewhat selective, introduction to this topic, especially as it pertains to the Gospels, see Eric Eve, *Behind the Gospels: Understanding the Oral Tradition* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2014). For another, less detailed, introductory work which also incorporates a significant section of illustrations of media-critical exegesis, see Rafael Rodríguez, *Oral Tradition and the New Testament: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014).

¹⁶⁸ For a pioneering study on literacy (and, indirectly, orality) in the ancient world, see William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989). For a scholarly treatment on how scriptural texts, including the Hebrew Bible, were likely to have been produced in the ancient world, see further David McLain Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). The now-classic essay that is often credited as having initiated the conversation regarding the interplay between textuality and orality in biblical studies is Paul J. Achtemeier, “Omne Verbum Sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity,” *JBL* 109, no. 1 (1990). A helpful collection of early essays that both incorporates orality and ancient media culture in biblical studies and addresses various issues around its theory is Joanna Dewey and Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, eds., *Orality and Textuality in Early Christian Literature*, SemeiaSt 65 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995). The development has not been without resistance, especially in biblical studies; see further the response by Frank D. Gilliard, “More Silent Reading in Antiquity: Non Omne Verbum Sonabat,” *JBL* 112, no. 4 (1993): 689–94; see also the interesting exchange between Larry W. Hurtado, “Oral Fixation and New Testament Studies?: ‘Orality’, ‘Performance’ and Reading Texts in Early Christianity,” *NTS* 60, no. 3 (2014): 321–40; and Kelly R. Iverson, “Oral Fixation or Oral Corrective? A Response to Larry Hurtado,” *NTS* 62, no. 2 (2016): 183–200; followed by Hurtado, “Correcting Iverson’s ‘Correction,’” *NTS* 62, no. 2 (2016): 201–6. See also e.g., Stanley E. Porter and Bryan R. Dyer, “Oral Texts?: A Reassessment of the Oral and Rhetorical Nature of Paul’s Letters in Light of Recent Studies,” *JETS* 55, no. 2 (2012): 323–41; as well as the volume by J. H. Humphrey, ed., *Literacy in the Roman World*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 3 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991). However, despite this resistance to the application of more orally-centered approaches to biblical interpretation, it is apparent to me that a definite rapprochement—albeit something shy of a consensus—between “oral” methods of exegesis and the more traditional “textual” methods has been occurring. These kind of responses have provided a necessary nuancing on the subject of orality and the ancient world (for one example of this nuancing, see the example of Samuel Byrskog below), but the assumption that the ancient world was largely non-literate in a way that the modern world is today remains fundamentally sound.

I.4.1 The Origins of Understanding Oral Consciousness: The Parry-Lord Theory

Although form critics like Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann long ago attempted to grapple with the oral tradition behind the New Testament and made certain forays into its investigation, the recent wave of orality studies and its related sub-fields in biblical studies (as well as other fields in the humanities and social sciences) owes its true origins to the work of the classicist Milman Parry and his pupil Albert Lord. Parry began his ground-breaking work by theorizing that the diction of various “ornamental adjectives” of Homeric verse is due not to literary considerations (as was generally assumed at the time by classical scholars) but to purely metrical (and, thus, inferentially, *oral*) convenience.¹⁶⁹ He subsequently confirmed this thesis with fieldwork by observing illiterate Serbo-Croatian oral poets in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁷⁰ Parry’s student, Albert Lord, carried on his research after his untimely death, extending Parry’s thesis and further refining it so that it ultimately became known as the Parry-Lord (Oral Formulaic) theory. The essence of the theory is that performers of song-based oral tradition, rather than memorizing a script, draw from a repository of stock phrases, that is, formulas, for each performance, and create anew the actual wording of that tale for that performance. The Parry-Lord theory has been called, by more than one scholar, “revolutionary,” propelling the study of orality into a number of academic arenas, from classical studies, to linguistics, to historical literature of a wide number of cultures, to anthropology, and of course, although somewhat belatedly, to biblical studies.

¹⁶⁹ Adam Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 428–29. Parry first articulated this idea in his 1923 MA thesis at the University of California.

¹⁷⁰ For a more detailed history, see Adam Parry’s “Introduction” in Parry, ix–xli. See also the definitive history of the origins of the Oral-Formulaic theory in John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology*, ed. Alan Dundes (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988), 19–35. Note especially the ordering of M. Parry’s research which proceeded from a theoretical basis and was subsequently confirmed deductively in the field, rather than being first observed and then being formulated inductively as a theory. Introductory surveys commonly miss this not insignificant fact and reverse the order, e.g., Iverson, “Orality and the Gospels,” 73; Eddy, “Orality and Oral Transmission,” 643; A. Dundes’ “Editor’s Foreword” in John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology*, ed. Alan Dundes (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), ix–x, among others.

I.4.2 Varying Models of Orality

In biblical studies, a number of different, competing, models for understanding how ancient orality impacts the actual biblical texts we presently have have now emerged; here, for illustrative purposes, I present two contrasting approaches, one representing an earlier mode where the oral and the textual were pitted against each other, and the other representing a more recent shift where both oral and textual elements *together* impact biblical study.

Werner Kelber, representing one end of the spectrum, is broadly recognized as the first biblical scholar to introduce orality studies to New Testament scholarship with his book, *The Oral and Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q*.¹⁷¹ Working from the conclusions of predecessors in the field, Kelber seeks to formulate and apply an “oral hermeneutic” to the gospels, especially to Mark and Q, including a brief analysis of Paul as well.¹⁷² Kelber postulates a thoroughgoing oral transmission of the traditions behind the texts. That is, in terms of the oral transmission, words are not a “record” of speech, but are rather “events in sound,”¹⁷³ and are thus subject to multiple and varied forms of alteration, omission, and addition, according to the need of the social context.¹⁷⁴ This is a necessary consequence of the oral medium of communication, which always requires both a speaker and an audience, and only transmits that which is relevant to the audience.¹⁷⁵ For Kelber, the pre-gospel oral traditions “diverged into a plurality of forms and directions,” which was inclusive of “variability and stability, conservatism and creativity, evanescence and unpredictability.”¹⁷⁶ The text in its written form is a “disruption” of the oral lifeworld, rendering it “voiceless,” and is an “upheaval of hermeneutical, cognitive realities.”¹⁷⁷ In short, Mark was written, Kelber argues, not to render into literary form that which was previously oral, but rather as an act of “resistance to oral drives, norms, and

¹⁷¹ Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (1983; repr., Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997).

¹⁷² Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, xv–xviii.

¹⁷³ Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 15.

¹⁷⁴ Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 28–30.

¹⁷⁵ Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 23–24.

¹⁷⁶ Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 32–34.

¹⁷⁷ Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, 91.

authorities.”¹⁷⁸ The text itself, in Kelber’s model, becomes less a locus of study in and of itself and more a kind of witness to the deterioration of ancient oral culture; such a model leaves little room, it seems to me, for serious textual study.¹⁷⁹

A very different approach is represented by Samuel Byrskog¹⁸⁰ in his study *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*.¹⁸¹ Byrskog argues that the Greco-Roman understanding of *αὐτόπτης* (autopsy), given the largely oral environment of the first century, and being a vital component of ancient historiography, provides a highly illuminative window to understanding the relationship between the actual historical events behind the texts of the gospels and the narrativized texts that we now possess.¹⁸² Byrskog helpfully notes—in contradistinction to Kelber—that orality and literacy were not “opposites or alternatives, but ends of a continuum.”¹⁸³ He speaks, instead, of a continual process of “re-oralization,”¹⁸⁴ in which oral and written media, with feedback from the earliest communities that passed on these traditions, is an iterative—not sequential—process during “all stages” of its formation.¹⁸⁵ Such a recognition of the intricate, and, indeed,

¹⁷⁸ Werner H. Kelber, “Introduction,” in Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (1983; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), xix. This citation comes from the new introduction which he wrote specifically for the 1997 re-issue.

¹⁷⁹ Another, more recent, scholar who worked along the same lines as Kelber but further developed some of his ideas is P. J. J. Botha; see his “Mark’s Story as Oral Traditional Literature: Rethinking the Transmission of Some Traditions about Jesus,” *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 47 (1991): 304–31.

¹⁸⁰ Samuel Byrskog is a former student of Birger Gerhardsson’s; but whereas Gerhardsson limited his purview to one specific mode of the transmission of oral tradition, viz. memorization, Byrskog embraces a much wider view, both of the transmission processes and the general implications of oral media. For some of Gerhardsson’s important work, see Birger Gerhardsson, *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1964); idem., *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (1961; repr., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998); and idem., *The Reliability of the Gospel Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2010).

¹⁸¹ Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic, 2002).

¹⁸² Indeed, Byrskog’s insights into the role of ancient orality in historiography become a central feature of Bauckham’s argument for the general reliability of the canonical gospels, see further Richard J. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), esp. 8–11, 472–508, 607–610. Cf. Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁸³ Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story*, 115.

¹⁸⁴ He borrows this concept from Margaret A. Mills, “Domains of Folkloristic Concern: The Interpretation of Scriptures,” in *Text and Tradition: The Hebrew Bible and Folklore*, 1990, 231–41.

¹⁸⁵ Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story*, 138–144, especially 143–144.

indivisible, nature of the New Testament documents in which the oral and the textual elements of the New Testament have now been permanently fused, opens the door for a genuine appreciation for alternative forms of oral-related textual analyses. To two of these we now turn.

I.4.3 Metonymic Referencing: John Miles Foley

The first of these methods is known as “metonymic referencing,” and was developed by John Miles Foley, one of the leading experts in the study of oral traditions.¹⁸⁶ Foley followed closely in the footsteps of Parry and Lord, extending their research—both in fieldwork and in comparative literature—in important ways. In his book *Immanent Art*,¹⁸⁷ Foley provides a compelling theoretical foundation for the *interpretation* of oral poetry. Hitherto, scholars of oral literature and oral tradition had been content to simply detect and argue for the plausibility of the oral structures that lay behind and within texts that originated in orally dominant cultures, what Foley calls “oral-derived texts.”¹⁸⁸ But Foley proceeds to outline how such structures are meant to purvey *meaning* in an oral-performative environment.

“Verbal art,” Foley argues, demands a poetics, a hermeneutic, appropriate to its medium. Verbal art generates meaning through “metonymy,”¹⁸⁹ where the part stands for the whole. Oral traditional units carry within them “inherent meaning,” that is, meaning that is “extratextual,” or beyond the immediate literary (textual) context, and potentially carrying the “whole tradition” within it.¹⁹⁰ Foley argues that this kind of metonymic or traditional referencing happens at a variety of levels, from the phraseological, to the thematic, to the large narrational structures.¹⁹¹ The method that he generally employs for his analyses in each of these chapters he summarizes as a two-step process: first, “to gather instances of the given phrase or

¹⁸⁶ For a brief biography recounting some of his most impactful work, see David F. Elmer, “John Miles Foley (1947-2012),” *Folklore* 124, no. 1 (2013): 104–6.

¹⁸⁷ John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1991).

¹⁸⁸ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 2-5

¹⁸⁹ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 7.

¹⁹⁰ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 10.

¹⁹¹ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 6. Foley demonstrates this principle at the phraseological level, 17–32; and at the thematic and story-pattern level across a variety of genres: 61–95, 96–134, 135–189.

narrative pattern,” and secondly, to “strip away the nominal layer of signification” and to “inquire what extra-situational connotations they share.”¹⁹² His mastery over this diverse collection of data is impressive, and his analysis is both detailed and convincing. He demonstrates how this mechanism of referentiality in oral epic tradition, with its rich store of inherent meanings embedded into its oral-traditional forms, serves as a kind of “map” to assist the reader or hearer to appreciate the “richness of connotative meaning” within it.¹⁹³ This metonymic referentiality has, obviously, considerable implications for our own study of composite allusions in ancient texts. Foley’s work specifically assists us in two ways: First, this concept of metonymic referencing provides us with a viable mechanism whereby we can imagine how subtle allusive references, in their metonymical power can bear meaning in a communal setting, and how such references, in the process of scripturalization, can then become embedded into the text. Secondly, Foley also furnishes us with a rough method for detecting such references in oral-derived works. Granted, the Gospel of John is a different piece of literature than a Serbo-Croatian oral epic or the Iliad, but the two-step method of: first, discovering appropriate phrases or narrative patterns, and secondly, of searching for broader thematic or narrative patterns that are represented by individual words and phraseology, outside of its initial immediate context, is equally applicable here, and is directly analogous to what we have already articulated in examining catchword exegesis. The fundamental difference between metonymic referencing and catchword exegesis is that one approach is *oral* in nature whereas the other is *literary*. Furthermore, in the study of *composite* allusions, one can easily imagine how the full weight of one metonymic reference can easily be juxtaposed, supplemented, or perhaps compared and contrasted with that of another in order to provide a richer and fuller meaning than a single reference would. We will return to such ideas in our comments below.

¹⁹² Foley, *Immanent Art*, 247.

¹⁹³ Foley, *Immanent Art*, 245–246.

I.4.4 Collective Memory and Memory “Keying” or “Framing”¹⁹⁴

We turn our attention now to a related matter, the social memory theory known as “mnemonic keying.” The study of oral media and the workings of memory are necessarily intertwined: oral traditions and histories, insofar as they remain *unwritten*, are preserved and passed on only through mnemonic processes and practices, whether at the individual or communal level.¹⁹⁵ “Social memory” or “collective memory”¹⁹⁶ are concepts originating largely from the French Durkheimian sociologist Maurice Halbwachs,¹⁹⁷ and has become an emerging branch of studies within NT media criticism.¹⁹⁸

In fact, we have already seen a special application of this concept with Foley’s metonymic referentiality, which, through the employment of certain phrases or narrative structures, conveys meaning to an audience of, potentially, an entire tradition. Metonymic referencing functions not through a visual literary analysis, but through an oral-aural-mnemonic process which social memory theorists call “keying.” In her comprehensive survey on social memory theories, Barbara Misztal defines keying as “the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on but independent of it.”¹⁹⁹ Originating in the work of American sociologist Barry Schwartz on the commemorative reception of Abraham

¹⁹⁴ Following the literature in social memory, I use the two terms, “keying” and “framing” interchangeably.

¹⁹⁵ For a complementary and related, but methodologically distinct, approach that examines the use of “memory language” as a kind of marker for allusions, see Sean A. Adams, “Memory as Overt Allusion Trigger in Ancient Literature,” *JSP* 32, no. 2 (2022): 110–26.

¹⁹⁶ “Social memory” and “collective memory” are theoretically differentiated in that social memory refers to the influence of the social framework on the individual’s memory processes, while collective memory denotes the process of the group establishing a framework in order to understand and retain past events as memories. That is, social memory focuses on the remembrance of past events framed culturally, whereas collective memory focusses on the (re)-creation of memories for the present communal need. In practice, however, the two terms overlap, are difficult to distinguish, and therefore often used interchangeably. See Sandra Huebenthal, “Social Memory,” ed. Tom Thatcher et al, *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 369.

¹⁹⁷ See especially Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). For a brief biography and summary of his work, see, in the same volume, L. Coser, “Introduction,” 1–34.

¹⁹⁸ Even within its specialization, it currently pertains to diffuse facets of study, see further Eve, *Behind the Gospels*, 86–107; and Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, eds., *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, SemeiaSt 52 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2005).

¹⁹⁹ Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead, England: Open University Press, 2003), 96.

Lincoln,²⁰⁰ the concept seeks to redress previous imbalances in social memory theory which sought to explain memory predominantly, or even purely, as a social construction.²⁰¹ That is, social memory, according to Maurice Halbwachs and those from the “presentist” school, is thought to be almost entirely a construction detached from history and past reality in service of the present needs of the community that perpetuate that memory.²⁰² But Schwartz helpfully argues that this notion is itself a cultural distortion,²⁰³ and that collective memory is best understood as a negotiation between the past and the present—this has sometimes been called the “traditionalist / realist” school.²⁰⁴ Collective memory understands and apprehends the present reality *through* a particular, selective framing of the past. Schwartz speaks of this commemorative framing as a “model *of* society” and a “model *for* society”: it is a model *of* society in that it reflects the past in terms of the present; it is a model *for* society, in that it embodies a template and a frame within which people find meaning for their present experience.²⁰⁵

Applying these concepts to our present study, allusions and allusive references in our text become the collective, mnemonic nodes upon which meaning is both contained and purveyed. For example, within a particular context, a community may experience meaning or identity in a particular story or motif in scripture, say, the story of YHWH feeding his people manna in the wilderness, which recalls, among other things, God’s election of his people, his provision and care for his people, and his ordinance to trust God for one’s sustenance. This collective memory supplies meaning and identity for this group who themselves feel a certain collective dislocation in the midst of various social pressures—the specific circumstances of

²⁰⁰ Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); see also his essay “Jesus in First-Century Memory—A Response,” in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, ed. Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, SemeiaSt 52 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2005).

²⁰¹ See also his earlier essays, e.g., Barry Schwartz, “The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory,” *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982): 374–402.

²⁰² See Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 10–11.

²⁰³ Barry Schwartz, “Christian Origins: Historical Truth and Social Memory,” in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity*, ed. Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher, SemeiaSt 52 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2005), 44–47.

²⁰⁴ Tom Thatcher, “Schwartz, Barry,” in *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media*, ed. Tom Thatcher et al. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017).

²⁰⁵ Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, 18.

which for our purposes are presently unimportant—and thus is memorialized through collective preservation. This memory and the various dimensions of meaning wrapped up in it are then keyed to a single phrase, “bread of life.” To invoke this phrase is to invoke an entire motif or memory. Furthermore, this phrase, which references an event in the past, can then be used to interpret the present moment. Thus, the statement “Jesus is the bread of life” can become a ‘mnemonic key’ that opens up meaning to the present from its collective past, or frames the present—the memory of Jesus—in a way that provides the community with an identity deeply rooted in its history. Such keying, as a cognitive process, is also extremely versatile. Not only can the present be keyed to the past, but, as in Foley’s metonymic referencing, one event, text, or motif from the past can be keyed to another event, text, or motif in the past, as one memory recalls the other by analogy through verbal similarity, thematic congruence, or some combination of both. Both of *them*, in turn, can then be keyed to the present in order to frame present communal identity and experience in a particular fashion. This, in effect, is how one would conceive of composite allusions becoming meaningful, first within the context of a community, and secondly, in the mind of an author seeking to inscribe and embody the community’s identity and ideals into a text. Mnemonic keying and metonymic referencing thus become powerful sociological-psychocognitive instruments both for explaining the presence of, as well as aiding in the interpretation of composite allusions in Scripture.

I.4.5 Ancient Media Culture and its Impact on the Study of Composite Allusions

A recent essay by Catrin H. Williams is especially instructive for us in surveying these and other overall impacts of ancient media culture on the use of Jewish scripture in the NT generally and, in particular, for our own study on composite citations and allusions.²⁰⁶ Here, I highlight some of the most significant points in Williams’s essay and those most salient to our own study. First, Williams notes how the appeal to the scriptures is not to the *writtenness* of

²⁰⁶ Catrin H. Williams, “How Scripture ‘Speaks:’ Insights from the Study of Ancient Media Culture,” in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 597 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 53–69.

scripture *per se*, but to their *authority*. This is evident, for example, where referencing of scripture in the New Testament is not necessarily restrained to the actual words in their exact textual form but involves conflated citations.²⁰⁷ That is, citations are received by the hearer as scriptural and therefore as bearing the weight of the authority of scripture; however, as an oral / aural reference, the critical point is not precise textual reduplication; it is, rather, the *recognition* of the oral / mnemonic tradition(s) that are being evoked.

Related to this is Foley's very helpful concept of metonymic referencing, since it is not a visual reproduction of the textual artifact that is the goal, but the evocation of one, or possibly several, scriptural tradition(s) in the hearer's mind, through exercise of the hearer's memory that is the intention. This is true doubly so for *composite* references, since the mind, unlike the eye, is not restricted to a singular locus. That is, with the recognition of a particular phrase or theme or narrative substructure, like, for example, "the wilderness" or "the shepherd," or "the lamb of God," a plurality and multiplicity of traditions may be evoked in the hearer simultaneously, and the richness of those varied traditions may be drawn upon for the author's / speaker's / performer's purposes.²⁰⁸

Williams notes too, how media criticism helps us to envisage a communal and social setting of the oral performance / reading of texts that enables a more acute perception of metonymic references that might otherwise go unnoticed. In a communal setting, active engagement with the text, facilitated by the lector, for the interpretation of that text, is likely to have played an important role.²⁰⁹ This is especially impactful for the study of implicit

²⁰⁷ Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 57.

²⁰⁸ Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 59–60, 64–65. See also Edward H. Gerber, *The Scriptural Tale in the Fourth Gospel: With Particular Reference to the Prologue and a Syncretic (Oral and Written) Poetics*, *BibInt* 147 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 88–94.

²⁰⁹ Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 5–8, 11; see also Mladen Popović, "Reading, Writing, and Memorizing Together: Reading Culture in Ancient Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls in a Mediterranean Context," *DSD* 24, no. 3 (2017): 447–70, who observes how reading communities in ancient Judaism were deeply social in character; as well as the important work on the wider reading culture of high Roman antiquity (ca. 70 CE to 192 CE) by William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*, *Classical Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Although the focus of the latter is on Roman elite reading contexts, many of Johnson's insights about ancient reading culture are very likely true for Christian communities in the ancient world as well. For instance, the use of *scriptio continua* in Christian manuscripts presumes a certain amount of expertise and training required by lectors—inaccessible for the majority of a text's target audience—which, in turn, suggests an intrinsically social setting for the reading and

references, viz. allusions, which by their nature are more elusive than explicit citations. This mitigates the criticism that is sometimes voiced that a particular textual allusion or echo may be too faint or too obscure for the average first century reader to apprehend. Finally, Williams also writes about the potential impact of studies in memory on OT/NT studies. These include ancient memory practices such as mnemonic mapping for oral-rhetorical composition, a plausible explication for the formulation of composite citations and allusions that remains unexplored;²¹⁰ schematization for early Christian self-identity and understanding²¹¹; and the concept of mnemonic keying to help understand how New Testament authors interpreted the Jewish scriptures.²¹²

I.5.0 Summary and Conclusion: An Overview of Methodological Considerations

Our research to this point has approached our subject from three main angles. Together, these three approaches will also provide us with the three primary methodological principles of our study. The first approach is the narrowest in scope and the most technical in its mode, a consideration of the recent study of *composite citations*. In this section, we were able to differentiate between three types of composite citations in ancient documents: summative or condensed; conflated; and combined. Of particular importance to us in our investigation is *how* the composite citations were formed. Nearly all of the composite citations contained source texts which had in common key themes or key words, or in the case of narrational passages, key historical events behind the texts; often, more than one of these were found in combination.

Menken's and Williams' essays in particular furnished us with a semantic handle for this phenomenon: "catchword" or "analogical exegesis"; this has close methodological affinity with the later rabbinic exegetical principle articulated as *gezerah shavah* where similar passages are linked together and interpreted in a similar way on the basis of shared vocabulary

hearing of the vast majority of NT texts. See also Harry Y. Gamble, *Book and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1995).

²¹⁰ Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 16.

²¹¹ Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 16–18.

²¹² Williams, "How Scripture 'Speaks,'" 19–20.

or subject. What was of marked interest to us in this method was the apparent borrowing or conflation of surrounding words within the immediate context of one or both texts in the final formation of the composite citation. Finally, also of special import to us was how—of all the New Testament documents treated in the second volume of Adams and Ehorn—the Gospel of John singularly emerged as particularly rich in composite citation usage, both in frequency and in theological coherence. Thus, *the first principle of our method is the application of the exegetical technique of catchword exegesis in composite allusive material in order to clarify exegetical and redactional interests.*

This leads us to our second angle of approach: the modern literary investigation of allusions. This section of our investigation consisted of two separate, subsidiary sections: first, a survey of the development of “intertextuality”—first articulated by Kristeva and then adapted for biblical studies by Hays—and second, a survey of the theoretical development of the “activation of allusions”—as conceptualized by Ben-Porat and Perri and applied to biblical studies by a number of scholars in the last two decades. According to Ben-Porat, an allusion works by a “marker sign” in the alluding text activating or corresponding to a “marked sign” in the evoked text, and it enriches the reader’s experience through hermeneutical reflection on the respective contexts of the texts under investigation. Perri’s work helps us to distinguish between various kinds of allusions: simple allusions, extended allusions, thematic allusions, and intratextual allusions. This definitional and terminological clarity will be helpful as we examine the allusive activity of the material we investigate. Turning to composite allusions, we formulated our own working definition of this phenomenon. Thus, *the second principle of our method is the application and utilization of the modern literary and linguistic definitions of allusion—as we have articulated above—in order to clarify the literary and theological functions of the composite allusions under investigation.*

However, this second principle that we have articulated begs a valid question. That is, just how legitimate are modern methods of inquiry when applied to ancient texts? As stated above, our intention is not to impose modern theory anachronistically onto the Gospel of John, but to apply the best tools we have at our disposal to elucidate the text as we have it within the

scope of our research interest. Thus, *our third angle of approach counterbalances our inescapable modern literary bias by recognizing the text in its oral setting, as an oral-derived document*. In our history of the study of ancient media culture, we briefly reviewed the origin of the consciousness of orality in literature through Parry and Lord, illustrated the adoption of ancient media criticism in biblical studies through Kelber and Byrskog, and examined two methodological approaches that demonstrate considerable potential for our own study of composite allusions: metonymical referencing and social memory theory. Finally, we reviewed an important essay by Williams that draws together many threads of ancient media culture in view of the study of the use of scripture in the New Testament, and especially how it potentially impacts the study of composite citations and allusions. Our third methodological principle, then, is to exercise a conscious openness to and awareness of ancient media culture and its native communicative devices, especially its metonymic referentiality and mnemonic keying, throughout our study.

Together, these three methodological principles will inform each and every textual and exegetical inquiry in our study. Although any single principle may be given more weight in any given passage, depending on the particulars of the passage in question, all three in theory can operate together and simultaneously; each instance will have to be evaluated and judged on its own. But it is hoped that as a whole, taken together, the application of these three principles will form a stronger basis for our judgments than any single method would provide on its own; their convergence will be like three legs of a tripod that, at its apex, support our final interpretation. Such a synthesis of method is a fresh approach in the study of the use of scripture in the NT, and, in the study of composite citations and allusions, is, as of yet, without precedent.

CHAPTER II: AN EXAMINATION OF SIX COMPOSITE SCRIPTURAL ALLUSIONS IN LATE SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH MATERIALS

II.1.0 Introduction

Having established this three-pronged approach for our study, we now turn to the examination of the broad-based corpus of materials known as Jewish literature of the late Second Temple period. Our purpose in this chapter is not to be exhaustive or comprehensive in our survey, but, much more modestly, to probe some of this material with the question of composite allusions in mind. Nevertheless, we seek to cast our investigatory net wide enough to be able to posit that the composite features we seek to find are not simply anomalies but comprise what can be considered a recognizable feature of ancient Jewish literature and exegesis. Thus, our selection of materials includes: two non-scriptural literary works related to the Qumran community (one representing a tradition not necessarily unique to Qumran—the *Damascus Document*, and one representing a more sectarian tradition—the *Hodayot*¹); one non-biblical Wisdom text, namely the book of Ben Sira; and three texts from the Hellenistic Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures—one from the Pentateuch, one from the Psalms, and one from Isaiah.

Because of the density of allusive material in the *Damascus Document*, and because it serves as an ideal source to illustrate a variety of allusive techniques which will recur in all of the other investigations, I will both begin with it and devote more energy and space to it. Once the details of these allusive exegetical mechanics are elucidated, however, I will be able to

¹ On the topic of the sectarian tendencies of the Qumran literature, see Devorah Dimant, “Qumran Sectarian Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael Edward Stone, CRINT 2 (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1984), 483–550. She describes the sectarian literature at Qumran as of “distinctive style and ideology, relating to the life and beliefs of a community identical to the one settled at Qumran” (p.487). Though in its final form the *Damascus Document* is commonly included in this corpus, its literary and ideological origins, some scholars believe, are thought to be “pre-“ or “proto-sectarian” (see, e.g., John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community the Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 5–6), and thus may well reflect—both from an ideological and literary point of view—broader interests. The significance of this claim to my project is that it likely represents a significantly different cultural and theological stream within Second Temple Judaism than that of the *Hodayot*.

move quicker through subsequent, and similar, instances. One final comment is required at this juncture, in anticipation of the results of this chapter. Although the specific focus of our research—composite allusions—is novel in biblical studies, our research has, not surprisingly, uncovered past research that has broached this topic in indirect ways; these will be presented below, underpinned by the methodological perspective adopted in this thesis, furthering the discussion in specific ways as appropriate to our research focus. The final section, on Isaiah 3:9 LXX, examines a passage that has yet to be discussed in scholarship with regard to its composite features, and so presents especially novel research.

II.2.1 The *Damascus Document* 1:1–3 (CD 1:1–3)

We begin our exploration of composite allusions in Jewish material in the Second Temple period with the *Damascus Document* (henceforth, D).² We have already encountered D in our literature survey of composite citations in ancient documents through Jonathan Norton’s essay, which focused on two composite citations within it (Ezek. 44:7, 13 and 15 in CD^A 3:21, and Deut. 9:5a and 7:8a in CD^A 8:14).³ In that essay, Norton comments at a number of points

² Henceforth, the designation “CD” (standing for Cairo *Damascus Document*) will be used in reference to the Cairo manuscript; “D” will be used to denote the *Damascus Document* in general. The *Damascus Document* is a literary text found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, two mediaeval copies of which were first discovered in 1896–7 in the Cairo *genizah* and subsequently published in 1910 by Solomon Schechter in *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Documents of Jewish Sectaries (1910; repr., with a prolegomenon by J. A. Fitzmeyer, New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1970). The two mediaeval copies which we possess, given the sigla CD^A and CD^B, are still the most complete and well-preserved of the manuscripts, though the numerous fragments that have been found at Khirbet Qumran now supplement them in some important ways. The *Damascus Document* scrolls at Qumran have been assigned the following sigla: 4Q265–73, 5Q12, 6Q15 = 4QD, 5QD, 6QD.

For a **critical transcription** of CD, see Elisha Qimron, “The Text of CDC,” in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, ed. Magen Broshi (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 9–39. For a transcription (and commentary) of the Qumran fragments, see Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). For a **survey of literature** on the *Damascus Document*, see Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document,”* JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 3–47; and Florentino García Martínez, “*Damascus Document: A Bibliography of Studies 1970-1989,*” in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, 63–83. See also Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick, eds., *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998*, STDJ 34 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999). For a relatively recent **introduction** to the *Damascus Document*, along with bibliographies of select works sorted by topic, see Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 10–87.

³ Jonathan D. H. Norton, “Composite Quotations in the *Damascus Document,*” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, ed. Seth M. Ehorn and Sean Adams, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 92–118.

about the impact of the allusive use of Scripture in the *Damascus Document*, and especially its relationship to the focus of his essay, viz. composite citations.⁴ “Biblical idiom,” he states, “characterizes the text of the Admonition at every magnitude.”⁵ Here we offer CD 1:1–3 as an exemplar of some of the allusive referentiality that is so pervasive in the *Damascus Document*. As the opening of this ancient document is invested with special gravity, it is anticipated that the compositional techniques attested here—specifically, the presence of composite allusions, of which there are several fine examples—are indicative of the possibility of the application of this technique elsewhere in the document.⁶

II.2.2 Background, Context and Translation

The *Damascus Document* as a whole contains two major types of material, namely, what have been called the “Admonition” or “Exhortation” (CD 1–8; 19–20) and the “Laws” or “Statutes” (CD 9–16). Jonathan Campbell, whose monograph on the use of Scripture in the *Damascus Document* remains the most detailed analysis of allusions and citations in the Admonition, appropriately detects an alternating intercalation of what he terms “historical” and “midrashic” sections within the material in CD 1–8 and 19–20.⁷ In what follows, I begin with Campbell’s work on the allusions in CD 1:1–3 but build upon his work in four significant ways. First, I will apply my three-fold method of analysis systematically to this passage. While Campbell’s work remains a benchmark in the study of scriptural usage in CD, one of its weaknesses is the lack of methodological precision in speaking of what exactly an allusion is. Astonishingly,

⁴ See especially his concluding comments in Norton, “Composite Quotations,” 113–17.

⁵ Norton, “Composite Quotations,” 102.

⁶ As is well known, prologues and introductions in ancient literary works served a critical function, even more so than in today’s literature, orienting readers to the work’s content and important themes, see, e.g., Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 1997), 55. Now it must also be noted that the issue of the opening lines of D is somewhat complex. CD 1, once thought to be the beginning of D, is now known—thanks to the Qumran discoveries—to be a “secondary” kind of introduction. From 4QD we can see that approximately 24–25 lines of text (in a column of 4QD^a) immediately preceded CD 1:1. But whatever material preceded CD 1, this section does still genuinely begin a new section, demonstrated both by the *vacat* which precedes CD 1 in both the Cairo and the Qumran manuscripts, and the introductory nature of the content of CD 1, and thus continues to be invested with a greater than usual significance. See further Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, STDJ 56 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 141.

⁷ Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20*, BZAW 228 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1995), 49–51.

Campbell's study possesses no explicit sections on the definition of an allusion nor on how to detect such allusions. By applying my articulated method to this section, I will be able to refine and, as it were, "filter" through the results of his findings. Secondly, because I limit my purview to these first three lines, I will be able to examine in greater detail the textual and exegetical mechanics at work in the individual allusions in CD 1:1–3, something Campbell could not do given the broader nature of his project. Finally, I will attempt to analyze *how* these allusions in CD 1:1–3 interact with one another in their conglomerate configuration, that is, I will seek to answer the question of how the composite picture that is formed contributes to the audience's overall understanding and reception of the text. Finally, I will also end my analysis with a reflection on insights gained from ancient media criticism. In these four ways, then, I aim to advance our understanding of how the allusivity attested in CD 1:1–3 functioned in antiquity.

Within the first section of CD, comprising 22 lines, Campbell identifies no less than 43 scriptural allusions and one citation; indeed, this number, he claims, counts only those allusions which are "beyond reasonable doubt."⁸ From Campbell's evaluations, two basic data emerge with respect to the general use of Jewish scripture in this section: first, the range of texts to which allusions can be detected is broad: from the Pentateuch, to the Prophets, to the Writings. Second, there is a clear preference for texts which revolve around an axis of narrative cycles describing Israel's apostasy, sin, and subsequent exile.⁹ Thus, especially prominent from the Pentateuch are allusions from Exodus 32 / Deuteronomy 9, Leviticus 26, Numbers 14, and Deuteronomy 28–32; from the prophets we especially find references to Jeremiah 25, Hosea 4, and Ezekiel 20; and from the Writings, especially prominent are Daniel 9, Ezra 9, and Psalms 94 and 106.¹⁰ Campbell remarks that an analogous pattern emerges in

⁸ Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 55; see especially Campbell's table of scriptural references (p.56).

⁹ Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 57–65.

¹⁰ Campbell provides a listing of the full contexts of all the passages that are regularly alluded to throughout CD; see further *idem*, *The Use of Scripture*, 101.

the second historical section (2:14–4:12a),¹¹ and, to a lesser degree, in the third section (5:15b–6:11a).¹² It will be helpful here for us to reproduce the relevant portion of his table:

Table A: CD 1:1–3¹³

Text of CD 1:1–3	Detected Allusions
[אל] 1 ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק ובינו במעשי [אל]	<u>Isa. 51:1, 7</u> ; <u>Ps. 28:5**</u>
2 אל כי ריב לו עם כל בשר ומשפט יעשה בכל מנאציו	<u>Jer. 25:31</u> ; <u>Hos. 4:1</u> ; <u>Num. 14:23</u> / <u>Num 14:11**</u> ; <u>Deut. 31:20</u> ;
3 כי במועלם אשר עזבוהו הסתיר פניו מישראל וממקדשו	<u>Lev. 26:40</u> , <u>Deut. 28:20</u> ; <u>Ezek. 20:27</u> ; <u>Dan. 9:7</u> ; <u>Deut. 31:17</u> ; <u>Ezek. 39:23</u> ;

*The underlining and double-underlining in the left-hand column of the text of CD correspond to the underlining and double-underlining of the scriptural references in the right-hand column, in the order that they appear in CD.

** Allusion to these passages are not found in Campbell but are ones that I identify in my own analysis.

Table B: CD 1:1-3 (translation)¹⁴

Text of CD 1:1–3	Detected Allusions
1 (vacat) And now <u>listen, all who know righteousness*</u> , and <u>consider the works of [God]</u>	<u>Isa. 51:1, 7*</u> ; <u>Ps. 28:5**</u>
2 God. <u>For a dispute he has with all flesh and justice he will execute on all who reject him.</u>	<u>Jer. 25:31</u> ; <u>Hos. 4:1</u> ; <u>Num.14:23</u> / <u>Num. 14:11**</u> <u>Deut. 31:20</u> ;
3 For <u>because of their unfaithfulness with which they forsook him, he hid his face</u> from Israel and from his sanctuary	<u>Lev. 26:40</u> , <u>Deut. 28:20</u> ; <u>Ezek. 20:27</u> ; <u>Dan. 9:7</u> ; <u>Deut. 3:17</u> ; <u>Ezek. 39:23</u> ;

¹¹ Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 86–87.

¹² Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 99–100.

¹³ This is not an exact reproduction of Campbell's table (p. 56), as some of the indications of his references corresponding to the various parts of CD 1:3 are unclear. I have taken the liberty of clarifying the scheme and correcting what seem to be copy-editing mistakes. Thus, in line 3, Ezekiel 20:27 apparently should refer to הסתיר פניו and Deuteronomy 31:17 to במעולם.

¹⁴ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

In these opening lines of CD 1, as can be seen in the tables above, Jonathan Campbell has identified no less than eleven allusions to scripture. Line 3 is especially laden with scriptural references, alone containing six different references. Rather than tackle each of these detected references *ad seriatum*, however, I offer my analysis in the following two subsections: lexematically-based allusions, and thematically-based allusions.

II.2.3 Analysis of Lexematically-Based Allusions

Of the eleven scriptural references named by Campbell in CD 1:1–3, three are what I consider lexematically-based allusions. These are: 1) the allusion to Isaiah 51:1–8 in its call to the righteous; 2) the allusion to Jeremiah 25:30–32 in its legal indictment of Israel and the nations; and 3) the allusion to Numbers 14:1–38 in its narrative of the ancient problem of the apostasy of Israel and God’s consequent judgment.

a) Allusion to Isaiah 51:1–8 and the call to the righteous

CD 1:1 opens with the phrase ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק (Now *listen*, all *who know righteousness*)¹⁵ which is reminiscent of both Isaiah 51:1 (with a two-word congruence): שמעו אלֵי רִדְפֵי צְדָקָה (*Listen to me, those who pursue righteousness*) and especially Isaiah 51:8 (with a three-word congruence): שמעו אלֵי יֹדְעֵי צְדָקָה (*Listen to me, those who know righteousness*).¹⁶

On further analysis, we note that it is only here, in Isaiah 51, that these three lexemes appear in combination together in a single verse in the Hebrew Bible, and the fact that the allusions are taken from the beginning and ending of this pericope increase the probability of their connection. Furthermore, thematically, we find some important resonances. In Isaiah 51:1–8 we find the threefold emphasis of a prophetic call to those who are faithful among the exiles (vv. 1–2, 4a, 7), YHWH’s comfort for his stricken people (v. 3), and his promise to send forth his judgment and righteousness throughout the earth (vv. 4b–6, 8b). In the wider purview of the Isaianic chapter is also the restoration of the fortunes of his people (esp. vv. 11, 22–23). All three of these emphases are relevant to the passage in D, here in its introductory lines. The

¹⁵ Italicized text in the translations corresponds to the underlined portion in source texts.

¹⁶ Cf. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 56.

effect of the allusion, at the introduction to the Admonition, is to set forth the theme of the end of exile for God's people; it calls forth those who self-identify as Israel's faithful historic remnant waiting for YHWH's consolation and deliverance in the midst of exilic circumstances. The recognition of this allusion thus considerably deepens appreciation for and reception of the alluding text, completing the "third-stage activation" of our allusion.¹⁷

b) Allusion to Jeremiah 25:30–32 and the theme of God's judgment

In CD 1:2, the phrase כי ריב לו עם כל בשר ומשפט יעשה (*for a dispute he has with all flesh and justice he will execute*), clearly evokes Jeremiah 25:31: כי ריב ליהוה בגוים נשפט הוא לכל-בשר (*for a dispute YHWH has against the nations, he [gives] judgment to all flesh*). Upon deeper analysis, we notice how all three keywords / phrases, ריב (dispute), שפט (justice) and כל בשר (all flesh), are present in both the Jeremiah and the CD texts, witnessing to an unmistakable borrowing of the lawsuit motif from Jeremiah—a motif, however, that is also found in several other places in the prophets¹⁸—in which YHWH initiates a legal dispute with his opponent on account of their sinfulness. Significantly, this utterance of YHWH falls approximately mid-way in the book, located in the climactic chapter of Jeremiah's pronouncement of God's coming judgment on both Israel and the surrounding nations because of their wanton rebellion and sinfulness. The utterance itself represents YHWH's words to the people as they symbolically drink the cup of his wrath. This forensic judgment motif is, significantly, brought to bear here in this introduction to D, thus signalling to the reader-hearer such realities as the legal, covenantal nature of the *Damascus Document* (and the community that upheld it), as well as God's righteous judgment and his punishment for the wicked. Both the distinctiveness of the keywords under consideration and the thematic suitability of the passage confirm the allusion.

c) Allusion to Numbers 14:1–38 and Israel's rebellion against God

¹⁷ On the activation of an allusion, see the discussion above in Ch. I.3.2.

¹⁸ See, e.g., Isa. 41:21; Hos. 12:2; Mic. 6:2.

Especially significant is the phrase in CD 1:2 בכל מִנְאֲצִי (on *all* those *who reject* him), where Campbell detects an allusion to Numbers 14:23 and Deuteronomy 31:20.¹⁹ The root נֶאֱצַץ is scattered throughout the Hebrew Bible, occurring some twenty-four times, and often referring to Israel's breach of her covenant with YHWH.²⁰ In my analysis, I believe there is an additional reference here that Campbell has not identified. Not only is there an allusion to Numbers 14:23, but there is also an allusion to Numbers 14:11 where נֶאֱצַץ also occurs. Both references occur in the same pivotal narrative cycle of 14:1–38 about Israel's rebellion against YHWH, which results in God's judgment of forty years of wandering and the passing of an entire generation in the wilderness. In 14:23, we find the only occurrence of the two lexemes כָּל and נֶאֱצַץ together where YHWH is the object of spurning, in the very similar textual construction: וְכָל־מִנְאֲצִי (and *all those who reject* me), containing both the participial form מִנְאֲצִי and the qualifier כָּל; the only difference in this form from CD is the necessary shift from the first person suffix of YHWH's speech about himself in the original narrative to the third person suffix in CD where the text is speaking *about* YHWH. With this keyword occurring twice in this narrative cycle, CD is likely alluding to the *entire* narrative cycle and its emphasis on the apostasy of Israel. Here at the critical opening of D, in calling out to those who are faithful, the author embeds an allusion to the story in Numbers 14 as a poignant reminder to hearers of the fate of those who are *not* faithful.

II.2.4 Analysis of Thematically-Based Allusions

The balance of the other allusions that Campbell lists in his chart (and two additional ones which I detect that are not in Campbell's list) are of a different nature. Each of the lexematic allusions above possessed clear verbal, lexematic congruence between marker and marked passages. But in what follows, while some sort of scriptural reference is detectable, especially on account of Ben-Porat's third stage of activation of hermeneutical resonance, in these

¹⁹ Cf. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 56.

²⁰ Num. 14:11, 23; Deut. 31:20; Isa. 1:4, 5:24, 52:5; Jer. 23:17.

instances, the lexematic connection is much slimmer, and, in some cases, even absent. Rather than speak of an allusion to any single text, then, it is more accurate to speak of allusions to themes or motifs.²¹

a) Allusion to the scriptural motif of “considering the works of God” (בִּינָה, מַעֲשֵׂה, פְּעֻלָּה)

At this juncture I focus our attention on an interesting allusive technique which significantly differs from the more conventional allusions above. Although Campbell has not identified an allusion here, the familiarity of the phrase בִּינָה בַּמַּעֲשֵׂי אֱלֹהִים (*consider the works of God*) prompts this reader towards further reflection. Upon deeper analysis, the phrase, surprisingly, does not have an exact parallel in the Hebrew Bible. But the phrase מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה (works of YHWH) or its synonymous פְּעֻלַּת יְהוָה (deeds of YHWH) occurs at least a dozen or so times in the HB,²² often in conjunction with the works that God wrought in the exodus on behalf of his people, and in the Psalms often occurs alongside a comparison between the wicked who have no regard for “his works” and the righteous who do. Psalm 28:5 provides a valuable illustration: לֹא יְבִינֻן (they do not *consider* the deeds of YHWH and the *works* of his hands). In this Psalm, the psalmist calls on YHWH for his mercy and help, contrasting himself to the wicked who “do not understand the deeds of YHWH,” and whom the Lord “will tear down (28:5b).” This verse, 28:5a, repeats in poetic synthesis the notion of “*considering* (בִּינָה) the *works* (פְּעֻלָּה, מַעֲשֵׂה)” of YHWH. Given the preceding call to the faithful in CD 1:1 and the likely nature of the Qumran community in its isolation, reading this Psalm and other similar texts alongside CD 1:1 highlights the contrast between those who are called and those who are not; those who are faithful, and those who are wicked. The hermeneutical value of positing some form of connection is clear. However, the linkages are not so much textual per se; rather,

²¹ Although I recognize the theoretical distinction between a motif (a recurring narrative element of symbolic significance) and a theme (a larger literary structure composed of a main idea essential to the author’s literary purposes), I use the terms more or less interchangeably, recognizing that a composite allusion often operates in that fuzzy space along the boundary between a motif and an allusion.

²² Exod. 34:10; Deut. 11:7; Josh. 24:31; Judg. 2:7; Isa. 5:12; 29:23; 41:4; Jer. 51:10; Ps. 28:5; 64:9; 92:5; 104:24; 107:24; Ps. 111:2.

they find their connectedness in the ideas and motifs behind, or beyond, the text. They are “hyper”-textual.²³ I have examined this reference in detail here to illustrate this mode of referencing where what is alluded to is not strictly a single text but rather a network of texts which, together, form a “tradition of texts” or scriptural motif. Furthermore, the exact wording of the verbal connection is not completely fixed (especially in this case where Hebrew poetry tends towards synonymous or synthetic words placed in parallel cola)—this is likely related to the original, primarily oral setting of such poetry.²⁴ In any case, the allusions in these instances are less to a single text than they are to what might be considered a “network” of texts. Usually, these texts are bound together by certain key catchwords, although, as we witnessed in the present example, this is not universally the case.

All of the other references in CD 1:1–3 (besides the three lexematically-based allusions mentioned above) function in essentially this same way and, for the sake of brevity, the subsequent analyses will be discussed in a more cursory manner.

b) Allusion to the scriptural motif of the prophetic lawsuit (ריב)

The allusion to Hosea 4:1 that Campbell detects in CD 1:2,²⁵ I believe, is to be classified in this manner. The linguistic touchpoint here relies solely on the two words בִּי רִיב (*for a*

²³ When I first dubbed this phenomenon as “hypertextual,” I was unaware of the related but separate discussion of “hypertexts” and “hypotexts” by structural narratologist Gerard Genette in his work on intertextual relations. See Gérard Genette et al., *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 7–10. This language has since been picked up by some in biblical studies who focus on the relationship among texts. See, e.g., George J. Brooke, “Hypertextuality and the ‘Parabiblical’ Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, SBLEJL 39 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 67–84; Jean Zumstein, *Das Johannesevangelium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 553–61; and Jean Zumstein, “Intratextuality and Intertextuality in the Gospel of John,” in *Anatomies of Narrative Criticism: The Past, Present, and Futures of the Fourth Gospel As Literature*, ed. Tom Thatcher and Stephen D. Moore, trans. Mike Gray, SBLRBS 55 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 121–35. Zumstein, in particular, speaks of the “transformation” of the hypotext by the hypertext in its allusivity, where the underlying text is the hypotext and the receiving text is the hypertext, and hypertextuality refers primarily to the act of transformation of that source text in the receiving text, see Zumstein, *Johannesevangelium*, 560–61. While the transformation of the hypotext and its relation to the hypertext is a fascinating area of inquiry in its own right, my interest lies, more simply, with the thematic connections between the two texts and the exegetical impacts that the recognition of such connections provides. Hypertextuality in this sense is employed particularly in relation to a phenomenon that is rooted in a process that is *beyond* the text itself; that is, in the non-literary, *oral* processes whereby these evidences have manifested themselves in the texts we now have. Unless otherwise indicated, my use of “hypertextuality” will refer to this *non-literary* phenomenon.

²⁴ Cf. The discussion in Ch. I above on the “Parry-Lord oral formulaic theory.”

²⁵ Cf. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 56.

dispute), and the immediate context of Hosea—the metaphor of Israel the harlot (Hos. 1–3), and a prophetic castigation of Israel’s priesthood and worship (4:4–19)—is not directly relevant to the context of CD 1. Rather than speak of a direct allusion to Hosea 4:1, then, it is better to speak of Hosea 4:1 as participating in the network of prophetic texts that witness to the motif of the divine lawsuit that God is bringing to his people, as already represented by the allusion to Jeremiah 25:30, as discussed above.

c) Allusion to the scriptural motif of spiritual rebellion (פָּרַג) [פָּרַג]

As in the case for Hosea 4:1, the reference to Deuteronomy 31:20 (וַיִּצְוֶנִי [And they will *spurn* me]) that Campbell lists seems to be part of the interlinkage of texts that relates to Israel’s spiritual defiance of YHWH and its breach of covenant. The keyword linking these texts together is the root פָּרַג (see above). There is also a thematic resonance between this passage in Deuteronomy where YHWH predicts the *future* apostasy of Israel and the Numbers passage above which witnesses to the *present* apostasy of Israel. In the same way, the usage of this lexeme outside of the Pentateuch, as noted with reference to Isaiah and Jeremiah (see above), now referring to the spiritual apostasy of Israel *in the context of exile*, form part of the verbal / mnemonic / cognitive background for the reader-hearer.

d) Allusion to the scriptural motif of covenant disloyalty (מַעַל) [מַעַל]

Closely associated with the idea of spiritual rebellion is the idea of covenant disloyalty, represented by the keyword מַעַל. Campbell lists Leviticus 26:40 and Daniel 9:7 in this regard.²⁶ But 1 Chronicles 9:1 and Ezekiel 39:23, 26 (not listed by Campbell) could equally be listed among these texts. Leviticus 26:40 is set within the “holiness code”; Daniel 9:7 is found in Daniel’s pivotal prayer of confession on behalf of Israel; 1 Chronicles 9:1 is the chronicler’s summary statement outlining the reason for Israel’s exile; and in Ezekiel 39, Israel’s disloyalty is cause for the removal of God’s presence from the temple. Although the specific contexts of

²⁶ Cf. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 58–59.

each of these instances differ, the common motif among them is Israel's covenant disloyalty or unfaithfulness to YHWH.

e) Allusion to the scriptural motif of forsaking YHWH (עזב)

Still within the same semantic realm as rebellion and disloyalty to God is the motif of forsaking God. Campbell lists two key texts here in which the lexeme occurs: Deuteronomy 28:20 and 31:16, both of which are taken from the final, crucial speech of Moses to the Israelites. But עזב is a frequently used root in the Hebrew Bible, occurring over two hundred times, and is applied on a number of occasions to refer to Israel's apostasy of YHWH. We could name, e.g., Judges 10:13, Jeremiah 1:16 in which the word עזב can also be found in a similar configuration as Deuteronomy 28:20. What is more to the point is that the language of "forsakenness" evokes the breach of the Mosaic covenant God had made with Israel.

f) Allusion to the scriptural motif of God concealing himself from Israel (סתר, פנה)

Campbell indicates Deuteronomy 31:17 and Ezekiel 39:23 as the references for the allusion in CD 1:3, הסתיר פניו מִישראל וממקדשו (*he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary*). However, on closer inspection, the matter is probably more complex than this. For the idiom to "hide one's face" (הסתיר פָּנִים) occurs some twenty-six times in the HB, eleven of which are found in the Psalms, and what is noteworthy is that the majority of these instances are employed to depict YHWH concealing himself from his people, mostly on account of their sin.²⁷ In addition to Deuteronomy 31:17 and Ezekiel 39:23, then, we can add two more from Deuteronomy (31:18, 32:20) and seven more from Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Micah.²⁸ The keywords around which these texts gravitate are הִסְתִּיר and פָּנִים, particularly when they are used together. What is being triggered by the phrase is less a single text and more the scriptural motif of God concealing himself from Israel because of its sin.

²⁷ This statistic comes from a search of the hiphil root סתר when used together with the root פָּנָה. One notable exception to this general rule is the incident in Exod. 3:6 when Moses, afraid, hides his face from YHWH at the burning bush. The other exceptions to this are found in the Psalms, in which the psalmist is often petitioning that God reveal himself in his time of need, unrelated to his sinfulness.

²⁸ Isa. 8:17; 54:8; 59:2; 64:6; Jer. 33:5; Ezek. 39:29; Mic. 3:4.

The addition of וּמִמְקֹדְשׁוֹ (“and from his sanctuary”) at the end of this phrase adds a final nuance. While lexematically the words are not found in this particular form in Ezekiel, the basic idea of the phrase is reflected in Ezekiel 7:22, 8:6, 9:3, and 11:23 in the motif of YHWH turning his back on Israel and departing from the temple.²⁹ None of the four phrases in these passages contains any verbal parallels with וּמִמְקֹדְשׁוֹ, but the motif of God’s departure from the Temple in Ezekiel 7–11 is a unique scriptural tradition and is recognizably alluded to in CD 1:3.

II.2.5 Analysis of Composite Allusions in CD 1:1–3

Having examined in detail the individual allusions detectable in CD 1:1–3, we now investigate how these allusions interact with each other and their *composite* impact on the audience. We begin by noting that, in general, our analysis aligns with Campbell’s evaluations, though we have substantially trimmed the list of lexematic allusions to three, identified a number of scriptural motifs that are being alluded to, and suggested that the exegetical mechanics of these latter allusions were best understood through individual catchwords and sometimes only common motifs. These allusions were “hypertextual” in that they required an appreciation for the motifs, traditions, or ideas to which the lexemes pointed more than to the lexemes themselves.

Two further lines of investigation present themselves at this juncture. The first is to examine how these allusions relate to one another in the composite picture in CD 1:1–3 and what their final exegetical impact on the audience are; the second line of investigation is to think about *how* such a construction has arisen in the text to begin with. We begin first with the question of their exegetical impact. Recalling our definition of a composite allusion in Chapter I,³⁰ we ask: are these three references to be treated as one composite allusion, or as separate, single, allusions? In other words, does the close proximity of these allusions within the first three lines of CD 1 affect how they are to be interpreted, or is it sufficient to treat each

²⁹ So also Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 60.

³⁰ See the discussion above, Ch. I.3.5.

one of them separately? In my analysis, the allusions do indeed impact upon each other, and understanding them as a composite allusion helps us to interpret them. They are all bound together by the underlying concept of Israel's *covenant* with God, and each of them contributes towards a different, complementary, aspect of it.

Thus, the allusion to Isaiah 51 begins by appealing to and calling out to those who self-identify as true heirs to the covenant promises originally made with Israel. It is, in effect, a call to separation, that is, to *holiness*. This theme is reiterated in CD 1:3 in the text of Leviticus 26:40 (which is interlinked to Num. 14:23). This call to separation is the first word in this composite allusion in order to first identify who it is that is being addressed by this document. Next, the allusion to Jeremiah 25 articulates the gravity of the covenant, especially in its *punishment*: because Israel has breached the covenant, YHWH is invoking a “legally binding” judgment upon them, and that judgment will be accompanied by punishment with the sword (CD 1:4), and ultimately, by Israel's exile. In this vein, it also alludes to *the scope* of the covenant. No one is exempt: not, presumably, Jerusalem and its Temple, nor its priestly aristocracy; not the surrounding nations. Thirdly, the allusion to Numbers 14 highlights the *spiritual root* of this breach of covenant: Israel's unfaithfulness harkens back to the very foundation of the nation in its originating history.

Similarly, the six scriptural motifs which we identified above also all gravitate around the concept of covenant, and particularly, the breach of covenant which Israel had enacted (or, in the perspective of the author of the *Damascus Document*, was in the process of enacting). From the perspective of the reader, the evocation of the scriptural motifs of the spiritual rebellion of Israel, of their covenant disloyalty, and of their forsaking God, result in a graphic reminder of Israel's disobedience in its historical interactions with God, lending an air seriousness and urgency to these opening lines. And the scriptural motifs of the divine lawsuit against Israel and God's removal of his presence from the Temple both speak to a looming judgment that God is liable to enact on Israel because of its covenantal treachery.

The final exegetical impact of the composite picture thus combines all of these elements in these three opening lines: this is a document calling out to the faithful remnant,

calling them to be holy, to be true to the covenant; punishment for breaching the covenant is severe—and has resulted ultimately in exile for Israel. This has long been the case, for Israel has been unfaithful to YHWH and broken covenant ever since the first days of its rebellion. It is Israel’s unfaithfulness that has caused YHWH to abandon his people and remove himself even from the place of his sanctuary. CD 1:1–3 calls all would-be reader-hearers to recognize the seriousness of Israel’s situation, to align themselves with an alternative path, and therefore to avoid the dire consequences that have plagued Israel’s history up to that point. The full impact of the scriptural allusions on those who hear and perceive them is substantial. For the perceptive audience, much more is happening “below the surface” than one might imagine.

There is still one further avenue of investigation to be pursued. How did this complex literary phenomenon which we call a composite allusion arise? We have drawn attention several times to the “textual traditions” or “interlocking” features of the several texts that seem to be behind some of the linguistic choices made in these three lines. While it is not quite appropriate to speak of literary allusions since the features we are observing are not fully *literary*, the third leg of our methodological tripod—ancient media criticism—provides us critical tools with which to engage these phenomena; to that discussion we now turn.

II.2.6 Composite Allusions in CD 1:1–3 and Ancient Media Criticism

We begin by recalling that this element in our methodology recognizes the ancient world as it is: an *ancient* world—its world of communication was, generally speaking, vastly different from that of writing- and print-based societies. In the previous chapter, we articulated two methodological tools that have a special potential to enhance our interpretation of composite allusions: metonymic referencing and mnemonic keying. Metonymic referencing is, in brief, the representation of larger traditions by potent phrases or words, often formulaic in nature; mnemonic keying is the mechanism whereby a community remembers key aspects of its history but re-presents them in an existentially meaningful way for the contemporary situation. The power and versatility of both of these tools is that ideas, motifs, themes, and even broader meta-narrative sub-plots can be condensed and presented in compact form, and can then be

re-presented and keyed to each other in novel and versatile ways for the purposes of the receiving community.

While these tools can be quite profitably applied to the composite allusion that we have just examined, their utility is most evident in what can be termed the non- or, better, “*hyper-literary*” or “*hyper-textual*” features of the texts in question. In our discussion above, we have observed six instances of such allusions where separate scriptural motifs or traditions are tied together usually by a catchword or sometimes simply a common idea. Below, we treat two of these in more detail to illustrate the processes by which such an interpretive move takes place.

The first of these is the connection of Psalm 25:8 with CD 1:1 and the motif of the מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה (works of YHWH). As already noted, the presence of this phrase in the Psalter is but one example of at least a dozen texts that, in some shape or form, enjoin the reader-hearer to consider or regard God’s marvelous works as epitomized in the exodus. Significantly, we note that it is not the precise wording that is most important here. Synonyms for מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה (works of YHWH), e.g., פְּעֻלַּת אֱלֹהִים (deeds of God), can be substituted, and the triggering phrase can be found in a variety of configurations, so long as the essential concept is still clearly recognizable, and more importantly, the tradition to which it refers, is one and the same. In Foley’s metonymic referentiality, we would say that several different formulaic phrases are referencing the same well-known overarching tradition: that of the exodus—and, along with it, key moments in that narrative, such as slavery in Egypt, YHWH’s signs and wonders, deliverance from Pharaoh, and the provision of the Law on Mt. Sinai—especially accentuating God’s power and might over his enemies. All of this would be readily accessible to, perhaps even unavoidable for, the reader-hearer who is immersed in that cultural story through the single phrase “works of YHWH” (or its equivalent). Additionally, in *this* Psalm in particular, but elsewhere as well, there is a related but separate motif of a contrast between the righteous who recognize these “works,” and the wicked who do not. This emphasis is brought out at CD 1:1 by pairing the phrase “works of [God]” with the word “consider” (יְבִינֵנּוּ) and reinforced by its juxtaposition to the allusion in Isaiah 51:7 with *its* emphasis on the call to the righteous.

Thus, the two traditions are linked together in what effectively forms a composite allusion where the two traditions mutually interpret each other and provides thematic richness to the whole. For the author of CD 1:1, this subsidiary motif is evidently of great interest, and is in fact the point of entry for his audience. They are called to a righteousness that “considers the works of YHWH,” and to hear what is about to be spoken / read in the document itself. In other words, through this particular formulation in CD 1:1, the author of the Admonition is leveraging the memory of the exodus story and combining it with the tradition of “understanding the works of God” to further his special interest in urging his audience to align themselves with a particular subset of God’s people—the remnant, the righteous, the faithful. Presumably, this alludes to the community at Qumran.

The second example I offer is the scriptural traditions that are linked to “their unfaithfulness” (מַעַלָּם) and to the “forsaking” (עָזַב) of God. As already noted, the first set of texts relating to the מַעַל of Israel itself contains at least three distinguishable nuances (call to Levitical purity, the breach of covenantal law, and exile). Evidently, the potency of the word was such that it could evoke these three different valuations. This is possible because of its metonymic quality, representing not only a singular monolithic concept, but a whole tradition: an entire trajectory of communal response to the covenant of YHWH, beginning in the wilderness, continuing on through the Levitical purity rites, into the Deuteronomic prophetic ultimatum given by Moses, and surfacing again in the exilic experience of the people as interpreted both through the prophetic voice and the Chroniclers’ perspective. All of these moments in time are latent in the phrase the מַעַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, (unfaithfulness of Israel) and, given the context of CD 1:1–3 all three of these seem to be vital for the interests of the author. Likewise, if we were to examine in detail the second set of texts relating to עָזַב (to forsake), we find an equally rich tradition, evoking the history of Israel’s failure to covenant adherence.

But what is particularly interesting is how in this one phrase the author of D has combined the two metonymic catchwords, representing different aspects of a long and rich history, into a single thematically-based composite allusion. This is especially conspicuous at this juncture since a more typical Hebraic construction would see a reduplication of the word,

as in Leviticus 26:40 (מַעַלְמוֹתֵי אֲשֶׁר מָעַלְוּ בִּי, literally, “their unfaithfulness which with they were unfaithful to me”; so also, e.g., Ezek. 17:20, 18:24). What is instead encountered seems to be an intentional replacement of the second word with a separate keyword representing a slightly different aspect of the tradition: מוֹעַלְמוֹת אֲשֶׁר עִזְבוּהוּ (their unfaithfulness with which they *forsook* me). This countering of the more common style makes it less likely that such a change is arbitrary or accidental. The overall sense of the phrase does not differ, but the language may betray an exegetical motive to portray a richer and wider depiction of Israel’s history than the one verb, reduplicated, could capture on its own.

It may be helpful at this point to take a step back from this detailed analysis and be reminded of our larger research goal. What these various allusions represent in their complementary, multiply nuanced image is a *single composite allusion*. The delimiting boundary with which we have constrained ourselves are the three opening lines of CD 1:1–3, recognizing that the analysis could probably have been extended further for a more comprehensive discussion. Within this composite allusion, however, there are two distinct identifiable modes of referencing. The first mode is one that is lexematic, where *two or more clear allusions, each tethered to distinct morphemes, interact with one another in the receiving text to produce a recognizable exegetical effect*. That effect, in this instance, is to contribute to *complementary* aspects of a single concept or theme or motif. The second mode is thematic, where *two or more scriptural motifs or themes represented by a plurality of scriptural passages* interact with one another. Rather than multiple lexematic allusions impinging upon each other in close proximity, this variety of composite allusion is often *comprised of a single allusive marker which directs us to multiple interlocking texts*. Furthermore, these interlocking texts, in turn, together, *usually constitute an overarching, multivalent tradition*. Seen from another vantage, the composite quality of these allusions is found more in the *multiplicity of the source texts rather than in the multiplicity of the alluding markers*. We will classify the first, lexematic type, a **Type I** composite allusion, and the second, thematic type, a **Type II** composite allusion. In this unit of CD 1:1–3, which is particularly rich in allusions, both kinds of composite allusions are present and interact

together to form the final literary product. I classify this final configuration of complex, multi-layered nesting of allusions here in CD 1:1–3 a **Type III** composite allusion, which is some combination of both a Type I and Type II composite allusion(s).

Such interesting analyses could probably be multiplied in CD, as the document is rich in allusive language, and every phrase and cluster of lines will have more than one level at which differing combinations of referentiality can be examined. It has served as an exemplary model for entry into the study of composite allusions in Second Temple literature. As intriguing as it would be to continue studying composite allusions in CD, the focus of our project must now shift to another non-scriptural literary document found among the Qumran manuscripts—the *Hodayot*.

II.3.1 *Hodayot*, Column XVI:5-12a (1QH^a 16:5-12a)

Our next example of a composite allusion is found in another text among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the collection of non-biblical psalms known as the *Hodayot*.³¹ Although the *Hodayot* contains few or no explicit citations, scriptural allusions are a regular feature of these non-scriptural psalms and have been a focus of scholarly study for a number of years.³² I have chosen to examine 1QH^a for two primary reasons. First, the type of allusions found in it are of

³¹ The name “*Hodayot*” (also commonly known as the “Thanksgiving Psalms”) derives from the Hebrew words אֲדוֹנָי אֲדוֹכָה אֲדוֹנָי (“I give you thanks, O LORD”). Along with the *Damascus Document*, the War Scroll, the Rule of the Community, and the Pesharim, the *Hodayot* is commonly regarded as one of the most significant findings at Khirbet Qumran. **For a general introduction** to the *Hodayot*—with a view especially to the manuscript evidence—see Émile Puech, “Hodayot,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 365–68.; see also Eileen M. Schuller, “Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH),” in *DNTB* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2000). **For a survey of recent scholarship** on the *Hodayot*, see Eileen M. Schuller, “Recent Scholarship on the *Hodayot* 1993-2010,” *CBR* 10, no. 1 (2011): 119–62; as well as Julie Hughes' introduction in her monograph, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 1–33. For a helpful guide to the texts (along with translation), especially in reference to the two different numbering systems that have been used in regards to *Hodayot* research, see Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *A Study Edition of 1QH^a*, SBLEJL 36 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2012). **For the standard critical edition**, along with a helpful introduction by Schuller, see Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen M. Schuller, and Carol A. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QH^aHodayot a: With Incorporation of 1QH^aHodayot b and 4QH^aHodayot a-f*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009). For a text-critical approach examining the textual linkages between the *Hodayot* and the biblical Psalms, see John Elwolde, “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 1),” in *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read of the Joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland En België, Apeldoorn August 2006*, ed. Bob Becking and Eric Peels, OTS 55 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 79–108.

³² See Sarah J. Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation in the *Hodayot*,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012), 255–75.

a different nature than those we examined in CD 1:1–3. They cover an extended passage and are more thematic in nature. The methods employed in this section will thus hopefully complement those of the previous one. Secondly, the content of the allusions, in particular the motif of water and the reference to “living waters,” promises to inform our study on John 7:37–38 in a later chapter of the thesis. Though building on the work of others—most prominently Julie Hughes,³³ Svend Holm-Nielsen,³⁴ Michael Douglas,³⁵ and Shem Miller³⁶—this section deepens the enquiry of 1QH^a by focusing on its use of composite allusions in accordance with my methodological approach.

II.3.2 Background, Context, and Translation

The psalm under consideration is located in the central section of the scroll, among the “Hymns of the Teacher,”³⁷ and, taken as a whole (16:5–17:36), is quite possibly the longest and most complex of all of the *Hodayot*, written over nearly two entire columns of 1QH^a.³⁸ It consists of at least three distinct sub-sections, of which our passage of interest comprises the first. Each of the three sub-sections can be described as belonging to a different genre—that of *mashal*, lament, and psalm of confidence,³⁹ and their contents have been depicted respectively as “a description of the salvation which God has provided within the community, followed by

³³ Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*.

³⁴ Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960).

³⁵ Michael Charles Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1-18:14” (Ph.D. diss., Chicago, Ill., The University of Chicago, 1998).

³⁶ Shem Miller, *Dead Sea Media: Orality, Textuality, and Memory in the Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, STDJ (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

³⁷ Many scholars have distinguished at least two main forms of composition among the thirty-plus psalms in this collection, “the Community Hymns” and the “Hymns of the Teacher,” though some scholars have recently questioned these categories, see, e.g., Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Construction Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 299. Nevertheless, for our purposes, these categories seem to be useful handles for reference. See further Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot,” 252–370.

³⁸ Different scholars have divided the content in these columns differently. For example, some see here three distinct psalms with three different themes, others see here two separate psalms (separated at the bottom of column XVI and the start of column XVII where the text is missing), but Hughes helpfully argues that both would-be parts, and all three sub-sections are connected together by their content as well by the use of keywords, and should therefore be treated as a single literary unit. In any case, our scope of interest is limited to the first of the three sub-sections, which can also be treated more or less independently. See further, Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 137, 150, 182–183; cf. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot,” 153–154.

³⁹ Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 182.

a portrayal of misery, and concluded with a developed declaration of confidence in God.”⁴⁰ The passage of interest is the first seven and a half lines of the first subsection—the *mashal*—whose general underlying narrative is that of the psalmist describing himself as being planted in a garden by streams of life (lines 5–16), and who, in turn, is utilized by God as a source of life for others (lines 17–27). Our formal analysis will end at 12a with the *vacat* and the signalling of a paragraph break, but we will also round out our comments with some tentative observations about lines 12b–27.

We begin by noting the density of scriptural allusions in lines 16:5–12a.⁴¹ As has been noted by others, the repetition of keywords and key motifs are a prominent feature of this psalm and serves not only to impart a sense of unity to it, but are also critical to its interpretation.⁴² The traditional approach has been to examine all of these potential allusions *ad seriatum*, commentary-style—as done by Holm-Nielsen or Hughes—but I believe that this is not the most efficient way to study these allusions, nor to grasp their summative significance.⁴³ Rather, I believe the key to understanding these allusions is to understand how the allusions resonate with one another and help interpret each other. Below, I offer a visual depiction of the poetic structure of the psalm via sentence diagramming, followed by my own translation, to facilitate the analysis that follows:

⁴⁰ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 170.

⁴¹ Hughes, for example, by my count, discusses some fourteen individual allusions in 1QHa16:5–12a, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 150–59, 170.

⁴² See especially Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 148–50; cf. also Shem Thomas Miller, “Innovation and Convention: An Analysis of Parallelism in Stichographic, Hymnic and Sapiential Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Ph.D., The Florida State University, 2012), 13–14, 227–28; in which he helpfully describes the significance of the usage of keywords as a poetic technique in the *Hodayot*.

⁴³ This is perhaps my greatest critique of Hughes’ and Holm-Nielsen’s works: Despite the painstaking and often insightful analyses that are put forward by both of these scholars in their commentaries on this psalm, one still has, in the end, the impression that all of these dozens of disparate scriptural references, strung together sometimes by the most elusive of connections, form a rather disordered whole.

5 אוד(כה אד)וני

כי נתתני במקור נוזלים ביבשה

ומבוע מים בארץ ציה

ומשקי (6) גן ואגם ○○○○ השדה

מטע

ברוש ותדהר עם תאשור יחד לכבודכה

עצי (7) חיים במעין רז

מחובאים בתוך כול עצי מים.

והיו להפריח נצר

למטעת עולם. (8)

להשריש טרם יפריחו

ושורשיהם ליוב(ל) ישלחו.

ויפתח למים חיים יגזעו (9)

ויהי למקור עולם.

ובנצר עליו ירעו כול ח(יו)ת יער.

ומרמס גיזעו לכל עוברי (10) דרך

ודליתו לכל עוף כנף.

וירמו עליו כול ע(צי) מים

(11) כי במטעתם יתשגשו

ואל יובל לא ישלחו שורש.

ומפריח נצר ק(ו)דש

למטעת אמת

סותר בלוא (12) נחשב.

[[vacat]] ובלא נודע חותם רזו.

(5) I thank you LORD

for you set

me by a wellspring of streams in a dry land
and a spring of water in the dry ground
and an irrigation (6) of a garden (...)

a plantingof juniper and pine with box together for your glorytrees (7) of life in a well of mystery

hidden things

in the midst of all the trees of water

and they sprouted a shoota planting of eternity (8)it took root before they sproutedand their roots to the water-source they stretched outand it was opened to the waters of life, its stump (9)and it became a wellspring of eternity.And on the shoot, upon it they grazed, all the animals of
the

forest

and a pathway was its stump, for all (10) passersbyand its branch for all the winged birds.

And they were over top of it, all the trees of the water

for in their planting they grew (11)

though to the water source it does not stretch out,

a root

And the sprouting of the holy shootthe planting of truth

was hidden, not (12) regarded

and it was not known, its mystery sealed.

II.3.3 Diagrammatic Analysis

Diagrammed in this manner, it is immediately evident how the numerous keywords and motifs are in parallel construction to one another. Thus, in line 5 we have three metaphors related to water set out in parallel: במקור נוזלים, מבוע מים, and מְשְׁקֵי גֵן (wellspring of streams, spring of water, and irrigation of a garden). This motif re-emerges in 8b to 9a, again in triplet form with the phrases (ל) לַיּוֹב, מֵיִם חַיִּים, מְקוֹר עוֹלָם (water-source, waters of life, and wellspring of eternity). Then there is the dominant metaphor which begins in line 6 of a מטע (planting): מטע is grammatically in construct with a listing of the three tree-types; these, in turn, are called עֵצֵי חַיִּים (trees of life) (line 7); which then sprouted a נֹצֵר (shoot); which is then associated back to the מטעת עולם (planting of eternity) that שָׂרַשׁ (took root) (line 8), which is then paralleled, in chiasmic fashion, with a גִּזְעַת (stump) (line 8b). In 9b–10a, the נֹצֵר, גִּזְעַת, and דְּלִיתוֹ (shoot, stump, and branch) are all in parallel with each other, and finally, in line 11, the נֹצֵר קֹדֶשׁ (holy shoot) is in apposition to the “planting of truth.”

What this structural depiction suggests is that this passage does not present a set of allusions that each point independently to tight, strictly bound references with their own set of contexts that do not interact with each other. Rather, something much more fluid can be identified, whereby the metaphors and qualities (and literary contexts) behind the allusions are more or less “transferable” from one set to another and the whole is likely to be a blend of them all together. In line with this understanding, we examine these allusions in two groups. The first group is that headed by the word מטע (planting), and containing the catchwords שָׂרַשׁ, נֹצֵר, גִּזְעַת (root, shoot, stump). The second group is that revolving around the motif of מֵיִם (water), and containing the catchwords מְקוֹר, מֵיִם חַיִּים, and מְבוּעַ מֵיִם (wellspring, waters of life, spring of waters). We will examine these two groups first individually, and then in combination with each other.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Although these two groups of allusions represent the vast majority of the individual allusions in this passage (and in the larger section, up to 16:25), not *all* of the allusions fall into one of these categories. Our purpose, however, is not to treat this passage exhaustively with respect to its allusiveness, but rather to examine the allusiveness in it with respect to illustrating and understanding what a *composite* allusion is. Our selection of texts and our ensuing method, then, are designed with that goal in mind.

II.3.4 Analysis of the Scriptural Motif of “Planting” (מטע)

We begin with the first set of keywords or motifs which gravitate around the dominant keyword מטע (planting). This keyword is arguably the most significant in this section, and it provides one of the unifying themes to the whole *hodayah*. Each of the different words, “planting,” “trees of life,” “shoot,” “root,” “stump,” and “branch” shares a semantic range and plays a similar structural role in this section of the psalm, but each term also carries with it a certain coloring—tied to its particular scriptural background—not present in the others. We will treat the most prominent of these, “root,” “shoot,” and “stump” further below. First, we take a closer look at the basic image of “planting.”

The word מטע is a derivative of נָטַע (to plant), a common agrarian-based word that takes on rich metaphorical usage in the Hebrew Bible. In the prophets, especially in Jeremiah and Isaiah, God is often the subject of the action, while Israel is likened to a vineyard and often the object of God’s “planting” (e.g., Isa. 5:2, cf. 5:7; Jer. 2:21; 11:17; 24:6). The root is used figuratively some thirty times in this manner (out of a total of about seventy times altogether in the Hebrew Bible), but only four of these occur in the specific nominal form as found here, two from Isaiah (60:21 and 61:3) and two from Ezekiel (17:7 and 31:4). The Isaiah passages seem to be the primary source of inspiration for the “planting” language and imagery.⁴⁵ Both of the Isaiah texts are at the center of so-called Third Isaiah, addressing a restored and rebuilt Jerusalem. At Isaiah 60:21, YHWH, addressing a personified Zion, speaks about his chosen people, the גִּצְרֵי מִטְּעֵי (shoot of his/my planting), who will be permanently re-established in the land:

²¹ Your people shall all be righteous;
they shall possess the land forever,
the branch of my planting (גִּצְרֵי מִטְּעֵי),

⁴⁵ In Ezekiel 17:7, the theme of Israel as God’s planting is used in an extended metaphor for the house of Israel in its political machinations first with Babylon and then with Egypt, where Israel was likened to the planting of a twig by waters, becoming a vine and producing branches, but whose destiny was precarious and under threat of being uprooted. This theme is similar to the Isaiah usages. In Ezekiel 31:4, the metaphor is applied to Assyria, in the context of judgment. And, in the six occurrences of the lexeme נָטַע in Jeremiah which refer to Israel, their function in these passages serve a significantly more perfunctory role than the two Isaianic passages discussed above.

the work of my hands, that I might be glorified.⁴⁶

And in Isaiah 61:3, the word *עֲטַר* (planting) is used on the lips of the anointed one who is the Lord's agent in the restoration and transformation of those who are the currently disenfranchised in Zion:

³...That they may be called oaks of righteousness,
The planting (*עֲטַר*) of the Lord, that he may be glorified.⁴⁷

The theme of the restoration of Jerusalem and God's people is the central feature of the passages in which these texts are found. Incidentally, in both of the Isaiah passages, there are also multiple non-verbal but synonymous motific connections with our text: both passages contain the additional motifs of trees, shoot / branch, and God's glory, and the Isaiah 60:21 passage also contains the motif of the gardener's "hands" (cf. 1QH^a 16:22–25), thus strengthening the likelihood that the Isaiah texts and our *hodayah* are indeed connected in the mind of the author(s).

And then there is Psalm 80, where the psalmist, addressing God in the second person, describes Israel's past salvation in the metaphor of the planting of a vine. The root *עֵט* occurs twice within it (verses 8 and 15), and, once more, it contains multiple conceptual links with our passage—"root" (16:8), "shoots" (16:7, 9, 11), "branches" (16:10), "river" (16:18), and "hand" (16:22, 23, 25)—again, mostly non-verbal except for *תִּשְׁרֹט* (take root). As in the Isaiah texts, the underlying narrative of Psalm 80 is similar: Israel, God's vine, once planted and flourishing, is now in need of restoration and rescue. This recollection of God having established his "plant," once thriving but now in need of care and restoration, seems to be the common denominator: God's people need rescue; God is the one who can and will do it.

The second key motif in the passage is that of *עֵץ* (tree) (line 6), and, in particular, the phrase *ברוש ותרדר עם תאשור יחד* (cypress and plane, together with pine), which occurs in

⁴⁶ Isa. 60:21 (ESV)

⁴⁷ Isa. 61:3 (ESV)

almost exactly this form at Isaiah 41:19 and 60:13. In Isaiah 41:17–19, in an address to Jacob–Israel, the LORD opens rivers and fountains and makes the wilderness and dry lands into springs of water, testifying to his own faithfulness and his power to deliver exilic Israel. And Isaiah 60:13, addressed to Jerusalem, is an exilic promise that the glory of the Jerusalem sanctuary will be restored, likened to the ‘glory of Lebanon’. Like the references to Isa 60–61 above, both of these references are in the context of God’s intervention for and redemption of Israel. Both sets of these allusions—planting and garden/trees—point primarily to both the exilic and restorationist themes at various junctures in Isaiah and in Psalm 80—and suggest that these themes are deeply embedded in the psalm.

The third related subset of keywords is the pairing of נצר and גזע (shoot, stump). In lines 5–11 נצר occurs three times and גזע occurs two times.⁴⁸ In this pair of words parallel to the “planting,” נצר (shoot) emphasizes the newness or growth of the plant, while גזע (stump) takes the image in an arboreal direction and connects it to Isaiah 11:1. We have already seen how the word נצר (shoot) occurs together with מִטָּע (planting) in Isaiah 60:21, which is in fact the only place in the OT where these two words are found together. And here is Isaiah 11:1, where נִצֵּר (shoot) also occurs together with גִּזְע (stump)⁴⁹:

¹ There shall come forth a shoot from the stump (גִּזְע) of Jesse,
and a branch (נִצֵּר) from his roots shall bear fruit.

² And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
the Spirit of wisdom and understanding,
the Spirit of counsel and might,
the Spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. (Isa. 11:1–2).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The word נצר is very uncommon in the OT, occurring only four times, three times in Isaiah (11:1, 60:21, and 14:19) and once in Daniel (11:7); thus its three-fold occurrence here is notable. Three of the four occurrences (except Isa. 14:19), possess “a similar positive eschatological context;” see Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 153, note 78.

⁴⁹ Examination of the other two occurrences of the word נצר “shoot” in the OT, Isa. 14:19 and Dan. 11:7, demonstrates no significant meaningful parallels or possible connections.

⁵⁰ Isa. 11:1 (ESV)

The context of the passage describes the devastating judgement of God on Israel (10:5–34), but also the survival of a small “remnant” (10:19, 22; 11:11). In the face of Assyrian ascendancy (cf. Isa. 10:24), Isaiah 11:1 prophesies the emergence of a Davidic monarch and the continuation of David’s line, which, in the original context of Isaiah, likely was seen to be fulfilled in Hezekiah, Josiah, and others,⁵¹ but here in 1QH^a it is read in a context assuming its continued relevance for the contemporary audience. Taken together with the aforementioned allusions (Isa. 60:21, 61:3, 60:13, 51:3, and 41:19), it seems that notions of exile are to be held in tandem with the messianic hope as expressed in the promise to David of an everlasting house (2 Sam. 7).⁵² We will further explore this very significant combined effect below; but first we examine our second main group of keywords and motifs, that of מקור חיים, מבוע מים (wellspring, waters of life, spring of water).

II.3.5 Analysis of the Scriptural Motif of “Water” (מים)

This next main group of keywords centre on the theme of water and represents a crucial motif in this sub-section of the *hodayah*—appearing six times in these seven lines (and fifteen times up to line 25). In the context of the psalm, the parallelism indicates that they all refer to the same basic reality: a metaphorical life-giving stream or source of water, whereby the planting, the root, the shoot, the stump, all draw their vitality. This water is closely related to God: he has put the psalmist near this water source, and in line 17, God makes the psalmist’s own mouth a channel for that same source of life.

The Hebrew Bible, of course, is replete with water imagery and the water motif alone is too pervasive and general to be traced back to individual references or even to sets of references. But several of the qualifiers with which water is coupled here, namely, “wellspring,” “of life,” and “springs,” provide us with two primary filters with which ancient Jewish audiences might have heard the metaphor. The first filter is that of wisdom. The phrase

⁵¹ See e.g., John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger et al., Revised Edition, vol. 24, Word Biblical Commentary (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 2005), 212.

⁵² Hughes states matter-of-factly: “We are invited to interpret the stump as the remnant of Israel and the shoot as its messianic leader” (*Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 154).

מְקוֹר חַיִּים (wellspring of life, line 17) is found four times in Proverbs (10:11, 13:14, 14:27, and 16:22), and in their respective contexts refer to: the mouth of the righteous, the teaching of the wise, the fear of the Lord, and “understanding.” Three of these (10:11, 13:14, 16:22) might be generalized as right instruction about living, and the fourth refers to the ultimate source of that wisdom: the LORD. Significantly, line 17 mentions that God has put into the psalmist’s *mouth* a מְבֹעַ מַיִם חַיִּים (a spring of water of life) thus an allusion to the scriptural motif of righteous living and teaching seems to be in view here in this psalm located at the heart of the “Teacher Hymns.”

The other main interpretive filter for the water allusion is found in the prophets, particularly Jeremiah and Isaiah. In Jeremiah 2:13 and 17:13, we find the only texts that employ both “wellspring” and “waters of life” together in the phrase מְקוֹר מַיִם חַיִּים (wellspring of waters of life), where both texts are referring to the LORD himself as the “wellspring of the waters of life,” in the context of Israel who has either forsaken or are in danger of forsaking him. Then there is the cluster of Isaiah texts (44:3, 41:18, 35:7, 49:10) which combines the life-imparting water motif with the dry land of exile (respectively, streams [נְזָלִים] on the dry ground, dry land into springs of water [מְבֹעֵי מַיִם], thirsty ground into springs of water [מְבֹעֵי מַיִם], and springs of water [מְבֹעֵי מַיִם] guiding his people).⁵³ We have already seen how Isaiah plays a vital role in the “planting” keyword-group, and these water allusions which refer to bringing life in the wilderness and the restoration of God’s people in exile continue to reinforce the restoration theme. The net impact of the Jeremiah and Isaiah references is to emphasize that YHWH, the source of the living water, will both supply this life-sustaining water and pour it out on his needy people in their time of need and restore them from exile.

Another important water motif we examine is that of a מְשָׁקֵי גֶן (an irrigation of a garden). Here the metaphor is evocative of Eden, and, given the wilderness images in 16:5, especially the Isaianic motif of the Lord turning Zion’s wilderness into “Eden, her desert like the garden of the Lord” (Isa. 51:3). The context of Isaiah 51:3 concerns, once more, the

⁵³ So Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 150 note 68.

restoration of Jerusalem and the rescue of God's people from exile. In addition to this Isaianic reference to Eden, resonances of the original Genesis creation story can also be detected in these lines, as attested by the phrase "trees of life" (line 6) and the motif of fruit protected by "turning fire" (lines 12–13).

Finally, there is possibly one other allusion to the water motifs of Ezekiel 47:1–12 and Zechariah 14:8, where life-giving water is associated with the eschatological temple from which it would flow as a source of life for the world. In Ezekiel we find the picture of water flowing from the temple eastwards, first a trickle, then up to the ankle, and then to the knee, then to the waist, and finally becoming an unpassable river issuing forth from the temple, bringing life and healing wherever it flows. Similarly, in Zechariah, "on that day," we see an eschatological picture of "waters of life" flowing from Jerusalem, half to the eastern sea, and half to the western sea, perpetually in both winter and summer; at that time YHWH will be king over all the earth (Zech. 14:9), and Jerusalem will dwell in security (Zech. 14:11). Thus, the three main nuances that these sets of texts bring to the *hodayah* are: the wisdom motif, especially as it pertains to righteous living and the Law; the prophetic motif in which YHWH is the source of living water for his people in exile; and, finally, the eschatological motif, where YHWH will re-establish Zion in security and himself as king over the earth.

II.3.6 Analysis of the Composite Allusions in 1QH^a 16:5–12a

Having analyzed these two groups of keywords and motifs in this section of the *hodayah*, we turn now to our specific research question: how exactly do the allusions work in combination with each other? We note first that of the two types of composite allusions identified above, the allusions *within* each of the two dominant motific strands of this *hodayah* generally fall under the Type II category. They are generally more thematic in nature than some of those we examined in CD 1:1–3. Recognizing the distinctive mixed oral-literary culture of the ancient world, we termed these types of allusions "hypertextual" allusions—originating from the text, but whose specific references may reside somewhere beyond, or above, the texts, that is, in integrative motifs or themes that arise from a communal-psychic synthesis of the texts. In

1QH^a, the allusions often employed individual keywords, sometimes even employing synonymous lexemes that quite evidently refer to the same or similar traditions. Partially the differences between the mode of allusion in this *hodayah* and CD 1:1–3 are due to the differences in genre between poetry and prose, since two of the hallmarks of Hebraic poetry are terseness on the one hand and parallelism on the other.⁵⁴ That is, to an extent, we would expect to find precisely this kind of distinctiveness of thematically-based allusions in poetry, where terseness and repetition may favor shorter, more “potent,” constructions over verbal replication. We witnessed this same phenomenon above in examining Psalm 28:5. These poetic preferences, we note, are very much at home in ancient media culture in which memorable, potent formulae may represent larger motifs and overarching traditions (J. M. Foley). Nevertheless, in principle, these kinds of thematic- or motific-based allusions are just as possible in more prosaic literature, and we saw a number of prominent examples of this already in the earlier analysis of CD 1:1–3.

In the first main group of keywords—related to the keyword “planting”—we discussed six allusions to various parts of Isaiah and one to Psalm 80. All seven references can be said to fall under the general exilic theme of restoration, what some scholars refer to as “Isaiah’s new exodus.”⁵⁵ The psalmist has borrowed primarily from Isaiah’s (and Psalm 80’s) new exodus imagery and language in his work to portray his own situation and the situation of his community. These various contributing texts may be thought of primarily as *amplificatory*, that is, building upon each other mostly in an overlapping manner rather than in a complementary way. We may describe this composite allusion primarily as a Type II, *amplificatory composite allusion*.

However, one of the Isaiah references (11:1) stands out, in that it contains, in addition to the restoration theme, the motif of a Davidic messiah. The reference to this key text, by the usage of “shoot” and “stump” together, is evidently not accidental. Not only is restoration

⁵⁴ E.g., James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 1–95.

⁵⁵ E.g., R. Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark*.

envisaged for this community which considers itself God's special "planting," but restoration will be brought about in Davidic, that is, in messianic, terms. One might even conjecture that the presence of this allusion may have reflected a sociological reality of the community that authored (and continued to use) this psalm, a hint, perhaps, about the authority of their own "Teacher of Righteousness."⁵⁶

In the second keyword-group surrounding the motif of "waters of life" we discussed three further allusions to scriptural themes: wisdom literature, which centers on the theme of righteous living and teaching; portions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, which concern the theme of God's restoration of his people from exile; and the eschatological water motif in Ezekiel where Jerusalem is restored and YHWH is enthroned. These form a *complementary* Type II composite allusion. As we place these additional themes alongside the first set, a more complete picture emerges. As we saw, one of the main themes that the water motif brings to one's consciousness is very similar to that of the "planting" motif: God will restore the fortunes of his people in exile—specifically, the living God will provide waters of life for his exilic people in their need. Where the planting motif focused on God's people, the water motif focuses on God, and the relationship of this people to their source of life. It is by remaining close to this "water-source" that this people receive their life: placed by streams of water, they have stretched out their roots to the streams of life (line 8) and have drawn their vitality from it in order to "sprout" (lines 7–8) in truth and holiness (cf. lines 11 and 14). Finally, the picture is completed with its evocation of the "living waters" that flow from Jerusalem when YHWH is finally enthroned on earth. Many of these emphases, it is anticipated, will re-surface in our study of John's Gospel in the coming chapters, especially as we examine the allusion to water in 7:37–38.

While each of the two individual motific strands falls under a Type II composite allusion, it bears noting that the end product of what emerges as they interact together is a complex combination of both types, thus, once again, a **Type III composite allusion**.

⁵⁶ See further John J. Collins, "Reading for History in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 18, no. 3 (2011): 295–315.

Although CD 1:1–3 is also classified as a Type III composite allusion, one of the most conspicuous ways that this composite allusion differs from that in CD 1:1–3 is in the length of the passage under consideration. Here, the composite allusion spans an extended length of text, whereas CD 1:1–3 was of a much more compact form.

II.3.7 Composite Allusions in 1QH^a 16:5–12a and Ancient Media Culture

Only a brief comment is required at this point, since many of the insights emerging from the analysis of CD 1 have already been implicitly incorporated into the discussion on 1QH^a. The method crucial to our understanding of the Type II composite allusions in CD 1 is, in fact, the key method invoked with reference to 1QH^a as well. There are, in fact, only thematic—that is, Type II—allusions in this passage, but their layering upon each other or nesting within the other adds complexity to the final literary product. But the individual scriptural strands of traditions represented by the two main catchwords, מטע and מים, operate exegetically by what we have called non-literary means, they are more thematic in nature. Just as crucial to textual congruence is the recognition of key motifs or key words that may be representative of larger units of meaning and overarching narratives, what Foley called “metonymic referencing.”

It is not at all difficult to imagine an ancient literatus (or several working together) who has been steeped in scripture memorization and recitation over a number of years, engaging in a process which results in the formulating of composite allusions. In the course of conceiving of and then writing down a single phrase which is charged with a scriptural allusion, several interlocking textual traditions may readily emerge simultaneously in his mind. Thus, in reflecting upon Isaiah 60–61 and God’s promise to restore Israel in glory as his “planting,” other textual traditions can be triggered, like those related to the tree motif, or roots, or branches and shoots. This expands to traditions related to growth and vitality, like streams of living water, and the fount of wisdom, and living springs, both physical and spiritual, etc. In the ancient media culture, this process was likely to have been predominantly an exercise of the working of one’s long-term memory rather than a consultation of textual documents

(although the possibility of the latter is not excluded either).⁵⁷ From what we currently understand of the ancient world, all of this process is thoroughly conceivable, and, I think, highly plausible. And, if such a literatus (or group of them in collaboration) were to create a literary work with the intention that that work be, as a whole, reflective of certain key themes like the restoration of Israel and the spiritual identity and history of his or their group, we might expect the final result to look very much like such a passage as 1QH^a 16:5-12a.

II.4.1 Ben Sira 33:7–15 (36:8–16)⁵⁸

We turn now from the Dead Sea Scrolls to examine a composite allusion in a passage from deuterocanonical wisdom literature: Ben Sira 33:7–15.⁵⁹ Though I am aware of the breadth of

⁵⁷ For a fascinating and relevant study about *how* this could have been achieved in pre-print societies, see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See also the article by Cynthia Edenburg, “Intertextuality, Literary Competence and the Question of Readership: Some Preliminary Observations,” *JSOT* 35, no. 2 (2010): 131–48, for an application of modern conceptions of the workings of memory and their impact on the study of literary allusions in the Bible.

⁵⁸ The regular versification follows the restored order of MS E of the Hebrew text. Chapter and verse references in parentheses refer to the inverted order of all extant Greek manuscripts. See further Maurice Gilbert, “The Vetus Latina of Ecclesiasticus,” in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18-20 May, 2006*, ed. József Zsengeller and Géza G. Xeravits, JSOTSup 127 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 1–10.

⁵⁹ For **introductions** to Ben Sira, see especially the substantial introduction in the excellent commentary by Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 1–90; see also R. J. Coggins, *Sirach* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); David A. deSilva, “Sirach,” in *DNTB* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 1116–24; and Alexander A. Di Lella, “The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Resources and Recent Research,” *CurBS* 4 (1996): 161–81. See also John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997).

For a comprehensive **bibliography** in English through to the mid-80’s, see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 93–130; and Cécile Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint = Bibliographie de La Septante: (1970-1993)*, VTSup 60 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1995); see also Daniel J. Harrington, “Sirach Research since 1965: Progress and Questions,” in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 164–76; as well as Pancratius C. Beentjes, “Five Years of Ben Sira Research (1994–1998): An Annotated Bibliography,” *Bijdragen* 61, no. 1 (2000): 76–88; and Friedrich V. Reiterer, “Review of Recent Research on the Book of Ben Sira,” in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28-31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands*, ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes, BZAW 255 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1997), 23–60. In German scholarship, see Núria Caldach-Benages et al., *Bibliographie zu Ben Sira*, ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer, BZAW 266 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998). For a relatively recent literature review of Ben Sira studies, see Lindsey A. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, JSJSup 184 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 4–15.

Ben Sira, composed sometime in the early 2nd century BCE (ca. 180 BCE) by a man known to us simply as “Jesus (Yeshua) ben Eleazar ben Sira,” is generally styled in the fashion of other wisdom literature, especially Proverbs. See, e.g., the classic study by Hilaire Duesberg and I. Franssen, *Les Scribes inspirés: Introduction aux livres sapientiaux de la Bible, Proverbes, Job, Sagesse, Ecclésiastique*, 2nd ed. (Maredsous, Belgium: Éditions de Maredsous, 1966), who devotes an entire chapter to “Le Ben Sira Commentateur des Proverbes,” 702f; as well as Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 43–44. It was composed originally in Hebrew, translated into

Ben Sira scholarship on the use of Scripture (see note 58 above), in this section I will interact primarily (though not exclusively) with two helpful secondary sources, an article by Wally V. Cirafesi,⁶⁰ and a monograph by Gerald T. Sheppard.⁶¹ In what follows, we shall first evaluate Cirafesi's identified example from Ben Sira 33:7–15, analyzing in more detail the particular mechanics of the identified composite allusion. While Cirafesi focuses on interpreting these passages in the contexts of their respective documents, and comparing exegetical uses *across* his sources, I will focus on the detailed mechanics of how the allusions are formed within the one passage, *Sirach* 33:7–15. Secondly, Sheppard's very interesting monograph examines in detail the use of Scripture in three texts: *Sirach* 24, *Sirach* 16, and Baruch 3. While it is beyond the scope of this study to review his work as a whole, his conclusions are especially germane to our discussion, and I will offer a reflection on those most salient to my project.

Greek by Jesus Ben Sira's grandson sometime around 117 BCE, and transmitted primarily through the LXX, which is the translation that serves as our most complete base text today. The book is comprised of fifty-one chapters and is the most extensive example of ancient Jewish wisdom literature that we possess, covering a wide sweep of topics, both theological and practical.

The **use of scripture in Ben Sira** has been a thoroughly ploughed field in modern scholarship, especially as it relates to "canon-consciousness," since many scholars sensibly argue that Ben Sira's apparent use of and conceptualization of a tripartite Scripture is early testimony to the historical process of the formulation of a scriptural canon. For two classic examples of such studies, see Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection Presented to the University of Cambridge by the Editors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), 12–38, who takes what might be called a "maximalist" approach, and, in response to Schechter/Taylor, see John G. Snaith, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," *JTS* 18, no. 1 (1967): 1–12. For more recent engagement with the current state of research on Ben Sira's use of Scripture, see, among others, Jeremy Corley and Alexander A. Di Lella, *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 87–279; as well as the essay by Benjamin G. Wright, "Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Ben Sira," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012), 361–86; see also Coggins, "Use of 'Scripture,'" in *Sirach*, 62–69.

⁶⁰ Cirafesi, "'Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay.'" I was first alerted to this composite allusion in Ben Sira through Cirafesi's recent article comparing the use of Scripture in 1QH^a 11:20–37, 20:27–39, and Ben Sira 33:7–15. By comparing the use of "compound allusions" to Genesis 2 and Isaiah / Jeremiah in these sources, Cirafesi argues that a shared exegetical tradition and / or method underlies all three. He notes that while there are noticeable differences between the exegetical nuances that the *Hodayot* and *Sirach* texts respectively emphasize in their reading of the original sources, both of them possess 1) the composite portrait of God as creator and determiner of human outcomes; and 2) the corresponding composite portrait of humanity in its universal mortality and complete subjection to the deterministic will of God. The focus of my own investigation will be the passage from Ben Sira, as it exhibits the clearest illustration of the composite principles of significance to this thesis.

⁶¹ Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980).

II.4.2 Background and Context

Sirach 33:7–15 occurs in the second major division of Ben Sira, chs. 24–43, which is given the heading Σοφίας αἴνεσις (Praise of Wisdom) in the Greek manuscripts, as differentiated primarily from the headings at ch. 44, Πατέρων ὕμνος (Hymn of the ancestors), and at ch. 51, Προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ Υἱοῦ Σιραχ (A prayer of Jesus Son of Sirach). The heading at 24:1 seems to apply especially to the contents of chapter 24, which is approximately midway through the book, and which is a long poem in praise of wisdom, forming, as it were, the “heart”—and some argue the climax—of the book.⁶² In any case, this large division, chs. 24–43, similar to chs. 1–23, is composed of a large number of disparate themes that seem to occur in no special order. Our passage forms the second half of a recognizable literary unit bound together by the *inclusio* at 32(35):14(18) and 33(36):18(26) with the word παιδεία (מוֹסֵר, “training” or “instruction”). Generally the section expounds on the differences between the wise and the foolish, between those who fear the Lord and those who are sinners, although beyond this, as Skehan and Di Lella note, “there is little else that gives unity to the section.”⁶³ However, as we narrow our field of vision to the individual poem of 33:7–15, a clear thematic coherence develops around what has been called a “theology of pairs,” or “opposites,” where, through the comparison of sets of polarities, Ben Sira discusses the nature of humanity, which can be both sanctified and lowly, pious and sinful, and, furthermore, the fact that God has chosen some but not others. In the midst of this poem are two widely recognized allusions.⁶⁴ The first

⁶² See further Coggins, *Sirach*, 24–25; cf. Daniel J. Harrington, *Jesus Ben Sira of Jerusalem: A Biblical Guide to Living Wisely* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2005), 47. On the chapter as a whole, see the detailed exposition by Maurice Gilbert, “L’*éloge de la Sagesse* (Siracide 24),” *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 5, no. 3 (1974): 326–48.

⁶³ Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 397.

⁶⁴ Cirafesi, “‘Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay,’” 104, note 72; see further Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 68–69; Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 400–401; Greg Schmidt Goering, *Wisdom’s Root Revealed: Ben Sira and the Election of Israel*, JSOTSup 39 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 52; Pancratius C. Beentjes, “Theodicy in Wisdom of Ben Sira,” in *Happy the One Who Meditates on Wisdom (Sir. 14,20): Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2006), 272; Karina Martin Hogan, “The Mortal Body and the Earth in Ben Sira and the Book of the Watchers,” in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Trevor W. Thompson and Claire K. Rothschild (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 34; Miryam T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 107.

alludes to the story of God’s creation of Adam in Genesis 2:7; the second to humanity as being likened to “clay” in the hand of the “potter” in Jeremiah 18:4, 6 (and Isa. 29:16; 45:9).

II.4.3 Translation and Analysis of Two Allusions in Sirach 33:7–15⁶⁵

As Cirafesi’s recent study includes an exegetical and textual analysis of the wider passage, we will turn our efforts to the two key phrases, found in verses 10 and 13, of which our composite allusion is composed, especially with a view to the mechanics of its construction. We begin by examining the Greek of *Sirach* 33:10:

Table C: Sir. 33:10 (LXX)

Sir. 33:10 LXX	καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους, καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδάμ	And all <u>humans</u> are from the ground, and from the <u>earth</u> <u>Adam</u> was created
Gen. 2:7 LXX	καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς	And God formed <u>humanity</u> of the <u>dust</u> from the earth

Sirach 33:10 LXX possesses two lexemes in common with Genesis 2:7 LXX, ἄνθρωπος (human being) and γῆς (earth), neither of which is particularly distinctive. Since both *Sirach* and the LXX are translations of their respective Hebrew counterparts, the verbal variation between these two does not surprise us. Instead of πλάσσω (to form) we have κτίζω (to create), and instead of χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (dust from the earth) we simply have γῆς (earth) in 10b and what might be a synonym for dust ἔδαφος (ground) in 10a. Despite these variances, the allusion to the Genesis creation story is unmistakable on account of the naming of Adam and the uniqueness of that creation story. But if the translator had been aware of Genesis 2:7 LXX, he apparently felt no need to conform the allusion to its Greek reference there. We turn our attention now to the Hebrew:

⁶⁵ Translation of these verses is mine, unless otherwise noted. For a review of the relationship between the relevant portion of the extant Hebrew manuscript (MS E) and the Greek text, see Cirafesi, “‘Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay,’” 90–93.

Table D: Sir. 33:10 (MS E)

Sir. 33:10 MS E	<p style="text-align: center;">(.....)לי חמר ומן עפר נוצר אדם</p>	<p>(.....)li clay, and from <u>dust</u> <u>Adam</u> / <u>humanity</u> was <u>formed</u></p>
Gen. 2:7 MT	<p style="text-align: center;">וייצר יהוה אלהים את־הָאָדָם עֹפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה</p>	<p>And the LORD God <u>formed</u> <u>humanity</u> of the <u>dust</u> from the ground</p>

As we turn to the very fragmentary Hebrew of MS E, we observe increased verbal correspondence in the form of three shared lexemes: עפר (dust), אדם (Adam / humanity), and יצר (to form). The distinctive phrase in Genesis, וַיִּצֶר... אֶת־הָאָדָם עֹפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה (And he... formed Adam of dust from the ground / *adamah*), is almost matched by ומן עפר נוצר אדם (and from dust was formed humanity / Adam). Here we have a noticeably closer correspondence than its Greek counterpart. Especially important is the fact that the keywords עפר, אדם, and יצר (dust, Adam, and formed) are retained. Nevertheless, the syntax and word order have significantly changed—from active voice to passive—and the repetitive poetic wordplay in Genesis between “Adam” and “ground” is dropped. So, despite a somewhat closer kinship between the source and the receiving text, it appears that Ben Sira himself felt no need to adhere to the precise verbal form of his source.

What we have here in *Sirach* 33:10 seems to be another case of a thematically-based allusion. In this case, we do not have a number of other parallel texts that together with Genesis 2:7 form a tradition (as was the case, for example, for the מטע [planting] motif and its correlate texts above). The Genesis account of the creation of Adam is unique and has no other parallel. But for this same reason, it likely constituted a deep cultural tradition that would have been mnemonically registered and readily accessible to the ancient Jewish mind. In the same way, John 1:1, with the mention of a mere two words, ἐν ἀρχῇ, can allude to the entirety of the narrative of creation in Genesis 1. Here, the allusion is to the Genesis 2 tradition referring to the creation of Adam from the dust of the ground, emphasizing his basic kinship with the earth, and thus accentuating his mortality.

Now, the emphasis on the physical act of molding or forming, made explicit by the verb צַר in the Genesis passage, is critical to the primordial creation story. That is, the narrative speaks anthropomorphically of God fashioning the human being of the “dust from the ground”—the Hebrew envisions divine hands forming or building a human being from the “dust”—or better, the “topsoil”—of the earth. Although this manual nuance is not present in *Sirach* 33:10b LXX (the translator seemingly having opted instead for the “creation” connection with the word κτίζω), this anthropomorphic emphasis is retained in the second allusion in verse 13 with the imagery of “clay” and “potter”. Furthermore, the linkage with “hands” is also reiterated in that verse. We now turn our attention to examine that text, *Sirach* 33:13 LXX, and its suggested referents:

Table E: Sir. 33:13 (LXX)

Sir. 33:13 LXX	ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ	Like <u>clay of a potter</u> in his <u>hand</u>
Jer. 18:6 LXX	ἰδοὺ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν ταῖς χερσίν μου	Look, you are <u>like</u> the <u>clay of the potter</u> in my <u>hands</u>
Isa. 29:16 LXX	οὐχ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως λογισθήσεσθε	Will you not be considered <u>like</u> the <u>clay</u> of the <u>potter</u> ?
Isa. 45:9 LXX	ὡς πηλὸν κεραμέως... μὴ ἐρεῖ ὁ πηλὸς τῷ κεραμεῖ Τί ποιεῖς	<u>Like</u> <u>clay of a potter</u> ... Will the <u>clay</u> to the <u>potter</u> say, “What are you doing?”

Here we have only the Greek text from which to work, but the results are not insignificant. Three primary lexemes, πηλός, κεραμέως, and χειρὶ, are present in both the *Sirach* text and Jeremiah 18:6 LXX, and in the same order. A fourth lexeme introducing the clause, the comparative particle ὡς, is also common to them both. In fact, except for the setting in Jeremiah of direct speech by God and direct address to Israel, the phraseology is essentially the same: someone—Israel in Jeremiah and humanity in *Sirach*—is “like a potter’s clay in (God’s) hands.” We find the same imagery of Israel as clay and God as the potter at four other

locations in the Hebrew Bible, all from Isaiah: 29:16, 41:25, and 45:9.⁶⁶ Two of these are more similar, containing two of the three keywords, as well as the particle *ὡς*. Actually, this handful of prophetic instances are the only places in the Hebrew Bible where *κεραμεύς* “potter” is used of God, and also the only places where these two words, “clay” and “potter” are found together. Although each of these four instances nuance the specific metaphor of potter and clay differently, common to them all is the underlying theme of God’s sovereignty and complete authority over his special people Israel, whether to judge (in Isa. 29:16 and 41:25), to rebuke (Isa 45:9), or to restore (Jer. 18:4). Further, some have noted that, to the themes of human frailty and God’s sovereignty, this allusion conjoins the theme of *election*, since an important aspect implicit in the metaphor of potter and clay is the special relationship between the two: Israel is *his* special clay, being molded and formed by YHWH, and he is uniquely *their* potter—these metaphors being addressed to the house of *Israel* (Jer. 18:6).⁶⁷

Recalling our insights wrought through an ancient media sensitive approach in previous sections, we can see that the allusion is probably referencing not a single text but the well-known (at least to Ben Sira) *motif* of YHWH as potter and of humanity as clay. Of course, the motif itself owes its origins to its vivid expression as found in the prophetic texts, and the allusion is only possible if Ben Sira and his reader-hearers would have been sufficiently familiar with the texts so that the motif formed a living tradition in their minds. Nevertheless, it is the tradition more than the text that is being invoked. This living tradition brings at least two elements to mind: first, the complete sovereignty of God; second, Israel, in its frailty and subjection to him, as communicated by the metaphor of the potter-clay. It added to this, perhaps, the notion of the election of Israel. Even on its own, this reference to “the clay of a potter” may be thought of a composite allusion of the Type II variety, where a single marker is directing the reader-hearer to multiple textual referents.

⁶⁶ Included for comparison in Table E above are the two closest parallels, Isa. 45:9 and Isa. 29:16, also noted by Cirafesi.

⁶⁷ See further Cirafesi, “Taken from Dust, Formed from Clay,” 106–7, who emphasizes that this exegetical tendency to combine the themes of election and human fragility forms a pattern in the texts he examines; Brand, *Evil within and Without*, 108–9; and Goering, *Wisdom’s Root Revealed*, 50–55, 59–60.

II.4.4 Analysis of the Composite Allusion in Ben Sira 33:10–13

We begin this analysis by recognizing the outer boundary of this composite allusion: here we can clearly identify the coherent poem unified by the theme of “opposites” (Sir. 33:7–15). Within this poetic unit, commentators have been correct to identify these two allusions, to Genesis 2:7 on the one hand, and to the Type II composite allusion represented by Jeremiah 18:4–6 (along with its prophetic analogues) on the other. But how do the two function together as a composite whole? It is best to speak of the composite allusion here as being of the Type III variety, composed of a mixture of a simple allusion and a Type II composite allusion. Furthermore, it is clear that the two allusive components reinforce one another. Mnemonically speaking, one can even be thought to trigger the other. The Genesis allusion to the *formation of Adam from the soil of the earth* is analogous to the *molding of Israel from clay*; it is not difficult to move conceptually from the first to the second. But in so doing, a dimension is added to the metaphor: God’s sovereignty and the creature’s subjection. The image of a piece of clay being molded is much more passive than a living human being who is created. Thus, there is an intensification of the motif as we move from the first to the second. This seems to be the primary exegetical thrust of *Sirach* 33:7–15.

In the context of the literary unit (33:7–15), the Genesis allusion in 33:10 first identifies humanity with the createdness of all things, including seasons and days, some of which are marked off from others as special (vv. 7–9). This assertion then sets up the question why some of *humanity* are “blessed and exalted... hallowed and brought near to himself” (v.12). The answer to this question, according to Ben Sira, at least in this poem, is that it is by God’s sovereign wisdom, that is, ἐν γνώσει κυρίου (by the Lord’s knowledge⁶⁸) in verse 8, and again, in verse 11 ἐξ ἀπῶν εὐλόγησεν (in fullness of knowledge⁶⁹). It is in this fashion, then, that the allusion to Jeremiah 18:4–6 (and the interlinked texts in Isaiah), with its correlate emphasis on YHWH’s sovereign authority over Israel, as the potter over his clay, fits hand-in-glove. Just as the prophets spoke: God is the potter, and human beings are the clay. He is the

⁶⁸ NET translation.

⁶⁹ NET translation.

one who forms and fashions according to his wisdom; humanity is but clay in his hands, recipients of his actions and choices.

It was earlier noted that there is a possible secondary nuance in this composite allusion. Beyond God's sovereign freedom and choice as an answer to the question of theodicy, there is also, secondly, the emphasis on God's *election* of those whom *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤγγισεν* (he brings near to himself) (v.12), and whom he has *ἡγίασεν* (hallowed) (v.12). The image of potter and clay evokes not only a passive image of one being shaped by its maker, but also an intimate and special relationship between the creator and his creature. Thus, in this literary unit, Ben Sira has woven these two allusions together in a complementary way. The allusion to the Genesis story of the creation of Adam inevitably reminds the reader-hearer of humanity's essential mortality, its kinship to the earth, and the common origin of all humanity "from dust." The composite allusion to the prophetic tradition of the "potter's clay," on the other hand, continues to echo the emphasis on human mortality, but also adds to it two further dimensions: God's absolute sovereignty and the election of Israel, both of which are important themes in this poem.

Regarding the mechanics of the composite allusion, we note especially the presence of keywords or catchwords in both of its component parts. In the first allusion, we saw the distinctive keywords *עפר*, *אדם* and *יצר*, and, in the second allusion, we saw *πηλὸς*, *κεραμέως*, and *χειρὶ*. In the Hebrew text, there is a somewhat closer correlation between the two (one additional keyword) than in the Greek translation, but there, too, significant variation is not absent. In v.10, the fluidity of the arrangement of the keywords is somewhat greater, but the uniqueness of the source—the creation story—constrains the possibilities of referentiality. In the second case, there is greater verbal correspondence (at least in the available Greek versions) between the source (i.e. the Jeremiah text) and the receiving texts, but even here, a definite article is added, a singular is made into a plural, and the grammatical perspective changes from second to third person. Thus, syntactical, morphological, and even lexical variation were evident in all cases. The result is that that which is alluded to seems to be broader than a single text, since the three closest parallels are about as similar to each other as

the closest parallel is to our alluding text. In other words, it makes little difference in our final interpretation *which* prophetic text we choose as our marked text; all of them share a common basis (sovereignty and election) which seems to be the key hermeneutical factors in the receiving text.

These kinds of phenomena have been encountered a number of times in the present chapter of this thesis and the dynamic of thematically-based allusions has now become familiar. *Sirach* 33:10, 13 seems to be another composite allusion that fits into this classification. In comparison to the *Damascus Document* and the *Hodayot* text, the *Sirach* text represents perhaps a mediating position. Lexematic features are present to a higher degree than in 1QH^a 16:5–12a, but not as prominently as in CD 1:1–3. Common scriptural themes, on the other hand, are present in all three composite allusions.

II.4.5 Review of Gerald T. Sheppard’s Study on Ben Sira and Baruch

It is instructive at this point to briefly review a work examining the use of scripture in Ben Sira from a broader perspective. In his monograph on the development of Wisdom literature, Sheppard examines three major passages, two from Ben Sira, and one from Baruch. What is most relevant and helpful for this study are some of his summary comments regarding the techniques of scriptural re-use that he finds in the course of his investigations.⁷⁰ Regarding single allusions, Sheppard observes two phenomena (among others) that we have already noted in our own study. First, he notes the usage of keywords or “*Stichworte*”—that is, technical, often theologically-laden, terms—referring to specific texts or traditions. He gives the examples of a “pillar of cloud” (*Sir.* 24:4b) recalling the wilderness traditions, and “rest” and “inheritance” (24:7) as pointing to their respective Deuteronomic traditions.⁷¹ He also observes the usage of metaphors that “conform stylistically” to the same kind of metaphors already used in Scripture, like the various plants and trees mentioned in the prophets (*Sir.* 24:13–14, 16–17), the naming of Edenic rivers (*Sir.* 24:25–29), and Wisdom “taking root”

⁷⁰ Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 100–109.

⁷¹ Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 101.

(*Sir.* 24:12). Not insignificantly, these very same metaphors and language were seen to be at work in a similar fashion in our examination of 1QH^a 16:5–12a.

Even more interesting for this study, however, are his comments about how the wisdom writers combined allusions and citations of Scripture with other portions of Scripture.⁷² Thus, different traditions and texts are often “fused together” by either a) “partial citation or paraphrase,” b) “key words” or c) “a free combination of paraphrase, allusion and words”—evidently, some combination of both of the above. Sheppard supplies *Sirach* 24:3b as an example of the first kind, fusing Genesis 1:2 and Genesis 2:4 into a single statement; so too, *Sirach* 16:24–30. For the usage of keywords, he draws attention to *Sirach* 24:4b and the phrase “my throne was in the pillar of cloud,” which combines theophanic language associated with the Temple in prophetic visions with the wilderness traditions, recounted in the narratives and reiterated in, e.g., the Psalms. This technique of “fusing” together various texts or traditions together is a direct analogy with the composite allusion we examined above in detail in *Sirach* 33:10, 13. In addition to the fusion of allusions or traditions, Sheppard also notes eight other techniques that the wisdom writers employed. Among them, most importantly for us, is the use of a keyword or phrase to recall a distinct biblical context or tradition, and at the same time, elaborating that context with other scriptural traditions or sources.⁷³ Thus, Sheppard gives the example of *Sirach* 17:7b where the phrase “good and evil” is a link to the Genesis context, but with Ben Sira transforming the theme in the creation narrative of the usurpation of divine knowledge into an “honorable feature of the human capacity for investigation (of) the cosmic orders.”⁷⁴ Overall, I am convinced by his claim that the manner in which Ben Sira wields Scripture is sophisticated. This sophistication includes, at the least, an employment of what we have identified as “composite allusions.” His work strongly corroborates what has been identified in *Sirach* 33:7–15, providing additional possibilities for more detailed study of composite allusions in wisdom literature. If the study were expanded to

⁷² Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 102–3.

⁷³ Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 104–8.

⁷⁴ Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 107.

include *Sirach* 16 and *Sirach* 24—according to our own definitions and methods rather than Sheppard’s—it seems highly probable that additional examples of composite allusions would be found.

II.5.1 Catchword Allusions in the Septuagint

Having examined composite allusions across varying forms of literature in late Second Temple Judaism—the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, and Ben Sira—we now examine a closely related phenomenon in another kind of intertestamental literature: the Septuagint translation(s) of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁷⁵ In the LXX, what we are examining in large part are not composite allusions *per se*, where one receiving text is referencing two or more antecedent source texts or traditions (although our last example below does illustrate this technique as well), but rather the phenomenon of catchword associations or catchword allusions between the translator’s base text and one or more texts that are apparently being associated with that base text in his translation. Thus, the phenomenon reveals an identical cognitive process and analogous textual process whereby the scribe or translator “keys” the base text in Hebrew to a corresponding texts(s) often for exegetical purposes, leaving behind evidence of these processes in his final literary product, in this case, the Greek translation of the Hebrew text. A detailed examination of three instances of such evidence will illustrate this process and make apparent its relevance to our own project. The first two have been subjected to some degree of analysis in earlier scholarship, but here I examine the mechanics of these translations in

⁷⁵ For a recent **introduction** to the key issues in scholarly work on the Septuagint, along with a collection of essays by various authors on current issues for each book in the LXX, see James K. Aitken (ed.), *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015). Each chapter includes a helpful summary of the various Greek editions and a few modern translations in several languages; also provided at the end of each chapter is a short bibliography. See also Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2000). See also Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) which prefaces each of the books with a brief introduction. For a helpful monograph on the specialized interaction between translation studies and Septuagint studies, see Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (Leuven; Dudley, Mass.: Peters, 2007). On translation technique in the ancient world, see further Sebastian Brock, “Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20, no. 1 (2004): 69–87. For intertextuality in the Septuagint, see Johann Cook, “Intertextuality in the Septuagint,” in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Latagan*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach, Johan C. Thom, and Jeremy Punt, NovTSup 24 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 119–134.

greater detail; the third example has not previously been discussed with regard to its composite features and so is a wholly fresh contribution to research.

II.5.2 The Example of Exodus 15:3 LXX

Table F: Exod. 15:3

	Eng.	MT	LXX	Eng.
Exod. 15:3	YHWH is a man of <u>war</u> , YHWH is his name	יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ	Κύριος <u>συντρίβων πολέμους</u> , κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ	The Lord is <u>one who shatters wars</u> , the Lord is his name.
Ps. 76 (75): 4	There he <u>shattered</u> the flames of the <u>bow</u> , the shield and <u>sword</u> and <u>war</u>	שָׁמָּה שִׁבַּר רֶשֶׁפִי קִשְׁתֵּי מִגֶּן וְחַרְבֵי וּמִלְחָמָה	ἐκεῖ <u>συνέτριψεν</u> τὰ κράτη τῶν τόξων, ὄπλον καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ πόλεμον	There <u>he shattered</u> the mighty things of the <u>bow</u> , weapon and <u>sword</u> and <u>war</u> .
Hos 2:20b (18b)	And <u>bow</u> and <u>sword</u> and <u>war</u> I will <u>shatter</u> from the land	וְקִשְׁתֵּי וְחַרְבֵי וּמִלְחָמָה אֲשַׁבֵּר מִזֶּה-הָאָרֶץ	καὶ τόξον καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ πόλεμον <u>συντρίψω</u> ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατοικιῶ σε ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι	And <u>bow</u> and <u>sword</u> and <u>war</u> I will <u>shatter</u> from the land
Ps. 46 (45):10	He makes <u>wars</u> cease to the end of the earth; he <u>shatters</u> the <u>bow</u> and cuts off the spear; he burns the chariots with fire.	מִשְׁבִּית מִלְחָמוֹת עַד-קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ קִשְׁתֵּי יִשְׁבַּר וְקִצֵּץ חֲנִית עֲגָלוֹת יִשְׂרָף בָּאֵשׁ:	ἀνταναιρῶν <u>πολέμους</u> μέχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς τόξον <u>συντρίψει</u> καὶ συγκλάσει ὄπλον καὶ θυρεοὺς κατακαύσει ἐν πυρί.	canceling <u>wars</u> to the ends of the earth; he will <u>shatter bow</u> and break armor, and he will burn shields with fire.

Various scholars have taken note of the peculiar translation in Exodus 15:3 LXX, although not specifically from the angle of studying composite allusions.⁷⁶ From the anthropomorphic “YHWH is a man of war” the translator produces “the LORD is one who abolishes / shatters

⁷⁶ Most recently, see Catrin Williams’ essay, “John, Judaism, and ‘Searching the Scriptures,’” in *John and Judaism: A Contested Relationship in Context*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and P. N. Anderson, SBLRBS 87 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 93–94, in the context of composite citations. For a review of the literature on the LXX translation of Exod. 15:3, see Jean Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Isaïe* VTSup 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 60–61; and David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56-66* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 89 n.9.

wars.” J. Koenig comments in this respect that the Greek translation of the MT actually *inverts* the original meaning in its native context, in a manner “caractérisé par *la disparition complète d’un rapport logique entre le texte emprunteur et le contexte du passage emprunté.*”⁷⁷ How is such a rendering possible? Koenig’s answer is that it is by means of a purely verbal (as opposed to “logical”) association between three texts: Exodus 15:3, Psalm 76:4, and Hosea 2:20. In light of our understanding of the use of catchwords, however, the “logic” of the relationship among the texts becomes readily discernible, through a two-step exegetical process.

First, an organic association is made between Psalm 76:4 MT and Hosea 2:20 MT, which together share four keywords: שבר (to shatter), קֶשֶׁת (bow), חֶרֶב (sword), and מְלָחָמָה (war). These two verses are the only places in the Hebrew Bible where this particular combination of the four lexemes is found together. Additionally, the similar text at Psalm 46:10, sharing three of the four lexemes (lacking only the word חֶרֶב (sword), conveys the identical theme of YHWH making wars cease. It is likely that these two or three texts became linked together, whether explicitly as an exegetical tradition or implicitly in the translator’s memory: “YHWH is the one who ‘shatters’ war.” The second step, then, becomes a simple superimposition of this tradition onto Exodus 15:3, replacing “man of war” with “abolisher of war.” This last step is especially facilitated through the common characteristics shared by Psalm 76 and Exodus 15: both are hymns of salvation; they share a concern with YHWH’s name; they contain references to horse and chariot (Exod. 15:1; Ps. 76:7); and both of them contain the catchword מְלָחָמָה (war). The result of the replacement at Exodus 15:3 is a re-interpretation of that text in a fashion that presumably better suited the translator’s Hellenistic context.⁷⁸ An alternative to this explanation would be to posit that a Greek scribe has unwittingly replaced the word ἀνθρώπου with συντριβών; but, no such LXX manuscripts attest

⁷⁷ Jean Koenig, *L’Herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Isaïe*, (“characterized by the complete disappearance of a logical relationship between the borrowing text and the borrowed text,” my translation; emphasis original), 59.

⁷⁸ Koenig speaks of the transformation of the concept of a “god of war” to a “god of peace,” *L’Herméneutique analogique*, 62–63; Baer speaks of the translator as avoiding the anthropomorphism of God, see Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 92.

this. And even in such a scenario of a word substitution, since the exchange is not a matter simply of the deletion or insertion of a single letter, it would still seem to necessitate that there be some close, prior, association between these two phrases, and therefore a *reason* for that association. The associations created by the catchwords מְלַחֲמָה (war), and secondly, שֶׁבַר (to shatter), קֶשֶׁת (bow), and חֶרֶב (sword) remain the best explanation.

This example displays clearly the similarity between the composite allusions we have thus far examined and the use of catchword allusions in the LXX. That is, through catchword association and common themes or motifs, two or more source passages are ‘keyed’ together as though to form an exegetical-theological map whereby one passage or text is thought to explicate or recapitulate or parallel another passage or text. Because of this exegetical tradition within the community, or, because of the textual-mnemonic associations in the mind of the author (probably, both), the production of a third text by that author draws on both of these sources as background for the new, receiving text. Here the critical bridge between the receiving text and the source texts is created by the single catchword, מְלַחֲמָה (war). Although we may not necessarily classify this example as a composite allusion *per se*, since it is, after all, a translation and not an original literary work, the mechanics at work here are precisely the same as for composite allusions and just as illuminative for our own study.

II.5.3 The Example of Psalm 71:17 LXX

Table G: Ps. 71:17

	Eng.	MT	LXX	Eng.
Ps. 72 (71):17	May his name (endure) forever; before the sun may it increase, his name, <u>and may they be blessed in him, all the nations</u> , may they call him blessed	יְהִי שְׁמוֹ לְעוֹלָם לְפָנֵי־שֶׁמֶשׁ יִגִּד שְׁמוֹ <u>וַיְתַבְּרֻהוּ בּוֹ כָּל־גּוֹיִם</u> יִאֲשֻׁרוּהוּ:	ἔστω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, <u>καὶ</u> <u>εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν</u> <u>αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ</u> <u>τῆς γῆς</u> , πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν	May his name (endure) forever; before the sun may his name increase, <u>and may they all be blessed in him all the tribes of the earth</u> , all the nations will bless him.
Gen. 12:3	And I will bless those who bless you, and those who disdain you I will curse; and <u>in you will be blessed all the tribes of the earth</u> .	וְאַבְרָהָהּ מְבָרְכֶיךָ וּמְקַלְלֶיךָ אֶאְרָר וְנִבְרָכוּ בְּךָ כָּל־מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאָדָמָה	Καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε καταράσομαι, <u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν</u> <u>σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ</u> <u>τῆς γῆς</u>	And I will bless those who bless you, and those who curse you I will curse, <u>and in you will be blessed all the tribes of the earth</u> .
Gen. 28:14	<u>And in you will be blessed all the tribes of the earth</u> , and in your descendants	וְנִבְרָכוּ בְּךָ כָּל־מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאָדָמָה וּבְיִרְעָךָ	<u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν</u> <u>σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ</u> <u>τῆς γῆς</u> καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου	<u>And in you will be blessed all the tribes of the earth</u> , and in your descendants.

In this royal psalm the author describes the reign of Israel’s king (Ps. 71:17 LXX): he possesses God’s justice and righteousness, ruling the people in defense of the poor and needy, ruling with prosperity, dominion, and longevity, and foreign nations and kings will serve and honor him.⁷⁹ The psalmist concludes these honorific descriptions with verse 17 which is

⁷⁹ See also Jan Joosten, “The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms,” in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 153, who provides this text as one of three examples of “intertextual exegesis” in the LXX.

composed of two bicola, the first of which speaks to the longevity of the king's name and reputation, and the second of which contains a blessing for all the nations in or through him.

It is in this second bicolon of verse 17 that the LXX translator adds a phrase of five words not present in the Hebrew, *πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* (all the tribes of the earth), which, given the usually literal style of translation of the Psalms, is rather remarkable. This, of course, is no obscure phrase, and, coupled with the preceding *καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ* (and in him will be blessed) is probably a reference to the Abrahamic covenant in which YHWH promises to bless “all the tribes / nations of the earth” in or through Israel's greatest patriarch. This is confirmed by the fact that the phrase is a verbatim replication of the primary call of Abraham (Gen. 12:3) and is found again in the reiteration of that covenant in the theophany to Jacob at 28:14. Additionally, these two verses are, not insignificantly, the only places where the four key lexemes, “bless,” “all,” “tribes,” and “earth,” (in both Greek and Hebrew) are found together in the same phrase. The allusion to the Abrahamic covenant, then, is unmistakable. Evidently the psalmist saw fit in this psalm honoring an ideal king of Israel to read the Abrahamic blessing into the final lines of the royal blessing, tying the tradition of Israel's king to the Abrahamic tradition. It is not difficult to conceive how such a linkage occurred, since Psalm 72:17 MT already contains the same motif of blessing the nations. From here it is a small step to identify the king of Israel as Abraham's seed *par excellence* and therefore to apply the Abrahamic promises to this text.

Once again, what is crucial is that these two texts—Psalm 72(71):17 and Genesis 12:3 (and 28:14)—are linked together by the theme of the blessing of nations, evidently activated mnemonically in the mind of the translator (though possibly also visually through textual comparison) through the catchphrase “in him will be blessed.” The final result in Psalm 71:17 LXX is a linkage that not only forms a composite of two texts but of two separate biblical traditions, namely, the Abrahamic covenant and that of Israel's ideal king. Here, we have a mechanism not unlike the fusion of two distinct traditions in the *Damascus Document* (there,

for example, it was the Levitical holiness and Deuteronomistic legal traditions in combination together) through the bridge of a clearly identifiable replication of several words.⁸⁰

If we compare these exegetical moves with those we witnessed in the three previous examples, we might classify the LXX connections between the texts as much closer in form to Type I composite allusions rather than Type II allusions. That is, the associations between the texts are based much more on the lexemes—and multiple ones at that—rather than on the motifs that are underpinned by these lexemes. When one considers the fact that the LXX is a *translation* rather than an original literary creation *de novo*, this makes perfect sense. The level of verbal congruity would need to be significant for the introduction of a change to the text or an addition to the text to be warranted. One would not expect that the presence of common scriptural motifs alone among a network of texts—without significant textual congruity—to be sufficient to add significantly to or revise the original document being translated. Furthermore, the translation of a text necessitates that the translator is working directly with texts and manuscripts, and *not* primarily through memory in order to ensure accuracy. The LXX is a translation, after all, not merely a summary or commentary on the Hebrew Bible. Thus, the element of orality would naturally make a significantly smaller contribution here than in a context where the main task is not translating a work from one language to another. Nevertheless, in the following example adduced, what seems to be going on is much closer to our Type II composite allusions than the first two examples.

⁸⁰ For additional catchword links in the LXX, see Myrto Theocharous, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets*, LHOTS 570; *The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 7* (New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 107–48.

II.5.4 A Composite Allusion in Isaiah 3:9 LXX⁸¹

I now examine one further passage in the Septuagint, Isaiah 3:9, which presents an intriguing translation that is best understood, I argue, as a composite allusion evoking two well-known motifs in Israel’s tradition: the exile and the destruction of Sodom (Gen. 19).

Table H: Isa. 3:9

Isa. 3:9 MT (Eng.)	Isa 3:9 MT	Isa. 3:9 LXX	Isa. 3:9 LXX (Eng.)
The <u>look</u> on their faces (idiomatic = “their show of favoritism”) testified against them, and they declared their sins, like Sodom, they did not conceal (it). Woe to their souls, for they do to themselves evil.	הַפְּרַת פְּנֵיהֶם עֲנָתָהּ בָּם לֹא כִחְדוֹ אוֹי לְנַפְשָׁם כִּי־גָמְלוּ לָהֶם רָעָה	καὶ ἡ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν ἀντέστη αὐτοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν ὡς Σοδομων ἀνήγγειλαν καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν. οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, διότι βεβούλευνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ’ ἑαυτῶν.	And the <u>shame</u> of their faces opposed them; they announced their sin as Sodom, and made (it) apparent; Woe to their souls; for they have planned evil plans against themselves.

The first point of interest in this verse is its first word: הַפְּרַת. The root is נכר, which, here apparently a nominal derivative of the hiphil stem, probably means “look” (or, possibly,

⁸¹ On the translation technique of Isaiah, see, more recently, the monographs by Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (Leuven; Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2007); Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, JSJSup 124 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008); and Mirjam Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, SBLSCS 61 (Atlanta, Geor.: SBL Press, 2014). See also the older study by Jean Koenig, *L’Herméneutique analogique*, and, finally, the classic studies by Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934) and Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1948). For an up-to-date bibliography on LXX Isaiah in general, see Abi T. Ngunga and Joachim Schaper, “Isaiah,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 465–68. Cf. also Eberhard Bons, “Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter,” in *Et Sapienter et Eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 69–79. On messianism in LXX Isaiah, as studied via the phenomena of intertextuality, see Abi T. Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah: An Intertextual Analysis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012). See also Joachim Schaper, “Messianism in the Septuagint of Isaiah and Messianic Intertextuality in the Greek Bible,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. Michael A. Knibb, BETL 195 (Journées bibliques de Louvain, Leuven; Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2006), 371–80; De Sousa, *Eschatology and Messianism in Lxx Isaiah 1-12*, LHBOTS 516 (London: T&T Clark, 2010); and Claude E. Cox, “Schaper’s Eschatology meets Kraus’s Theology of the Psalms,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert and Albert Pietersma (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). I also owe a word of thanks to Dietrich Buchner who reviewed a prior version of this section and offered several astute observations on it from his expertise in LXX scholarship.

“disguise,” one of its more uncommon meanings). Its use in this phrase with פְּנֵיהֶם (their faces) in the Hebrew is likely to be idiomatic, resulting in the rough equivalent of “showing favoritism / bias” (see Deut. 1:17; 16:19; Job 34:19; Prov. 24:23, Prov. 28:21⁸²). However, this particular formation with the preformative-ה in the hiphil stem is rare in the MT; it is, in fact, a *hapax legomenon*.

Curiously, the LXX translator gives here ἡ αἰσχύνη (shame) for הַכְּרַת. That the translator deviates from his source is not surprising given its obscurity, but why use ἡ αἰσχύνη as a substitution? There are three possibilities: either the translator did not know the meaning of the word הַכְּרַת (most probable), or, was unaware of the idiom (somewhat less probable), or else, he simply chose to substitute the phrase with his own interpolation of it (least probable). In any case, the result is an added interpretive dimension that exposes his understanding of the context of this verse. That is, he recognizes that in Isaiah 3, YHWH is judging Jerusalem and Judah (vv. 1, 8) because of their sinful behaviour. Thus, he is interpolating the concept of αἰσχύνη (shame) into the passage on account of their sin. Though αἰσχύνη is not explicitly mentioned in the source text, it is—in the mind of the translator(s)—certainly implicit, and through his translation, is now made explicit.

This claim is strengthened when we look across the translator’s other instances of translating αἰσχύνη in LXX Isaiah. At least three additional times, there is a tendency to interpret “into” the Hebrew text a notion of shame, making what is implicit explicit. Thus, at 47:3, αἰσχύνη is used for עֲרוּתָם (nakedness); and at 20:4 it is used for תֶּשֶׁ (buttocks). At 30:6, the word is used as part of a significant plus which repeats a phrase in the previous verse, 30:5, repeating and emphasizing the concept of shame.⁸³

But there is more. Upon closer examination, it seems the translator has here chosen αἰσχύνη for an additional reason. Though the concept of shame and the language of αἰσχύνη

⁸² Cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27, Vol. 1: Commentary on Isaiah 1–5*, ed. G. I. Davies and G. N. Stanton, International Critical Commentary (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 237; and Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 24:64.

⁸³ As Troxel notes, the notion of shame is “close to hand” for the translator, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 207.

are relatively common in the LXX (occurring some 79 times), its usage in the phrase ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῦ προσώπου (the shame of face) in the LXX occurs only a handful of times outside of this text: 2 Chronicles 32:21, Ezra 9:7, Psalm 44:16, Jeremiah 7:18, Ezekiel 7:18, and Daniel 9:7–8. In fact, it is a Hebraism—the Greek phrase being reflective of the Hebrew idiom בְּפָנִים בְּשֹׁט (in all instances). Most importantly, its usage within each of these contexts takes on a very specific “shade” of shame: almost all of these contexts (five out of six), though differing in their specifics, describe the condition of Israel in its breach of covenant with its covenant-partner, YHWH, and the inevitable, resulting consequence of its disobedience—exile. Moreover, the sixth passage—2 Chronicles 32:21—though differing in its application, is still made in the context of covenant-keeping: it describes the state of the king of Assyria in *his* defeated state as Hezekiah, faithful in covenant, prays for YHWH’s help in Israel’s time of need. Thus, language of the “shame of face” is used in these scriptural texts largely in relation to the motif of the failure of Israel to keep YHWH’s covenant.

Unaware that הַכָּרָה in its original setting had to do with bias, favoritism, and injustice, probably relating to how the people were treating the poor (e.g., 3:14–15), the translator expounded the passage and discovered instead a theme of covenant failure, judgment and, ultimately, exile (cf. 3:1, 8, 9, 18). The immediate context of the word פָּנִים, together with the theme of Israel’s egregious breach of covenant in Isaiah 3, likely triggered in the mind of the translator the phrase בְּפָנִים בְּשֹׁט (shame of face), along with its half a dozen texts in relation to Israel’s covenantal failure. This collective memory of Israel thus imposed itself upon the consciousness of the translator as he sought to make sense of this phrase. Or, articulated from the translator’s perspective, through the employment of this phrase, the translator has brought to bear a half-dozen texts that are all thematically linked and applied them exegetically to the text at hand. It is, then, a compact, three-word composite allusion that evokes the motif of Israel’s covenant failure. And with its introduction into the LXX, the translator has brought this verse and this passage into the same orbit as the other texts which speak of covenant failure, tapping into the infamous tradition of YHWH’s rejection of sinful Israel. The impact of this phrase upon the audience, on recollection of the fundamental covenant relationship of

Israel to YHWH, is a reinforcement of the weight of Israel's sin and the justification of YHWH's righteous judgment.

Of course, the possibility remains that the translator was unaware of these other occurrences of בַּשָּׁמַיִם פְּנִימִים and its Greek equivalent ἀίσχύνῃ τοῦ προσώπου, and that he applied the word without further consideration beyond this Isaianic verse. It is just possible that the use of ἀίσχύνῃ here only coincidentally finds itself next to τοῦ προσώπου to form such a theologically laden phrase and that any thematic and exegetical resonances are purely serendipitous. But it seems much more likely that the thematic and linguistic alignments are not accidental, and that the translator was leveraging a scriptural tradition for his own exegetical purposes. Observations about the intricate intratextuality of LXX Isaiah generally corroborate this argument.⁸⁴ What we seem to have on display here are the type of exegetical and compositional maneuvers that are exactly like our Type II composite allusions above.

The next point of interest lies in the very next colon of this verse, where we find another allusion whose conspicuousness almost hides it from view: the reference to Sodom (Σόδομα, סֹדֹם). The presence of the allusion here requires no extrinsic verification as the place name and the fame of the story of Sodom make it self-evident. We do note, however, that Isaiah's interest in the story of Sodom is somewhat particular. He is not interested in the whole story of Sodom in all its details, for in all four cases in which he references Sodom (Isa. 1:9, 10; 3:9; 13:19) the emphasis seems to be on its destruction: it is complete and devastating. Here at 3:9, its unabashed sinfulness is also not far from view, especially with the mention of the "declaration/announcement" of its sin. But its usage in Isaiah seems primarily to be to highlight the fact and certainty of destruction. This theme of destruction dovetails well with the motif of Israel's exile just described. The reference to Sodom in its boastful sinfulness and certain destruction may even have influenced the translator here in the direction of a grim seriousness and in his selection of the word "shame." In any case, the two allusions work in tandem to reinforce and amplify the same message, that God's judgment for Israel is

⁸⁴ See, e.g., Van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, 355.

immanent and it will be of the gravest form. The allusion here, then, is composite on two levels, and across two different languages; a Type III composite allusion in my classification. There is, first, the evidence left by the translator in which his employment of the phrase “shame of face” alludes to the motif of the failure of covenant and the judgment of exile—this is found in the Greek text. Then there is the allusion to the Sodom story in all its destruction; this allusion is original to the Hebrew, and now carries over into the Greek. Both of them are extremely compact: three words in the first case, and a single word in the second. Both operate on the level of the invocation of a larger motif: judgment and exile in the one case, and complete destruction, in the other.

II.6.0 Concluding Synthesis: A Taxonomy of Composite Features

The sources that we have studied have offered up several robust examples of composite features in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. It has been our contention, furthermore, that in the works we have studied, such examples were not anomalous but rather representative of a certain mode of referencing. Although this investigation of Jewish literature in the Second Temple period has been but a probe, clear patterns have emerged that will decisively inform the rest of this thesis. I set forth here a “taxonomy of composite allusions,” organizing and arranging our findings more systematically so that a clearer understanding of how the various modes of referencing we have seen relate to each other, and potentially to future investigations. There are two main axes upon which we can map relative levels of intensity: textual congruity and thematic coherence. For an allusion to be activated, some level of thematic coherence must always be present. This is the *sine qua non* for allusive referentiality. Textual congruity, on the other hand, though often observed, and despite it being the easier of the two to measure, may or may not be present. Especially with regard to Type II composite allusions, it is thematic coherence rather than textual congruity that becomes all important.

Axis 1: Textual Congruity

One of the more objective measurements that we can apply to the study of allusions is textual conformity. How closely does a possible allusion conform to its supposed source text? In linguistic terms, how closely do the marker (alluding) sign and the marked (alluded-to) sign resemble each other? The highest level of congruity occurs when a phrase of several words or more is verbally replicated. Thus, we saw in CD 1:2 a near textual replication of parts of Jeremiah 25:31: וּמִשְׁפָּט: כָּל בָּשָׂר עִם לֹא עֵם כִּי רִיב לֹא (for a contention he has with all flesh, and justice...) and כִּי רִיב לַיהוָה בְּגוֹיִם נִשְׁפָּט הוּא לְכָל-בָּשָׂר (for a contention YHWH has on the nations, he will execute justice with all flesh). It is highly improbable that such constructions resemble each other merely by chance. Here, there are five morphologically identical lexemes, in order, though not in unbroken sequence in the same sentence. There is, in addition to this, a sixth additional lexeme, מִשְׁפָּט, that is common to both sentences but is found out of order and in different grammatical construction. The linguistic congruity of the allusion is unmistakable.

Such allusions can and do interact with other allusions to form composite allusions. Thus, we have seen how the emphasis to holiness in Leviticus 26:40 complements the allusive picture of punishment in Jeremiah 25:31 as well as the allusion to unfaithfulness in Numbers 14:23. These are perhaps the simplest kind of composite allusions to recognize and to interpret. From the *Hodayot*, the only text that unequivocally falls into this category is the phrase at 16:6: “juniper and pine with box together for your glory,” an allusion to Isaiah 41, 60. The other *Hodayot* texts fall into the thematic classifications below.

One of our examinations of the LXX catchwords also falls into this category of both textual congruence and thematic coherence. Thus, the translator of Exodus 15:3 groups together Psalm 76:4, Hosea 2:20 and Psalm 46 on account of the keywords שָׁבַר, מְלָחְמָה, קָשָׁת, חֶרֶב and their association with war. So close is their association that the texts were thought to have been mutually interpretive, such that the LXX translator could exchange one word from one of the associated texts with another, even if that meant the meaning of his translation was inverted.

In this axis, as the number of words in the allusion decreases so does our confidence in asserting the presence of a connection based on linguistic ties. An important consideration is not only the presence of the same lexeme, but also their morphological similarities. So, for example, at CD 1:1 the phrase שָׁמַעַן אֵלַי יְדַע צְדָקָה quite clearly alludes to שָׁמַעַן אֵלַי יְדַע צְדָקָה of Isaiah 51:7. Though consisting of only three lexemes, their lexemes are in identical morphological and grammatical construction (as well as being in the same order). Other texts that fit into this category include those in CD 1:1–3 connected by the theme of God “hiding his face” from Israel on account of their sin (cf. Deut. 31:16; Jer. 1:16). The phrase “clay of a potter in his hand” from *Sirach* 33:13 is an allusion of this type as well, containing a catchphrase of two words that points to a specific tradition in Jeremiah and Isaiah. But even a single morphological unit may serve as a marker text, especially if it is an uncommon word and its morphological construction is identical with the marked text, or, if it is comprised of a key aspect of the biblical tradition, that is, a keyword or catchword. One such example that belongs to this category is *Sirach* 33:10, where the singular creation story is evoked through the naming of Adam; so too, with Isaiah 3:9 and the mention of Sodom.

If either an alluding text or an alluded-to text contains multiple attestations of the marker or marked, this increases the probability of an allusion. Thus, since the text Isaiah 51:1, 7 has two occurrences of the same marked text, it is highly likely that it is this specific text being alluded to. So, too, the repeated references to Deuteronomy 28 and 30 in the opening lines of CD. Similarly, once an allusion has been established, the likelihood that it is referred to again in the same work is increased. Thus there is a lower threshold for recognizing the second, third, etc., occurrences of an allusion to the same text or tradition.

Axis 2: Thematic Coherence

As linguistic congruity diminishes, we become increasingly dependent on the prominence of thematic coherence within the texts in order to identify the allusion. This is the case especially for allusions in which a single word, a catchword, is employed. Typically, a catchword contains in itself a concept that links up to a vital aspect of a larger tradition. Thus, for

example, with the word מעל (unfaithfulness) the whole tradition of the unfaithfulness and failure of Israel can be evoked, especially given the presence of other keywords, such as, for example, עזב (to forsake). In fact, keywords often function best when paired with other keywords. On its own, the catchword may not be able to evoke the appropriate motif or theme, but coupled with a second related concept, the connection becomes clear. Thus, in CD 1:1, the catchphrase מעשי אל (works of God), is on its own fairly inert and too polyvalent to have allusive power. However, when coupled with the verb בינ (know, consider) the connection to the tradition where the righteous discern and understand God's salvific works becomes much clearer, especially when placed next to the call for the righteous to respond earlier in CD 1:1. It is to be noted that the consequent result of this pairing for both of these examples is, by definition, a composite allusion.

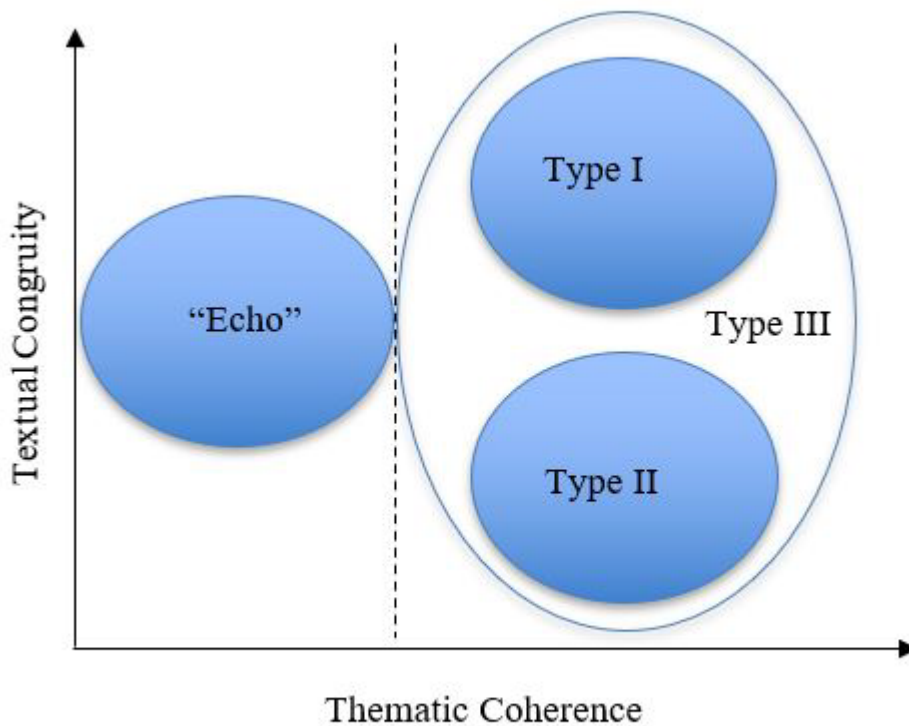
One of our examples from the LXX falls into this category. In Psalm 71:17 LXX, the translator supplemented his translations with an additional interpretive phrase because of the apparent association of Psalm 72 with Genesis 12:3 and Genesis 28:14 on account of the catchword ברכ (to bless) and the common theme of the blessing of the nations. Our other text from the LXX, Isaiah 3:9, is also similar. There, by the phrase "shame of face" and the concept of judgment and exile which underlies the usage of that phrase, the translator interpolates the exilic theme into Isaiah 3:9.

As we continue to move further away from lexical congruity, in some cases we are left only with conceptual or thematic coherence. But, interestingly, even if there is no lexical overlap at all, we can posit an allusion and an association of texts, purely on the basis of theme and connection to an overarching tradition. In such a case we are dealing with different but synonymous words representing the same or similar concepts, but whose linguistic referents do not match. We have labelled some of these as "hypertextual allusions," recognizing that they are bound up with recurring themes or motifs rather than individual texts per se. Such textual traditions have now become embedded into the collective cultural matrix to such a degree that allusive references to that tradition are recognizable despite the lack of verbal congruence.

The motif of the removal of God’s presence in Ezekiel 7–11 is such a theme, where, by the language of God removing himself from “his sanctuary,” the narrative of YHWH’s departure from the temple in Ezekiel is evoked. These sorts of allusions are often multi-dimensional, as they always point to a tradition that is woven out of a number of texts, and thus various elements within that overarching theme are sometimes “interchangeable.” In this vein we saw the allusions which utilized the metaphor of “planting, tree, root, and shoot” which speaks of God’s establishment of Israel and his nurture and care for it, but which also speaks of its present state that requires their gardener to intervene and restore it to health. One subsidiary strand of that tradition expressed this with messianic undertones. The allusions related to “living waters, wellspring, waters of life, spring of waters” are also placed in this category. This composite allusion refers, on the one hand to YHWH’s sustenance for them in the wilderness, but also of the Law as a fount of waters, as well as to the eschatological waters that will one day renew Zion and the earth.

These types of allusions are, by nature, almost always composite. That is, the thematic tradition is such that it draws from any number of texts in the Jewish scriptures that polyphonically bear witness to it, sometimes from one angle, sometimes from another, but resonating with the same core frequency so that it is still clearly recognizable to the audience. So, large overarching narratives or concepts, like the exodus from slavery, or the provision of righteousness in the Law, or the act of creation, or judgment through exile, or messianic vindication, or, as is the case in Ezekiel, the departure of YHWH from his temple, all serve as rich deposits from which allusive language can be drawn. In order for these allusions to “work” they must be drawn from overarching meta-concepts and metanarratives that are universally recognized and accessible by those who live within its cultural matrix. Diagrammatically, the three different types of composite allusions can be visualized in the following manner:

Diagram A: Textual Congruity vs. Thematic Coherence.



Composite allusions, then, come in a variety of forms, from those attesting both clear and unequivocal textual congruity and thematic coherence, to those where there is little and sometimes even no verbal congruence but in which common underlying themes and motifs bind texts together into a recognizable tradition, and, of course, everything in between. Composite allusions can also be multi-layered and complex, where one or more allusions may be nested within other composite allusions, potentially multiplying hermeneutical value for the astute reader-hearer. Equipped with these various understandings of composite allusions in Second Temple Judaism, we are now primed to turn our attention towards our primary text of interest, the Fourth Gospel.

CHAPTER III: JOHN 12:37–40: AN EXAMPLE OF COMPOSITE CHARACTERISTICS AND PATTERNS OF SCRIPTURAL USAGE IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

III.1.0 Introduction

Having surveyed a number of texts from late Second Temple Jewish literature, the balance of my thesis will now focus on my primary textual interest: the Fourth Gospel. In this chapter, as an additional building block to my larger argument, I examine the double citation at the critical “hinge section” (see p. 124 below) of John 12:37–40. The purpose of examining this much studied passage in the Gospel is to unearth the exegetical dynamics in this well-known phenomenon of a “double citation.” Double citations, composite citations, and composite allusions, I will argue, all exhibit exegetical patterns that are, at their root, essentially the same. That is, a regard for the contexts of these two citations in Isaiah, along with associated Isaianic motifs and verbal parallels, and a close examination of their literary context in the FG reveal both a careful intertextuality as well as an intricate intratextuality. In subsequent chapters, I will seek to demonstrate that such intertextuality and intratextuality are also prominent features in John’s composite allusions, as is the case in John’s composite citations (as argued in Ch. I above). A second, subsidiary, motivation for studying this pivotal passage in John is related to its central narrative role in the Gospel: understanding and appreciating how it fits within the whole of the Gospel assists us in grasping the broader contours of the Gospel overall. This, in turn, will help us situate our subsequent examinations in the Gospel of John.

An extensive amount of scholarship has been devoted to this passage and its interactions with Isaiah,¹ such that it would be impossible within the scope of our purposes to

¹ A select bibliography of essays and monographs on John 12:37–43 in chronological order follows (only those most significant to our thesis are listed here; other studies, including commentaries and other relevant works, are noted as they arise): Craig A. Evans, “On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel,” *BZ* 26, no. 1 (1982): 79–83; idem, “Obduracy and the Lord’s Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed.

review all of it with any substance. I will, instead, focus my attention on the *exegetical mechanics* (see Ch. I above) of this double citation, and, additionally, I will approach the text from the recent angle of ancient media criticism and social memory theory. Two scholarly works are thus especially worth noting in my interactions below: C. Williams' essay, "He Saw His Glory and Spoke About Him': The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," and Sandra Huebenthal's essay, "Proclamation Rejected. Truth Confirmed. Reading John

Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 221–336; Judith Lieu, "Blindness in the Johannine Tradition," *NTS* 34, no. 1 (1988): 83–95; Johannes Beutler, "Greeks Come to See Jesus (John 12:20f)," *Bib* 71, no. 3 (1990): 333–47; John Painter, "The Quotation of Scripture and Unbelief in John 12:36b–43," in *Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William R. Stegner (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 429–58; Bruce G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John*, SBLDS 133 (Atlanta, Geor.: Scholars Press, 1992), 85–106; Maarten J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John: Jn 10,34; 12,38; 19,24," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett (Louvain: Leuven Univ; Peeters, 1997), 367–93; Jörg Frey, "Die „theologia crucifixi“ des Johannesevangeliums," in *Kreuzestheologie im Neuen Testament*, ed. Andreas Dettwiler and Jean Zumstein, WUNT 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 169–238; Catrin H. Williams, "He Saw His Glory and Spoke about Him': The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine christology," in *Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future: Religious and Biblical Studies in Wales: Essays in Honour of Gareth Lloyd Jones* (Leominster, UK: Gracewing, 2003), 53–80; Peter Stuhlmacher, "Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts," in *The suffering servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 147–62; Catrin H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine christology," in *As Those Who Are Taught": The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, ed. Claire M. McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull, SBLSymS 27 (Atlanta, Geor.: SBL Press, 2006), 107–24; Richard Bauckham, "God Crucified," in *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Essays on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapid, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 1–59; Brian J. Tabb, "Johannine Fulfillment of Scripture: Continuity and Escalation," *BBR* 21, no. 4 (2011): 495–505; Catrin H. Williams, "Another Look at 'Lifting Up' in the Gospel of John," in *Conception, Reception, and the Spirit: Essays in Honour of Andrew T. Lincoln*, ed. J. McConville and Lloyd K. Pietersen (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2015), 58–70; idem, "Patriarchs and Prophets Remembered: Framing Israel's Past in the Gospel of John," in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Gospel of John*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce G. Schuchard (Atlanta, Geor.: SBL Press, 2015), 187–212; Jonathan Lett, "The Divine Identity of Jesus as the Reason for Israel's Unbelief in John 12:36–43," *JBL* 135, no. 1 (2016): 159–73; Hans Förster, "Ein Vorschlag Für Ein Neues Verständnis von Joh 12,39–40," *ZNW* 109, no. 1 (2018): 51–75; Catrin H. Williams, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 94–127 (see 111–13); idem, "Johannine christology and Prophetic Traditions: The Case of Isaiah," in *Reading the Gospel of John's Christology as Jewish Messianism*, ed. Benjamin E. Reynolds and Gabriele Boccaccini, AJEC 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 92–123; Bruce Henning, "Jesus as the Rejected Prophet and Exalted Lord: The Rhetorical Effect of Type Shifting in John 12: 38–41," *JETS* 62, no. 2 (2019): 329–40; Sandra Huebenthal, "Proclamation Rejected, Truth Confirmed. Reading John 12:37–44 in a Social Memory Theoretical Framework," in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels. Volume 4: The Gospel of John*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina, vol. 4, LNTS 613 (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020); Archie J. Spencer, "Rumors of Glory: A Narrative, Exegetical, and Reception-Historical Reading of John 12:36b–43," in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels, Volume 4: The Gospel of John*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina, vol. 4, LNTS 613 (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 83–100.

12:37–44 in a Social Memory Theoretical Framework.”² Williams’ essay is germane to my discussion because it contains a detailed section devoted to the possible exegetical interactions of Isaiah 53, 40, and 6 in John 12; and Hubenthal’s essay, a recent application of social memory theory to this passage, will be an important work to engage with in light of our own emphasis on orality and social memory.

The text in question is as follows (the italicized portions of the Greek text represent the two citations, as per NA²⁸):

37 Ἐποιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ σημεῖα πεποιηκότος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν, 38 ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῆ ὃν εἶπεν ἄ
κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;
καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;
39 διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠδύναντο πιστεῦειν, ὅτι πάλιν ἔειπεν Ἡσαΐας·
40 τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
καὶ ἔπόρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν,
ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
καὶ ἴ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ
καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

³⁷ Though he had done so many signs before them, they still did not believe in him, ³⁸ so that the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled:

“Lord, who has believed what he heard from us,
and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?”

³⁹ Therefore they could not believe. For again Isaiah said,

⁴⁰ “He has blinded their eyes
and hardened their heart,
lest they see with their eyes,
and understand with their heart, and turn,
and I would heal them.” (ESV)

² See also the introductory essay of the volume in which Huebenthal’s is found, by Kyle L. Parsons, “Search the Scripture: A Survey of Approaches to the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel,” 1–28, which reviews the development of Johannine studies on the use of Jewish scripture, noting the growing openness towards media-critical methods, and concluding its survey of approaches with a section on “Social Memory Theory,” 22–5. This recent (2020) survey will bring the reader up-to-date methodologically on the major interpretive issues in the Fourth Gospel.

In what follows, I will first outline the literary structure of the FG, secondly, examine Isaiah 53:1 and Isaiah 6:9-10 in their own literary contexts, thirdly, proceed to examine these citations in the FG, fourthly, discuss how my findings relate to composite allusions, and finally, I will provide an additional discussion on social memory theory in relation to this passage in the FG.

III.2.0 Literary Structure and Key Themes in the Fourth Gospel

We begin our analysis with a comment on the general structure of the FG.³ Most commentators recognize the basic structure of a prologue (1:1–18), followed by the main body of the gospel (1:19–20:31), followed by an epilogue (ch. 21). Also relatively clear is the demarcation between chapters 1–12 and 13–21, where chapter 13 introduces the reader to the new scene of Jesus' last supper with his disciples, followed by the events of the suffering, crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Jesus.⁴ Further, we also note that the entirety of chapter 12 serves as a kind of transition between the two halves of the gospel, looking back, thematically and structurally, especially to chapter 11 and also serving as an inception to the coming themes in the ensuing chapters.⁵ We note, too, how this double citation from Isaiah forms an *inclusio* with the single citation of Isaiah at 1:23, marking a kind of literary frame where the prophet Isaiah is explicitly mentioned.⁶ In the same way, the two citations from

³ For an extensive treatment of the literary structure in the FG, see George Mlakuzhyil S.J., *The Christocentric Literary-Dramatic Structure*, 2d and enl. ed., *Analecta Biblica: Investigationes Scientifcae in Res Biblicas* 117 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011).

⁴ See, e.g., Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, Anchor Bible 29A (New Haven: Doubleday, 1966; repr., New Haven; London: 2008), cxxxviii–cxli; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, ed. D.A. Carson, PNTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1991), 103; Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, SP (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 23–4; cf. also Ernst Haenchen, Robert Walter Funk, and Ulrich Busse, *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapter 1–6* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 80.

⁵ See especially Alexander J. Burke, *The Raising of Lazarus and the Passion of Jesus in John 11 and 12: A Study of John's Literary Structure and His Narrative Theology* (E. Mellen Press, 2003), who argues persuasively for the literary unity of chs. 11–12 and their literary-structural importance for the whole Gospel. See also Mlakuzhyil, *Christocentric*, 415–21.

⁶ E.g., Williams, “He Saw His Glory,” 53; and Michael A. Daise, *Quotations in John: Studies on Jewish Scripture in the Fourth Gospel*, LNTS 610 (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 68–69, 97–98.

Zechariah at 12:15 and 19:37 form an *inclusio* bracketing the passion narrative.⁷ This passage, then, is located at a key transition point in the Gospel narrative.

As we survey the content of John 1–12 five key themes pertinent to our passage arise. Most importantly, as is generally recognized, the contrasting themes of **belief** and **unbelief** in Jesus the Messiah have surfaced again and again (e.g., 1:5, 7, 10–12; 1:50; 2:11; 2:22–23; 3:12–18; 3:36). Secondly, John employs the metaphor of **seeing** for those who believe and **blindness** for those who do not (1:50; 3:3, 36; 4:48; 6:30; 9:39; 11:40), for which the story of the blind man receiving sight is paradigmatic (ch. 9).⁸ Thirdly, those who believe are said to receive **eternal life** (cf. 1:4; 3:15–16; 3:36; 4:2; 4:21; 5:24–29; 6:22–58; 6:63), while those who do not—primarily, the Jewish leaders—will receive judgment (3:19; 5:22; 5:27; 5:30; 9:39; 12:31; 12:47–50). Fourthly, there is particular emphasis on the **Isaianic New Exodus**, which is in all likelihood evoked in the language of Jesus as the “coming one” (1:9; 3:31; 6:14; 11:27; 12:12),⁹ and especially in ch. 6 with its allusions to the exodus stories of the feeding in the wilderness and the sea-crossing and the frequent and strategic usage of the theologically-laden phrase ἐγώ εἰμι.¹⁰ Fifthly and finally, the narrative of Book I comes to a climax as chapter 12 describes how the “hour has come for the Son of Man to be **glorified**” (12:23)—a “glory” (anticipated through 1:14; 2:11; 5:41–44; 7:15, 50–54; 11:4, 40) that still awaits the further, crucial, definition in the following chapters but has already been intimated

⁷ Wm. Randolph Bynum, “Quotations of Zechariah in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Gospel of John*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce G. Schuchard, RBS 81 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2015), 47–74.

⁸ See Judith M. Lieu, “Blindness,” 83–84, 89–90; cf. also Raymond E. Brown, *John (I–XII)*, 376–77; Francis J. Moloney, *Signs and Shadows: Reading John 5–12* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1996), 118–19; and Carson, *John*, 378. See also Robert P. Carroll, “Blindsight and the Vision Thing: Blindness and Insight in the Book of Isaiah,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, vol. 1, 2 vols., VTSup, LXX,1 (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 79–93. On the connection between Isa. 6:10 and Jn 9:6, see J. D. M. Derrett, “John 9:6 Read With Isaiah 6:10; 20:9,” *EvQ* 66, no. 3 (1994): 251–54.J

⁹ Williams, ““He Saw His Glory,”” 70–73.

¹⁰ See esp. Williams, “*I Am He*,” 214–28 (esp. 225–28); as well as David M. Ball, *I Am in John’s Gospel: Literary Function, Background and Theological Implications*, JSNTSup 124 (London: Sheffield Academic, 1996); Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2004), 209; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalms 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2.158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 156–77; and Susan Hulen, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, BZNW (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 119–56; among others.

with the imagery of death in the Lazarus story (11:1–57; 12:1, 9, 17), in the parable of the grain of wheat (12:24–26), and closely related to the language of being “**lifted up**” (ὑψωθῶ) (3:14; 8:28; 12:32–33).¹¹ All of these thematic strands have been woven together carefully throughout the narrative of John’s Gospel, and they are the core ingredients to the matrix that will help us see the exegetical mechanics behind John’s usage of Isaiah 53:1 and Isaiah 6:9–10 at this crucial junction.

III.3.0 Isaiah 53:1 and 6:9–10 in their Literary Contexts

a) Isaiah 53:1

Our next step is to locate these two Isaianic passages in their respective contexts before examining how they are applied in their new Johannine context. Isaiah 53:1 falls within the fourth and final of the so-called “servant songs” (Isa. 52:13–53:12). As is well-known, the isolation and examination of the so-called “servant songs” from their contexts has been a subject of scholarly inquiry at least since B. Duhm’s important 1892 commentary;¹² the approach I take on these matters of Isaianic interpretation generally follows modern scholars who treat the servant songs as integrally linked to their contexts in Deutero-Isaiah.¹³ In Deutero-Isaiah (chs. 40–55), where the themes of the New Exodus and the restoration of

¹¹ See further Frey, “Die „theologia crucifixi,” 228–31; Johannes Beutler, “Greeks Come to See Jesus”; idem, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017), 316–39; Williams, “Another Look” 58–70; and Mlakuzhyil, *Christocentric*, 389–95.

¹² Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968).

¹³ See, e.g., John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger et al., rev. ed., WBC 25 (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 2005), 650–58, and Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 420–23. See further R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 1995), 65–78; J. Goldingay, “Servant of Yahweh,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Prophets*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Gordon J. McConville (Downers Grove, Ill.; Nottingham, England: IVP Academic; Inter-Varsity Press, 2012), 700–7. For a fuller bibliography, see Watts’ commentary noted above, 650–652. For an up-to-date, accessible, yet substantive treatment of the breadth of methodologies applied to the book of Isaiah, see Jacob Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2011).

Jacob–Israel and the re-establishment of Jerusalem are prevalent,¹⁴ these servant songs hold a recognizably significant role. Without needing to commit to any single exegetical position on the identity(ies) of the servant in Isaiah, we note that the song itself bridges two distinct sections: a call for Israel to depart the place of its depravity (52:11–12), and the restoration and re-establishment of YHWH’s people (54:1–17). From a literary perspective, Isaiah 53 seems to provide the mechanism by which the New Exodus and restoration of Israel is made possible.¹⁵

The song itself can be broken down into three stanzas: 52:13–15, 53:1–9, and 53:10–12. The first and last stanzas commend the servant while the central body of the song, itself composed of three sub-stanzas (vv. 1–3, 4–6, 7–9), speak of his humiliation and suffering.¹⁶ At the transition between the first introductory stanza and the main body of the song is our verse of interest, cited in John 12:38, coming in the form of two questions in poetic parallel (John follows the LXX in every respect):

κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;
καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνοι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

In its Isaianic context, the two questions act as a kind of rhetorical interlude in what is otherwise a description of the servant. Their effect on the reader-hearer seems to be two-fold in nature. On the one hand, they potentially elicit in the reader a negative, ironic response, echoing the disbelief and surprise of 52:14–15a, while, on the other, they simultaneously point towards the potentially positive response of 52:15b, 4–12 with its undertones of acknowledgment, humility, and even awe.¹⁷ That is, the opposite responses of both disbelief

¹⁴ See, e.g., Bernhard W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter J. Harrelson (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 1962), 177–95.

¹⁵ See, e.g., John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40–66* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 413; and Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark*, 115, n.118.

¹⁶ Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 376.

¹⁷ See Rikk E. Watts, “Mark,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Nottingham, UK: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007), 187; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 413; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40–66*, 381–82; and John Goldingay and David Payne, *Isaiah 40–55, Volume 1: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, vol. 1, International Critical Commentary (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 297.

and belief seem to be anticipated by the rhetoric of these two questions, even though the momentum of the passage, as a whole, shifts towards the posture of belief expressed in vv. 4–12. This dual emphasis on disbelief and belief, I argue below, is found in John’s context as well, when considering the Gospel as a whole.

The phrase “the arm of the Lord” also warrants closer attention. The “arm of YHWH” (יְרֵכֵי יְהוָה or βραχίων κυρίου) is a common metonymy in the Old Testament for the strength or power of YHWH, and it is thus often used in parallel with YHWH’s salvation (e.g., Exod. 6:6; Deut. 4:4; Ps. 44:3). In Isaiah 40–55, the other five times it is used (40:10–12; 48:14; 51:5; 51:9; 52:10), the phrase is associated with YHWH’s deliverance of his people in their New Exodus from Babylon and their restoration to Zion; this is its usage also in 52:10, which just precedes our passage. We can, then, reasonably conjoin the servant’s ministry in 52:13–53:12 with YHWH’s power in the promised New Exodus of his people. In fact, as Williams argues, it is very likely the presence of this phrase at 40:10–12, its expansion at 52:7–10, along with the conjunction of the lexemes קְבוֹד / δόξα and רָאָה / ὁραω in the nearby context of 40:5, and in our text at 53:1 that is the mechanism which enables the evangelist to interpret these three texts together.¹⁸

The rest of the song, continuing the “report” (שְׁמוּעָה or ἀκοή) which was introduced in 52:14–15 but was interrupted with the double question at 53:1, fills out the description of this servant, which, to summarize, is that through the suffering and apparent death of the servant there is atonement for “our” (53:8 LXX and MT) transgressions / iniquities / wounds / sins (53:5, 8, 12 ESV).¹⁹ But that is not all, for “when his soul makes an offering for guilt,” YHWH

¹⁸ Williams, “He Saw His Glory,” 73–74; and especially eadem, “Johannine Christology and Prophetic Traditions,” 92–123.

¹⁹ In comparison to the MT, the LXX’s “atonement theology” in the fourth servant song is somewhat re-directed (see esp. vv. 10–11b LXX), but, nevertheless, still clear overall. See further Jintae Kim, “The Concept of Atonement in the Fourth Servant Song in the LXX,” JGRCJ 8 (2011): 21–33. The issue of atonement theology and motifs in Isa. 53 and beyond has, of course, been a matter of extensive discussion. See further, e.g., Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher, eds., *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004); Martin Hengel and John Bowden, *The Atonement: A Study of the Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1981); Cilliers Breytenbach, *Grace, Reconciliation, Concord: the Death of Christ in Graeco-Roman metaphors*, NovTSup 135 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010); and, more recently, Max Botner, Justin Harrison Duff, and Simon Dürr, eds., *Atonement: Jewish and Christian*

will also “prolong his days,” and he shall “see his offspring” (v.10, ESV), “be satisfied” (v. 11, ESV), being finally vindicated by YHWH (v.12).

To summarize, the interlude of 53:1 is a rhetorical device, which seems to echo two opposite responses: disbelief on the one hand, and belief on the other; it is found in the context of a song describing the suffering and atoning ministry of the servant of YHWH, which, in turn, effects Israel’s New Exodus.

b) Isaiah 6:9–10

Isaiah 6:9–10 falls within the larger section of chs. 1–12. There is widespread agreement that chs. 1–12 of Isaiah form a distinguishable block of material.²⁰ Structurally, chapter 6 plays a pivotal role in this section, in which the overarching movement of the text is towards the judgment of Judah because of its gross rebellion against YHWH. Two themes dominate in chs. 1–5: the idolatry and illicit cultic practice of Judah, and the fact that the guilt lies largely on Jerusalem’s self-reliant leadership. Chapter 6—following closely in function the role of ch. 5—acts as a kind of hinge which swings from the more general pronouncements of judgments of chs. 1–5 to the historical implementation of YHWH’s judgment in chs. 7–8, looking both backwards and forwards.²¹

In ch. 6 Isaiah has a vision of YHWH in the Temple, who is seated on a throne “high and lifted up” (LXX: ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένου, MT: אֲשֶׁר יֵשֶׁב [6:1–2]), holy (6:3a), full of glory (6:3b [LXX: δόξα, MT: כְּבוֹד]) and reigning in power over the cosmos (6:4–5).²² In this context, Isaiah is purified (6:4–7), volunteers to be YHWH’s emissary (6:8), and receives his commission from YHWH to speak to the people, resulting in the people’s inability to “see,”

Origins (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2020); cf. also Joseph Blenkinsopp, “The Sacrificial Life and Death of the Servant (Isaiah 52:13-53:12),” *VT* 66, no. 1 (2016): 1–14, who examines the issue from the perspective of the reception history of Isa. 53 in the Bible. For a recent survey on the post-biblical reception history of Isa. 53, see Marc Zvi Brettler and Amy-Jill Levine, “Isaiah’s Suffering Servant: Before and After Christianity,” *Int* 73, no. 2 (2019): 158–73.

²⁰ J. Barton, *Isaiah 1–39* (London: T&T Clark, 1995), 15–16, William J. Dumbrell, “The Purpose of the Book of Isaiah,” in *TynBul* 36 (1985), 112; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 16–17.

²¹ Childs, *Isaiah*, 58.

²² The keywords υψος and δόξα are, as mentioned above, especially significant for John.

“hear,” “perceive,” and “understand,” lest they “understand with their hearts, turn and be healed” (6:9–10 ESV).²³ Isaiah then asks how long this commission will last, and YHWH replies: until destruction is complete (6:11–13). Our passage of interest is the core of Isaiah’s commission, 6:9–10, which John has cited in 12:39–40. Though its precise form in the FG has been a matter of detailed investigation, what is notable for us is how *thoroughly* this citation has been adapted to suit its present Johannine context.²⁴ We shall return to this observation below in the section “Isaiah 53:1 and 6:9–10 in John 12:37–40” when we examine its literary and theological functions in the FG.

What is the literary and theological significance of this harsh “hardening commission” of Isaiah’s? Some have seen in these verses a post-facto reflection of a failed prophetic ministry,²⁵ or support for a theology underscoring the monotheistic sovereignty of YHWH,²⁶ or even support for predestinarianism.²⁷ However, I believe the true interest of the Isaianic passage lies elsewhere, for two reasons. First, the literary context of chs. 1–12 (supplemented with the history of 2 Kings) supplies the *historical* rationale for the extreme nature of Isaiah’s harsh commission.²⁸ Despite Judah and Israel’s prosperity of the time, they had not been faithful in keeping covenant.²⁹ In Judah the poor were disenfranchised (e.g., Isa. 3:13–15; 5:1–

²³ Once again, the emphasis is distinctively clearer in the MT than in the LXX. The LXX shies away from a direct commission to Isaiah to harden the people’s heart, rendering second-person imperatival forms as third-person indicatives.

²⁴ The unparalleled form of the citation has been examined in detail by scholars, which some have characterized as “peshet-like.” Overall, it seems to be based mostly on the MT with particular Johannine modifications (some of Johannine origin, and some likely from the LXX) suited especially for the evangelist’s purposes. See Maarten J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15 (Kampen: Kok Pharos Pub. House, 1996), 99–122; Craig A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6.9–10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation*, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 129–36; Williams, “Composite Citations,” 111–113. See also Ronald L. Tyler, “The Source and Function of Isaiah 6:9–10 in John 12:40,” in *Johannine Studies: Essays in Honor of Frank Pack*, ed. Ronald L. Tyler and James E. Priest (Malibu, Calif.: Pepperdine University Press, 1989), 205–20.

²⁵ E.g., M. Kaplan, as cited in Marvin Alan Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 135–37.

²⁶ Craig A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6.9–10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 52; Childs, *Isaiah*, 56–57.

²⁷ E.g., D. E. Hartley, “Destined to Disobey? Isaiah 6:10 in John 12:37–41,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 44, no. 2 (2009): 286.

²⁸ See John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 255–56 for a more detailed historical sketch, on which the following is based.

²⁹ Watts, “Mark,” 151, among others, notes how 1:2–3 evokes the Deuteronomic code (cf. Deut. 30:19).

7, 8), while wealthy landowners lived in luxury and without concern for those less fortunate (Isa. 3:16 to 4:1; 5:11-12, 20–23).³⁰ The poor had no recourse because the leaders themselves were corrupt (Isa. 1:21–23; 5:23; 10:1–4).³¹ The leadership, rather than seeking reform, encouraged the notion that YHWH’s demands could be met by ritual and cultic activity alone (Isa. 1:10–17).³² As Tiglath-pileser III rose to power, not only their prosperity but even their survival came under threat;³³ in the wake of Uzziah’s death, it is Ahaz who is left to cope with this brewing geo-political storm. Isaiah admonishes Ahaz—despite the looming international threat—to put his trust in YHWH. But Ahaz rejects the prophet’s first parable–name of salvation (7:12-13) and the offer of a sign (7:10-11). Thus, Isaiah’s next two parable–names (7:13–8:8) announce judgment and destruction.³⁴ Ahaz, in his own wisdom,³⁵ attempts to appease Tiglath-pileser by paying costly tribute (2 Kings 16:7–8). Under Ahaz, idolatry and pagan cultic practices flourish (Isa. 2:6–8, 20; 8:19–20); 2 Kings 16:3 even records Ahaz sacrificing his own son by fire. The egregiousness of the covenantal breach serves as the *historical* rationale for Isaiah’s terrible commission of hardening.

Second, the *language* of the commission gives us an indication of the *theological* rationale for the judgment. Couched in the language and metaphor of the effect of idolatry on those who worship them, “Keep on hearing, but do not understand; keep on seeing, but do not perceive,” (cf. Pss. 115:5–8 and 135:16–18; Isa. 44:18) the imagery here is arguably a reference first of all to the idolatry of Israel and Judah.³⁶ It is not so much a treatise on predestinarianism as a scathing indictment of Israel’s rampant idolatry, and a fitting “retributive irony.”³⁷ That is, the punishment fits the crime: they themselves will become like

³⁰ Bright, *A History of Israel*, 278.

³¹ Bright, *A History of Israel*, 278.

³² Bright, *A History of Israel*, 278.

³³ Bright, *A History of Israel*, 270.

³⁴ Watts, “Mark,” 152.

³⁵ On the importance of wisdom language and motifs in Isaiah, see Donald E. Hartley, “The Congenitally Hard-Hearted: Key to Understanding the Assertion and Use of Isaiah 6:9–10 in the Synoptic Gospels” (Ph.D. diss., United States -- Texas, Dallas Theological Seminary, 2005), 140–78.

³⁶ Gregory K. Beale, “Isaiah 6:9-13: A Retributive Taunt against Idolatry,” *VT* 41, no. 3 (1991): 257–78; Rikk E. Watts, “Mark,” 152.

³⁷ Beale, “Isaiah 6:9–13,” 271.

the idols, and ultimately will be destroyed like the idols.³⁸ The end result of the people's unbelief in YHWH's offer to repent (cf. 1:18–20) and to trust in him (7:1–11) is, Isaiah prophesies, more unbelief, more blindness, and more deafness: their effective inability to turn back from their idolatrous ways; their captivity to their self-reliant wisdom.

To sum up: Isaiah's harsh commission to harden the hearts of God's people comes as a response to the acute covenantal breach of God's people in idolatry. Extreme circumstances call for extreme measures; the language of the hardening commission indicates above all a condemnation of their idolatrous cultic practices and the ironic destruction that therefore awaits them. Cited at the turning point of the FG, this reading has significant implications for our understanding of the Gospel. In effect, it graphically depicts the spiritual state of the Jewish leadership in opposition to Jesus as akin to the recalcitrant and idolatrous hearts of God's people in Isaiah's time. Hearers who perceive this connection will also hear a sharp note of warning of God's impending judgment.

III.4.0 Isaiah 53:1 and 6:9 in John 12:38

We turn now to the evangelist's employment of these two Isaianic passages. We begin our examination with the purpose statement in 12:38: ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἰσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῆῖ ὃν εἶπεν (“so that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, who said...”), and the notion of “fulfillment.” This is John's first usage of the formula ἵνα... πληρωθῆῖ in citing Jewish Scripture; henceforward, seven more times in chs. 13–19, this formula will be used exclusively to refer to the events of Jesus' passion.³⁹ This usage here, at the hinge of the gospel, gives us our first clue as to one of John's primary purposes for including the double citation. That is, whatever else “fulfillment” means in this passage, the singular application of this formula to the crucifixion of Jesus from this point forward suggests that the ideas of the betrayal, suffering, and death of Jesus are close at hand. Indeed, if we read this citation in light

³⁸ See Beale, “Isaiah 6:9–13”, in reference to vv. 12–13 and the language of ‘stumps’ and ‘burning’ as a reference, again, to idolatry, but in the context of their destruction.

³⁹ See Evans, “Quotation Formulas,” 79–83; idem, Evans, “Obduracy and the Lord's Servant,” 225–226.

of the passion story which directly follows in chs. 13–19, the wider context of Isaiah 53 contains several parallels that add significant hermeneutical value to the reader’s understanding and appreciation of the Gospel.⁴⁰ That is, the “fulfillment” of Jesus that John is referring to with this citation of Isaiah 53 includes the unexpected humiliation, rejection, affliction, and eventual death of his servant. Placed at the culmination of a public ministry which has resulted largely in unbelief and rejection of Jesus, the connection John is evidently making is that this rejection, foreshadowing his passion to come, mirrors the ministry of the servant of YHWH, “fulfilling” the prophecy of Isaiah. Thus, the introduction of the fulfillment formula at this critical junction of the Gospel helps readers and hearers to transition from the “signs ministry” of Jesus to the theme of the christological fulfillment of the Jewish Scriptures in Jesus’ suffering and crucifixion in the second half of the FG.⁴¹

Secondly, we recall how, in Ch. I above, J. Mánek theorizes that one possible reason for the employment of composite citations was that—according to the rule of Deuteronomy 19:15—the reliability of a testimony was dependent on the presence of two or three witnesses.⁴² Here, Mánek’s proposal seems to be especially helpful, as the critical placement of the double citation in the structural hinge of the Gospel makes it much more likely that the author intends to draw attention to their veracity and significance by its doubling. Additionally, when we realize that the very same device of a double citation again occurs at John 19:37, at another crucial juncture of the Gospel, *viz.* upon the hour of Jesus’ death on the

⁴⁰ Cf. Ben-Porat’s “third-stage activation” of an allusion in Ch.I.3.2 above. Such a reading aligns well with those who argue that NT authors have alluded to and cited Isa. 53 with a view to its atonement theology more frequently than has sometimes been recognized. See further, e.g., Peter Stuhlmacher, “Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts,” in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 147–62, who argues persuasively that, beginning from widely agreed upon Jesuanic traditions in Mark and Jesus’ self-understanding, contrary to then-current scholarly consensus, the application of atonement motifs to Jesus was not a construction of the post-Easter early church communities but rather originated with Jesus himself.

⁴¹ Evans, “On the Quotation Formulas,” 82–83. D. Moody Smith came to the same conclusion from a different approach in the article “Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source,” *JBL* 95, no. 2 (1976): 231–41, while discussing the *semeia source* and the “redaction-critical disposition” of these verses. Smith argued that 12:37–38 is a “primitive transition from sign source to the passion, whereby the seemingly contradictory narratives of the Messiah’s mighty works, already understood as *semeia*, and his suffering and death are brought together and the latter are made understandable in the light of the former,” 239.

⁴² Mánek, “Composite Quotations in the New Testament and Their Purpose.”

cross, the theory gains even greater credibility. In other words, these two double citations, placed at what are arguably the two most pivotal points of the narrative of the Gospel, through their dual nature, lend the two halves of the gospel—and, thus, *the whole* of the Gospel—a kind of weight and formality that would not have been present if regular singular quotations had been employed instead. If, then, a rationale for the employment of double citations is to buttress the strength of the scriptural testimony to Jesus, it stands to reason that the same justification can be made for composite citations, and, by the same logic, to composite allusions as well. We shall return to this topic in our concluding thoughts in Chapter VII.

Thirdly, the explicit exegetical linkage *between* the two citations is informative: they are connected in v. 39 by the phrase, “For again (ὅτι πάλιν) Isaiah said”—that is, the two citations linked by this phrase are intended to interpret each other (this is repeated, incidentally, in the second double citation in Jn. 19:37 where the linkage is provided by the phrase καὶ πάλιν). A recent article by Hans Förster⁴³ warrants a brief digression. Förster argues that the parallelism between the citations warrants that the ὅτι in v. 39 should in fact be read as ὁ τι, and that the subject of the word τετύφλωκεν in v.40 is Isaiah rather than God.⁴⁴ Although there is much that is commendable in Förster’s article, including its attempt to redress anti-Semitic attitudes stemming from certain readings of Jn. 12:39–40, his main argument is difficult to sustain methodologically. The claim that the use of the neuter ὁ τι (v. 39) of the second citation in place of the masculine ὃν εἶπεν of the first citation (v.38) because of “die andere Art der Zitation” is tenuous because Förster assumes that since the second citation paraphrases or adapts its source(s) rather than replicating it exactly (as 12:38 did Isa. 53:1 LXX), it is “of a different type.” While this distinction makes sense to a scholar working in a modern, print-based environment, this kind of differentiation between citations would have been extremely difficult to justify in an ancient pre-print, mixed, oral-literary environment. Recall from Ch. I above how paraphrases and fusions of sources were routinely

⁴³ Förster, “Ein Vorschlag.”

⁴⁴ Förster, “Ein Vorschlag,” 70.

treated and conveyed to the audience in exactly the same way as regular, single, citations were. If the second citation is neuter where the first is masculine, some other reasoning must be provided; none, as far as I know, is easily forthcoming, and the traditional reading of ὅτι must be our exegetical starting point. In any case, as I argued above, the primary thrust of this citation of Isaiah 6:9–10 in its Johannine context is on the nature of spiritual obduracy and its consequences, not its source; predestination is not the main subject. That is, John is not interested so much in *who* has blinded their eyes, but *why* their eyes have been blinded.

Nevertheless, returning to the exegetical ὅτι πάλιν, this can be considered as an example of that principle of analogical exegesis we witnessed above in Chapter I whereby two disparate passages pertaining to a single theme or subject speak univocally.⁴⁵ I argue that this works exegetically in both directions at this crucial point in John’s Gospel: Isaiah 53:1 to interpret Isaiah 6:9–10, and vice versa.⁴⁶ Elements from *both* contexts influence and affect John’s interpretation of the other. This is a crucial point for our purposes, as this kind of exegetical maneuver is precisely what we have seen in composite allusions where one textual source (or sources linked together by a common tradition) triggers another source(s) via key words or themes and both are used in a new textual setting in order to speak to multiple, often complementary, interests. The triggering keywords in this case are the words at 52:13 (which is the all-important opening verse of the servant poem, located just three verses prior to the citation of 53:1), **וְיָרָם** and **וְנִשְׁבַּח** in Hebrew, and ὑψωθήσεται and δοξασθήσεται in Greek, corresponding to the words at 6:1: **וְיָרָם** and **וְנִשְׁבַּח** and ὑψηλοῦ and δόξης. This relatively rare

⁴⁵ Evans calls this juxtaposition an example of *gezerah shavah* and further proposes that, at least in part, Jn. 12:1–43 is a midrash on Isa. 52:7–53:12, see “Obduracy,” 230–236. See also Bauckham, “God Crucified,” 34–37; as well as Williams, “He Saw His Glory,” 62–68. In a similar way, through a strictly intratextual analysis of Isaiah, Jaap Dekker, “The High and Lofty One Dwelling in the Heights and with His Servants: Intertextual Connections of Theological Significance between Isaiah 6, 53 and 57,” *JSOT* 41, no. 4 (2017): 475–91, argues for textual and thematic connections (on the basis of *gezerah shavah*) between Isa. 6, 53, and 57.

⁴⁶ So also Jonathan Lett, “The Divine Identity of Jesus as the Reason for Israel’s Unbelief in John 12:36–43,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 159–62. Especially noteworthy in Lett’s article is his observation that many commentators have unjustifiably minimized the significance of the role of Isa. 53:1 in favor of 6:9–10, where, in fact, both passages are equally vital to the interests of the FG. Lett’s critique, rooted in modern intertextual theory, is that most modern “atomistic” readings “privilege” Isa. 6 over Isa. 53. Although our method differs slightly from Lett’s in that it encompasses both redaction critical and ancient media critical components (see Ch. I above), I believe his general critique is justified.

pairing of words—occurring only a handful of times in the Hebrew Bible⁴⁷—likely contributed to these passages being linked together in the mind of the ancient interpreter of Isaiah. In the FG, the evangelist brings Isaiah 6 and 53 together for the specific purpose of highlighting how they are *both* fulfilled in the person and ministry of Jesus. That fulfillment motif is what unites the two citations and locks them together in this small but crucial literary unit in the FG. ⁴⁸ One aspect of that fulfillment, as we stated above, is found in the correspondence between the nature of the ministry in both the servant of YHWH and Jesus’s passion—they are both ministries of suffering and atonement.

Daniel J. Brendsel, in his 2014 monograph on the use of Isaiah 52–53 in John 12, “*Isaiah Saw His Glory*,” works this exegetical idea out to its full extent.⁴⁹ As other studies on scriptural allusion in the NT have done, Brendsel defines allusion utilizing Z. Ben-Porat’s⁵⁰ and C. Perri’s⁵¹ language of the evocation of a “marked” text, by way of a “marker(s)” in the alluding text, follows B. Sommer’s⁵² functional distinction between an echo and an allusion, and adapts R. Hays’⁵³ criteria for the identification of allusions. Brendsel applies his method first to the double citation at 12:38–41, and then proceeds to examine Isaianic allusions and echoes in John 12:20–36, 9–19, and 1–8. On the basis of these allusions to Isaiah in these passages, he argues that John intentionally structures 12:1–43 after Isaiah 52:7–53:1. Critical to his argument—and especially germane for our project—are the conceptual, thematic, and structural parallels that Brendsel draws between Isaiah and John 12.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ The juxtaposition of the roots נָשָׂא and רָם, within three words of each other, occurs just five times in the Hebrew Bible, all in Isaiah: 6:1, 13:2, 33:10, 52:13, and 57:15. With the exception of 13:2—which refers to a banner and a voice respectively—the passages refer to qualities of YHWH (or, at 52:13, his servant), being “high” and “exalted.”

⁴⁸ Cf. Brian J. Tabb, “Johannine Fulfillment of Scripture: Continuity and Escalation,” *BBR* 21, no. 4 (2011), who argues, correctly, I think, that Johannine fulfillment is best seen not as “an appeal to prediction” but rather a “dialectic, mutually interpretive relationship of continuity and escalation between the OT text and Jesus’ work.”

⁴⁹ Brendsel, *Isaiah Saw His Glory*.

⁵⁰ Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion.”

⁵¹ Perri, “On Alluding.”

⁵² Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*.

⁵³ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*.

⁵⁴ Especially intriguing is the allusion that Brendsel examines in Isa. 12:1–8, which he describes as composite in nature, evoking not only Isaiah 57:1 passage with its reference of the herald’s feet, but also anticipating, in *intratextual* fashion, the story of the foot-washing in ch.13. See Brendsel, *Isaiah Saw His Glory*, 187–205.

The other main aspect of the fulfillment of scripture found in this double citation—the one most frequently noted by the older commentaries—is the immediate instigating reason given for the citation in v. 37, that is, the unbelief of the people: “Though he had done so many signs before them, they still did not believe in him (ESV).”⁵⁵ This is articulated at 12:38 with the two-fold rhetorical question of Isaiah 53:1 which identifies all those who heard the message (*ἀκοή*) and did *not* believe it. The overall sense of the questions is: “Who would have believed this? The answer: Not Israel...” For Deutero-Isaiah, it was Jacob–Israel of chs. 40–48; for John it was Israel as represented largely by the Jewish leaders before whom Jesus performed his miraculous signs. These are the “unbelievers.” Interestingly, both Isaiah 53 and John 12 utilize the rhetoric of this question strategically to transition to the message of those who do believe: the rhetorical interlude at 53:1 is then followed by the graphic description of the suffering servant, which then leads to the promised Exodus of YHWH; this is paralleled by John’s description of the ministry and suffering of the Messiah from chs. 13–19 and his resurrection in ch. 20 and Jesus’ interactions with Mary Magdalene and his disciples. The answer to the two-fold question, as we noted above, seems to anticipate both a negative as well as a positive response. In the end, it is the positive response to the servant (and to Jesus) that comes into focus in both Isaiah and John. In Isaiah the text pivots to the restoration of Jerusalem-Zion; in John there is a transition to Jesus’ private ministry to his disciples, to the passion narrative, and finally to the resurrection story. It may be possible that the evangelist has at some level structured his gospel in light of Isaiah’s larger literary movement in chs. 53–55. But the least we can say is that Isaiah 53:1 and John 12:38 are at the very pivot between unbelief and belief in their contexts. Thus, with the rhetoric of the citation of 53:1, the

⁵⁵ It is frequently noted that both Isa. 53:1 and 6:10 are employed as Christian proof-texts to explain Jewish unbelief in other parts of the NT; most scholars end the discussion with this observation and fail to probe for further inter- and intra-textual connections that deepen our understanding of the FG. See, e.g., Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, trans. Kevyn Smyth, vol. 2, Herder’s Theological Commentary on the New Testament (1968; repr., London: Burns & Oates, 1980), 412–14; cf. also Brown, *John I–XII*, who notes the “interesting” correspondences but fails to discuss their significance, 485. The apologetic purpose, I argue, is only *one* of the evangelists’ *dual* purposes in this pericope; so also Williams “He Saw His Glory,” 2003; Lett “Divine Identity,” 2016; cf. also Beutler, “Greeks Come to See Jesus,” 334–45.

evangelist highlights the unbelief of the Jewish leadership in his attempt to engender belief in his hearers.

The emphasis on the “unbelievers” is then repeated and amplified in 12:40 with the citation of Isaiah 6:9–10. What was implicit in the first citation is now made explicit in the second. With this second citation, the unbelief of the people is now expressed in the scriptural language of the spiritual obduracy of YHWH’s people in their hard-heartedness (Isa. 6:9–10 is also cited to this end several other times in the NT⁵⁶). And here the dual purpose of this crucial Johannine “hinge” comes clearly into view. The double citation serves not only as an introduction to what is to come, but also as a fitting climax to what has just been described: the large-scale rejection of Jesus. This is especially apparent in how the four intricately interwoven motifs in John 1–12 of “seeing” (ὁράω) the signs of God’s “glory” (δόξα) as revealed in Jesus, his “exaltation/lifting up” (ὑψόω) on the cross, and the arrival of his “hour” (ῥα) all come to a culmination at the end of chapter 12. It can also be borne in mind how two of these lexemes, ὑψόω and δόξα, are paired keywords of the two Isaianic citations, binding this short passage in John lexically and thematically to its Isaianic referents. Also, the aforementioned Johannine redaction / paraphrase of Isaiah 6:9–10 emphasizing sight / blindness further strengthens the thematic ties between Isaiah 6 and John’s emphasis on sight–belief / blindness–unbelief (cf. especially John 9). The implications of this second aspect of the fulfillment of scripture in Jesus’ person is to assert that despite the fact that many who witnessed Jesus’s signs did not believe, *even their failure to believe* points to his divine identity with the Father, for, it too, is a fulfillment of scripture.⁵⁷

A final observation confirms this analogical pairing of the two Isaiah texts. At 12:41, John recounts how “Isaiah said these things because he saw his glory and spoke of him (ESV).” The glory that “Isaiah saw” and “spoke about” which John recounts makes ample sense when we combine the main elements of Isaiah 53 with those of Isaiah 6. At Isaiah 6:1,

⁵⁶ Mk. 4:12 and par.; Acts 28:26.

⁵⁷ Tabb, “Johannine Fulfillment of Scripture,” 503.

Isaiah “sees” (εἶδον) the Lord seated on his heavenly throne in glory; at 52:13–53:12 Isaiah (and other believers) “see” the exalted and glorified servant of the Lord (ιδού, 52:13), while the nations will “see” (ὄψονται, 52:15a) and understand (συνήσουσιν, 52:15b), even though Israel do not (μὴ συνήτε, συνῶσιν, 6:9,10)⁵⁸; but Isaiah and others also “see” (εἶδομεν 53:2) the humbling of the servant who had “no glory” (οὐδὲ δόξα, 53:2). It is this unique combination of these Isaianic themes in John and his application of them in his Gospel to Jesus’s person that then enables John to say that Isaiah “saw his glory and spoke of him.”⁵⁹ That is, the glory of which John writes, which readers and believers are to understand, and to which he testifies (1:14) has a unique, paradoxical quality about it that encapsulates within it not only the notion of exaltation, but also that of suffering and atonement. As J. Frey states incisively: “In dieser dezidiert österlichen Perspektive schieben sich Kreuz und Herrlichkeit übereinander oder besser: ineinander, so daß fortan keines von beiden ohne das je andere zu sehen ist: Der Gekreuzigte ist der Verherrlichte, und der Verherrlichte ist dennoch bleibend der Gekreuzigte.”⁶⁰ While this may also reflect the influence of the legend of Isaiah’s prophetic powers in the ancient world,⁶¹ and may be interpreted as a reference to Isaiah’s vision of a pre-existent (as well as a future) Christ in the throne room of Isaiah 6,⁶² I believe that the critical point in this passage for the evangelist is the unique nature of a glory that simultaneously exhibits both exaltation and suffering, represented in the narrative of the gospel roughly by the first and second halves of it respectively.⁶³

⁵⁸ Cf. also Isa. 42:18–20, where YHWH’s servant Israel is blind and deaf. On the unity of Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah in relation to, among other things, the motif of “blindness,” see Ronald E. Clements, “Beyond Tradition-History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah’s Themes,” *JSOT* 10, no. 31 (1985): 95–113.

⁵⁹ For an in-depth study on the term δόξα in the Jewish scriptures in relation to the method of *gezerah shavah* and applied to the FG, see Nicole Chibici-Revneanu, *Die Herrlichkeit des Verherrlichten: das Verständnis der doxa im Johannesevangelium*, WUNT 2 231 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

⁶⁰ Jörg Frey, “Elder Tod” in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle and Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 69–70.

⁶¹ Cf. Sir. 48:24–25 as cited in Brown, *John I–XII*, 487.

⁶² Williams, “He Saw His Glory,” 68.

⁶³ Richard Hays comes to a similar conclusion regarding this Johannine paradoxical usage through his analysis of the term “lifted up” (ὑψοθῆναι) in John 3:13–15 and his reading of the intertexts Numbers 21, Isaiah 53, and Daniel 7. See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2016), 332–335. This reading coheres well with my own analysis of the term based on Isaiah’s usage. As mentioned

Interestingly, although the first half of the FG has focused on the ministry of Jesus which has largely resulted in unbelief, the evangelist has chosen to cite Isaiah 53 *before* Isaiah 6. Had John wanted simply to scripturally explain Jewish unbelief, it would have been sufficient to cite Isaiah 6, or perhaps it would have made more sense to cite Isaiah 6 *before* Isaiah 53. It would seem by the presence of a double citation that John has more than a single interest; further, the ordering of Isaiah 53 before Isaiah 6 may suggest that the ministry which follows—centered on the events of the cross—is just as critical as that which has just been described. What is clear, however, is that the juxtaposition of these two citations brings them both into the same orbit: they both gravitate around the motif of fulfillment. First, fulfillment in what is to come in the passion of Jesus; secondly, fulfillment in the described rejection of YHWH’s messenger, Jesus.

While the double citation in this unit is technically neither a composite citation nor a composite allusion, I have argued that the *exegetical mechanics* at work behind the two citations in this passage are directly analogous to those of composite allusions and citations. We observed a close connection between Isaiah 6, Isaiah 53, and the Gospel of John, with their multiple thematic and verbal connections related to exaltation (ὑψώω, υψος) and glory (δοξάζω, δόξα),⁶⁴ as well as the imagery of sight / seeing (οράω). In light of these various connections, it is not an exaggeration to consider, as others have, that John’s theological and literary interests here have likely been inspired by meditation on these Isaianic themes.⁶⁵ While some have understood John’s notions of exaltation and glory to overshadow his focus on the cross (over against, for example, a synoptic portrayal of the cross),⁶⁶ others continue to see a Johannine emphasis on a “theologia crucis.” What our study on the citation sources of

above, although the respective results of exegesis in this case are similar, the underlying methodological assumptions remain quite different.

⁶⁴ On the special interest of the LXX translator in the δόξα word-group, and therefore as a possible source of inspiration for John’s own usage of that word, see L. H. Brockington, “Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in Doxa,” *VT* 1, no. 1 (1951): 23–32.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Evans “Obduracy,” 231; Beutler, “Greeks Come;” Williams, “Testimony;” and especially Williams, “Another Look.”

⁶⁶ See especially Ernst Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1968).

this pericope suggests, however, is that John’s literary and theological interests are not likely to be confined to a singular focus.⁶⁷ On the one hand, just as YHWH and his servant are “high and lifted up,” (Isa. 6:1, 52:13) just as YHWH is himself full of glory (Isa. 6:1, 3), so too has Jesus manifested YHWH’s glory, in the flesh, through his miraculous signs (Jn. 1–12). Just as YHWH’s servant will bring about the glorious New Exodus for his people through his mighty arm (Isa. 53:1), so too will Jesus, through his life-giving power—especially as seen in the resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. 11–12)—achieve the New Exodus, giving life to all who believe.

But, on the other hand, the glory of the LORD, which is the glory of the servant, is also, unexpectedly, the humiliation, suffering, and death of the servant. And this glory, in John, is manifested in Jesus the Messiah, who is the suffering servant, who will be “lifted up” (ὑψωσεν, ὑψωθήναι, ὑψώσητε, ὑψωθῶ) (3:14, 8:28, 12:20–36) and thus will “glorify” (δόξασόν) the Father’s name (12:28). Thus far in the narrative, it has only been hinted at and alluded to in a preparatory fashion. But at the turning point of the gospel in 12:37–40, through this introductory fulfillment quotation, rooting the person of Jesus in scripture fulfillment, the evangelist makes clear the connection. The glory of YHWH is seen in Jesus the Messiah most clearly through his atoning work of the suffering, death, and exaltation on the cross. This is how the glorious New Exodus of his people will finally be achieved, and true, eternal life given to those who believe. A glance at chs. 13–19, with its close interweaving of glorification and the imminent crucifixion confirms it: the event of the cross–resurrection *is* the glory of the servant.

III.5.0 Composite Allusions, John 12:37–40 and Ancient Media Culture

As we recall the third main aspect of our method which incorporates into our investigation an understanding of ancient media culture, the emphasis on orality and social memory has a

⁶⁷ See especially the essay by Williams, “Another Look.” In this essay, Williams argues for the multivalency of the exaltation language and imagery in the FG, positing that their intended semantic opacity throughout the Gospel leaves open, indeed, invites, the reader’s understanding of a figurative exaltation to include Jesus’ post-resurrection ascension and return to the presence of the Father.

special significance for the reading proposed above. In particular, the orally-based feature of metonymic referencing (see Ch. I above) can play a vital role in helping us recognize the deeper dimensions that are embedded into the fabric of the Johannine narrative. The alternative reading which views these two citations solely as apologetic proof-texts for Jewish unbelief fails to activate an entire network of associated motifs and themes that are latent in both John and Isaiah. Generally, scholars have hesitated to recognize the invocation of these passion-related motifs in this passage on account of two reasons: first, because of the Synoptic and Pauline usage of Isaiah 53 which do clearly point to apologetic applications of these texts, and secondly, because of the lack of explicit signals in the FG connecting the scriptural citations and the passion of Jesus. But neither of these reasons is compelling. Regarding the first, the fourth evangelist is clearly capable of striking out in novel directions in his scriptural usage;⁶⁸ regarding the second, I counter that the evangelist's default mode of scriptural signalling—as evident throughout the Gospel—is *implicit*, not explicit.⁶⁹ While Richard Hays and Mary Daly-Denton speak of the “figural” or “image-like” quality of John's use of scripture in contrast to its verbal allusiveness,⁷⁰ what they have called figural and symbolic language may be even more appropriately explained by reference to the metonymic quality of oral-derived texts, as we shall see. However one speaks of the phenomenon, what is undeniable is that John overwhelmingly employs indirect and implicit scriptural referencing over explicit citations. This is clearly the case for the numerous allusions in the FG, and, if we are to seriously consider the multiple connections between Isaiah 6, 53, and John 12:37–40,⁷¹

⁶⁸ See n. 23 above; Menken, in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 121, argues persuasively for a uniquely Johannine rendering of Isa. 6:9–10 at 12:40. If the evangelist is capable of uniquely adapting his scriptural sources independently of other known NT authors, he would be equally capable of employing these very same sources in independent ways for his own authorial purposes; form and function are, after all, closely related.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Andreas J. Köstenberger, “John,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. D. A. Carson and G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Nottingham, UK: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007), 415–508, who counts, in his estimate, “conservatively,” more than sixty allusions.

⁷⁰ Richard B. Hays, “The Temple Transfigured: Reading Scripture with John,” in *Reading Backwards: Figural christology and the Fourfold Gospel Witness*, 2014; and Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, AGJU 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 30.

⁷¹ In addition to Isa. 53 and Isa. 6, Williams makes a solid case for connections with Isa. 40–42 as well, see Williams, ““He Saw His Glory,”” 57–62.

it seems likely to be the case here as well. The evangelist is not only intending to make an *explicit* reference to the ancient problem of Jewish obduracy with these texts, but also an *implicit* reference to the Isaianic themes of glory and suffering which bear such prophetic analogy to Jesus' ensuing passion in chapters 13–18.

Now to examine in detail how this metonymical referencing bears on these passages. As mentioned above, one of the key metonymic links for the evangelist was likely the phrase “the arm of the Lord” (זְרוּעַת יְהוָה or βραχίονα κυρίου) of Isaiah 53:1b, representing the mighty power of YHWH in his deliverance of Israel in the exodus tradition. This phrase and its associated tradition was already embedded into the oral-literary psyche of the ancient Jewish mind, as can be seen in its various applications in Deutero-Isaiah. But in the early church, as witnessed to by Paul's use in Romans 10:16, the immediately preceding phrase “Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?” in Isaiah 53:1a LXX had become associated with Israel's disobedience and their failure to believe in the gospel of Christ. Thus, the phrase “the arm of the Lord” of 53:1b, being in synthetic parallel with the preceding colon, would also have become closely associated together with this failure to believe in the evangelist's mind. The “arm of the Lord” of Deutero-Isaiah, in turn, is closely associated with the servant texts of Isaiah 42:10, 52:13 and 53:2–12. As discussed above, this last text describes, in sequence: 1) the exaltation and glory of the servant; 2) the “not-glory,” suffering, and humiliation of the servant; and 3) his vindication. The themes of exaltation and glory, especially, link up with the throne room visions of Isaiah 6:1–10, wherein is also found the motif of Israel's obduracy and unbelief. We have, therefore, come full circle in this network of Isaianic texts. Although both of these texts had already been used in the early church in the context of Jewish unbelief, of all the NT authors, only the fourth evangelist pairs them together in this way.

These associations could have been formed through more literary means—for example, in the course of the repeated and continual reading of these verses in the early church; or they may have been formed more individually, for example, in the memory-association of the evangelist as he reflected upon the Jewish scriptures and the life of Jesus. In

any case, social memory theory cautions us from making too sharp a dichotomy between these two. These keyword and key-motif associations were remembered by the community because they were identity forming; but it is individuals—in social context—who actually performed the act of remembering. What metonymical referencing and social memory help us understand are how these various Isaianic texts could have become interlocked together in these mutually interpretive ways to be employed by the evangelist at this critical point in his gospel to accomplish the complex act of both summarizing the Johannine memory of Jewish response to Jesus' ministry, as well as of introducing and bringing into focus the christological fulfillment of scripture through the passion of Jesus.

To summarize, a simplistic schema of the linkage of Isaianic motifs in the Johannine community would look something like this:

1. The historical circumstances of Jewish unbelief in the early church become associated with → Isaiah 53:1a, which speaks of general disbelief in YHWH's servant;
2. Isaiah 53:1a is read or recited in parallel with and links to → Isaiah 53:1b, which speaks of the "arm of the Lord;"
3. The motif of the arm of the Lord is found in and links up with → Isaiah 42:10, Isaiah 52:13f, which speak of the servant of the Lord;
4. The most extensive passage in regard to the servant of the Lord links back to → Isaiah 52:13f, which describes his exaltation, glory, not-glory / suffering, exaltation;
5. The motifs of glory / exaltation are linked by analogical exegesis to → Isaiah 6:1–10, which prophesies Israel's unbelief and obduracy;
6. Israel's unbelief and obduracy is then read as a prophecy for Jewish rejection of Jesus linking back to → Isaiah 53:1a.

In reality, these various motifs and texts would have become associated much more organically and less systematically than have been described here, which has been laid out for the clarity of analysis. What is important is not the specific sequence of linkages, but the *end outcome* of those linkages and the interdependent exegesis that is formed from this overall network of texts. It is this complex exegesis of Isaianic motifs and themes that then becomes a

theological-christological template for significant parts of John's Gospel, especially the critical hinge section of 12:37–40.

Excursus: On Social Memory and Communal Identity

The particular methodology adopted by this study has utilized social memory theory and ancient media critical tools as a means by which to understand possible mechanisms of textual association. Our focus has been primarily exegetical, being confined to the scope of our thesis which seeks to investigate associations among texts and motifs. But in this way, our employment of social memory theory has been fairly specialized given the wider sociological interests of social memory theorists. Sandra Huebenthal, for example, in examining this same passage from a social memory perspective, detects a “tangible social identity behind the text,” one in which “suffering is a huge issue,” where “faith and testimony are key themes,” and “the rejection of the proclamation actually confirms the truth.”⁷² These insights generally cohere well with what has been uncovered in the present study. Huebenthal then goes one step further and theorizes how the Johannine community, pained by exclusion from the synagogue, is able to restore its identity through its particular Johannine remembering of Jesus.⁷³

What this study adds, from the vantage of social memory theory, is that this reconstructed context with its emphasis on suffering and synagogal exclusion, is only one element of that community's identity. The composite nature of this pericope reminds us that, despite the very real emphasis on the passion and cross of YHWH's servant Jesus and the theme of suffering, the equally important emphasis on the servant's glory and exaltation remains. These aspects are not uniquely Johannine and seem to be embedded in the historical Jesus tradition (or are at least found both in the Synoptic and Pauline traditions).⁷⁴ What we have, then, with the dual emphasis on both exaltation and suffering in this pericope, may not

⁷² Huebenthal, “Proclamation Rejected, Truth Confirmed. Reading John 12:37-44 in a Social Memory Theoretical Framework,” 197–200.

⁷³ Huebenthal, 198.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., Stuhlmacher, “Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts.”

be so much what Huebenthal calls the “fabrication of new frames for identity formation”⁷⁵ as it is a selective recollection of particular memory frames to suit certain aspects of the community’s specific circumstances. As Richard Bauckham argues, the notions of 1) the social dimensions of individual recollection; 2) the shared recollections of a group; and 3) collective memory; must be carefully distinguished in the application of social memory theory.⁷⁶ In our analysis, what this pericope demonstrates is a *dual* Johannine emphasis which leaves intact a broader conception of the Johannine community, one that includes a more holistic memory of Jesus than perhaps Huebenthal gives credit for. Although the suffering of Jesus may have been more poignantly remembered by the Johannine community than other early communities because of its own situation, it did not lose sight of the fundamental glory of Jesus’ life, ministry, and resurrection. Indeed, rather than privileging one over the other, it sought to wed these two elements creatively and paradoxically into a synthesis in which Jesus’ glory was itself *defined by* his suffering on the cross. Perhaps another way to articulate this perspective is to recognize that the difference lies in how one conceives of social memory as applied in the early church. As Barry Schwartz has emphasized, collective memory should not be conceived of as simply a fabrication of history, but a particular, existentially relevant, recollection of it. Social memory cannot be severed from its historical roots (see Ch. I above). In the present situation, one element of that memory, Jesus’ suffering, need not—and, in our analysis, historically *did* not—cause the other element, his glory and exaltation, to be forgotten.

III.6.0 Summary

To summarize, exegetically, Johannine fulfillment is the key theme that holds these two citations together. At this juncture that fulfillment takes on two distinct, complementary,

⁷⁵ Huebenthal, “Proclamation Rejected, Truth Confirmed. Reading John 12:37-44 in a Social Memory Theoretical Framework,” 188.

⁷⁶ Richard J. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), 290–318, see esp. 310–15.

purposes: first, to introduce the events of the passion of Jesus in chs. 13–19, and, secondly, to summarize the negative—but nevertheless validating—response of Jesus’ opponents in chs. 2–12. Both of these purposes, in typical Johannine fashion, are offered in christological terms: that is, both are fulfillments of scripture, and thus both witness to Jesus’ true identity as coming from the Father. A close examination of the exegetical mechanics embedded into the Isaianic texts behind these citations reveals dynamics that have been encountered previously in this study of composite allusions in other literature. Finally, an integration of ancient media critical tools and social memory theory provides us with a historically plausible explanation of how these various intertextual connections arose. Whether through more literary or more orally-derived mechanisms—probably both—early Jewish unbelief in Jesus as Messiah becomes associated with the revelatory and salvific “arm of the Lord,” which, in turn, is associated with Isaianic passages relating to the “Servant of the Lord,” which, finally, links back to Isaianic passages about God’s glory and Jewish unbelief. Thus, an important result of the investigation in this chapter is to strengthen the view of the complex interrelatedness of the motifs and texts in Isaiah 6, 40–42, 53, and the Fourth Gospel.

CHAPTER IV: JOHN 1:29: “THE LAMB OF GOD”—A COMPACT, THREE-WAY COMPOSITE ALLUSION

IV.1.0 Introduction

With this chapter, we arrive at the heart of our study—composite allusions in the Gospel of John. Our study has so far taken us through an investigation of composite allusions in a range of intertestamental Jewish literature including the LXX, as well as through an examination of the double citation at John 12:37–40 with its composite features, but we have yet to identify and examine composite allusions in John’s Gospel *per se*. In John 1:29, 36¹ with the declaration ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (See, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world), a composite allusion is precisely what we have, as I will now demonstrate in this chapter.

It would be fitting here to review from Chapter I our definition of a composite allusion. There, we defined a composite allusion as a literary or poetic unit with a discernible outer boundary, whose contributing marker signs within the alluding text, in signaling to corresponding and recognizable *marked signs in an evoked text(s) or tradition(s), interact together to provide the hearer or reader with additional interpretive value.*² What, therefore, are the “outer boundaries” and “marker signs” in this particular text? The outer boundary in this literary unit is straightforward: it is the discrete phrase that the evangelist is narrating as belonging to John the Baptist in the evangelist’s introduction of Jesus. The contributing marker signs in this unit are comprised of at least two distinct sub-units (three if we include

¹ The first half of the phrase (ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) is repeated by the Baptist in 1:36 (without the qualifying clause ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου), but the close proximity of the two occurrences and their intimate narrational connection justifies that the two be considered together. Although the correlative clause is not found in the shortened second occurrence in 1:36, that they both refer to the same person in an identical manner is implied. In this chapter, unless otherwise specified, subsequent references to Jn 1:29 imply a reference to both 1:29 and 1:36.

² See Ch. I.3.5 above.

ἴδε³): ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (the lamb of God) and ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (who takes away the sin of the world). It will be the aim of this chapter to analyze just how these various elements interact together to *add interpretive value for the reader*. In addition, our two categories of *textual congruity* and *thematic coherence* from Chapter II will help guide our concluding analysis of this passage as we integrate and summarize our findings.

This chapter will proceed, then, in the following manner. In the first section, I will survey the landscape of interpretation on John 1:29, arguing that the “compositeness” of this phrase is a given and that it is an ideal place to begin our investigation of composite allusions in the FG. I follow this with a more detailed review of three recent, complementary treatments of John 1:29 by Jesper T. Nielsen,⁴ Ruben Zimmermann,⁵ and Catrin Williams⁶ that provide a good platform for our own discussion. Each of these scholars’ methodologies differs from each other, and we can glean from each of them insights that inform our own approach. Nielsen provides an application of metaphor theory in John, Zimmermann introduces us to the fluidity of Johannine metaphor, and Williams emphasizes the role of Jewish exegetical techniques in the formation of this Johannine composite allusion. After this preliminary discussion, I will then apply our own methodological approach to the text, asking what it contributes to our understanding of John 1 as well as to the study of the wider Johannine narrative, and how it contributes more generally to the present scholarly conversation. Throughout my discussion, I presuppose the literary structure presented in Chapter III of this

³ While the scope of this chapter will be limited to the two larger identifiable parts of the phrase as indicated, the lexeme ἴδε is also likely inspired by, or, perhaps, even drawn from the Isaianic language of ἰδοῦ found in Isaiah 40:9, 10 LXX and the notion of “seeing” YHWH (cf. also Isa. 6:9–10). As the Gospel unfolds, the connection between seeing / sight and belief, is, of course, central to the FG’s purposes. See further Catrin H. Williams, “‘Seeing’, Salvation, and the Use of Scripture in the Gospel of John,” in *Atonement: Jewish and Christian Origins*, ed. Max Botner, Justin Harrison Duff, and Simon Dürr (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2020), 141–43.

⁴ Jesper Tang Nielsen, “The Lamb of God: The Cognitive Structure of a Johannine Metaphor,” in *Imagery in the Gospel of John: Terms, Forms, Themes, and Theology of Johannine Figurative Language*, ed. Jörg Frey, Jan G. van der Watt, and Ruben Zimmermann, WUNT 200 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 217–56.

⁵ Ruben Zimmermann, “Jesus—the Lamb of God (John 1:29 and 1:36): Metaphorical Christology in the Fourth Gospel,” in *The Opening of John’s Narrative (John 1:19–2:22): Historical, Literary, and Theological Readings from the Colloquium Ioanneum 2015 in Ephesus*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Jörg Frey, WUNT 359 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 75–96.

⁶ Williams, “Seeing.”

study, as well as the relevant exegetical results from that chapter. Finally, I will also provide a formal analysis of the composite allusion in John 1:29 based on my observations about composite allusions in intertestamental literature in Ch. II and examine how it “works” in the FG as a whole.

IV.2.0 Preliminary Textual Analysis of John 1:29 and Possible Scriptural Sources

Before turning to survey the scholarly literature, I first present here the primary source texts that are typically marshalled as being evoked by the text in question. In this passage, ἴδε ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, the three most distinctive lexemes in John 1:29 are ἄμνος, αἴρων, and ἁμαρτίαν, and the various scriptural texts typically associated with them are (in canonical order): Genesis 22, Exodus 12:3, Exodus 29:39, Leviticus 4–5, Leviticus 16:22, Isaiah 53:7, 11, and Revelation 5:6 (although a number of these texts represent one or more associated passages which will be included and noted in our discussion below). Below is a table presenting the various words employed in the listed passages and which connect to or represent one of these three lexemes:

Table I: Possible Allusions in John 1:29

John 1:29		Gen. 22 Akedah	Exod. 12:3 Passover	Exod. 29:39 Tamid	Lev. 4–5 Sin offering	Lev. 16:22 Scapegoat	Isa. 53:6–7 Servant	Isa. 53:11–12 Servant	Rev. 5:6 Apoc. lamb
<u>ὁ ἄμνος</u>	Hb	הַשֶּׁ / לֵיל אֶדְוָה	הַשֶּׁ	תָּמִיד	קָרְבָּן	עֵז / שְׂעִיר עִזִּים	עַבְדְּ / הַשֶּׁ לַיהוָה	-	-
	Gk	πρόβατον / κριός	πρόβατον	<u>ἄμνος</u>	πρόβατον	χίμαρος	πρόβατον πρόβατον <u>ἄμνος</u>	-	ἀρνίον
<u>ὁ αἴρων</u>	Hb	-	-	-	חֶלְמִי	נָשָׂא	-	נִשָּׂא	-
	Gk	-	-	-	ἀφίημι	λαμβάνω	-	ἀναφέρω	-
<u>τὴν ἁμαρτίαν</u>	Hb	-	-	-	חַטָּה	חַטָּה		חַטָּה	-
	Gk	-	-	-	ἁμαρτία	ἁμαρτία	ἁμαρτία	ἁμαρτία	-

Our preliminary analysis reveals that textual congruity among the various purported marked texts and the three main lexemes of John 1:29 is moderate at best. The only verbal congruence with ἄμνος is found in Exodus 29:39 and Isaiah 53:7 LXX; αἴρων has no textual correspondence at all among the list; ἁμαρτίαν is the most attested lexematically, being found in three of the sources (Lev. 4–5; Lev. 16:22; and Isa. 53 LXX). We also note the lexical congruence between Exodus 12:3, Isaiah 53:6, and Genesis 22, in the catchword הַשֶּׁ, a detail whose significance will become clear in our analysis below. Finally, no single source contains all three of the key lexemes in question, although Isaiah 53 comes closest (that is, when we consider the whole passage, Isa. 52:13–53:12, as a unit), containing two of the three. Our analysis, it seems, will need to take on much more than lexematic considerations and incorporate to a significant extent thematic ones as well, as will be pursued in sections IV.4–5

below. But first we turn to the secondary literature to determine what other scholars have made of this data.

IV.3.0 A Survey of the Landscape and Three Recent Studies

What is first evident as one surveys the wealth of accumulated scholarly opinion on John 1:29 and 36 is the near consensus of scholarship that this passage points the hearer in multiple directions at once—this despite the significant diversity of methods adopted in the studies selected for our survey. In other words, if we extend the exegetical tradition any credibility at all, the “compositeness” of John 1:29 can almost be taken for granted. As we approach the FG on the matter of composite allusions proper, then, this fact confirms the aptness of this particular passage as the focus of our study in this chapter. John 1:29 serves as a solid starting point for the investigation of composite allusions in the Fourth Gospel. Together with the additional datum that this passage is effectively the fourth evangelist’s introduction of Jesus of Nazareth, there is no better place to begin in examining composite allusions in the FG than with John 1:29.

The survey itself comprises of twenty-seven prominent scholarly interpretations of Jn 1:29.^{7,8} A few of these represent older, influential studies (E.E. May, C.H. Dodd, C.K. Barrett,

⁷ In chronological order, these are: Eric E. May, *Ecce Agnus Dei! A Philological and Exegetical Approach to John 1:29, 36* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1947), 92–113; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 230–38; C. K. Barrett, “Lamb of God,” *NTS* 1, no. 3 (1955): 210–18; Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray, Rupert W. N. Hoare, and John K. Riches (1957; repr., Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 95–97; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, vol. 29, Anchor Bible (1966; repr., New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 58; J. Terence Forestell, *The Word of the Cross: Salvation as Revelation in the Fourth Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 164; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, trans. Kevyn Smyth, vol. 2, Herder’s Theological Commentary on the New Testament (1968; repr., London: Burns & Oates, 1980), 300; Bruce H. Grigsby, “The Cross as an Expiatory Sacrifice in the Fourth Gospel,” *JSNT* 5, no. 15 (1982): 60; Ernst Haenchen, *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapter 1–6*, trans. Robert W. Funk and Ulrich Busse, vol. 1, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 155; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, PNTC (Leicester, England; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Inter-Varsity Press; Eerdmans, 1991), 150; Francis J. Moloney, *Belief in the Word: Reading the Fourth Gospel, John 1–4* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993), 65; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2d ed., vol. 36, WBC (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1999), 24; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003), 452–54; John Painter, “Sacrifice and Atonement in the Gospel of John,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann

R. Bultmann); the others are taken from the literature since that time to the present day. Together they represent the full breadth of methodological approaches adopted in critical scholarship. Rather than provide in-depth reviews of their overall interpretations of this passage, I restrict my survey to what each scholar understands the allusion(s) in the phrase “the lamb of God” to refer.

Represented visually in tabular form (see Table B below), the results are striking. Of the twenty-seven scholars, twenty-three of them detect two or more referents in this phrase, the two most popular being a reference to the Passover lamb (22 cases) and the Servant in Isaiah 53 (20 cases). These are followed by scholars who detect references to an apocalyptic warrior-figure (13 cases), the *Tamid* sacrifice (4 cases), the *Akedah* of Isaac (4 cases), cultic sacrifice in general (4 cases), the scapegoat of Leviticus 17 (2 cases), the guilt offering (once), and as an equivalent of the title Son of God (once), or simply a messianic figure (once). Interestingly, of the few scholars who do *not* recognize a composite reference in the fourth evangelist’s account of the Baptist’s declaration, all four concede the *potential* presence of the same primary allusions detected by the others, but ultimately consider these as secondary to what they deem to be the primary meaning of the text (whether they conceive that to be more historical [May, Dodd and Painter], or more theological [Moloney]). In other words, if one were to restrict the survey strictly to the identification of some level of compositeness to this

(Paderbron; München; Wien: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 293–96; Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John* (London: Continuum, 2005), 113; Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 256; Andreas J. Köstenberger, “John,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Nottingham: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007), 428; Jörg Frey, “Edler Tod - wirksamer Tod - stellvertretender Tod - heilschaffender Tod: zur narrativen und theologischen Deutung des Todes Jesu im Johannesevangelium,” in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle and Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 87; John F. McHugh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on John 1–4*, ed. Graham N. Stanton and G. I. Davies, ICC (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 132; J. Dennis, “Lamb of God,” in *DJGSE*, ed. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, Ill.; Nottingham, England: IVP Academic; IVP, 2013), 482; Zimmermann; Johannes Beutler, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017), 59; Williams, “Seeing,” 135–42.

⁸ For a helpful historical overview of the reception of this passage from patristic times, see May, *Ecce Agnus Dei!*, 27–41.

phrase *in the literary and theological context of the FG*, there is unanimity of opinion on the matter.

Table J: Commentators on Jn 1:29⁹

	#	Passover	Isaiah 53	Apocalyptic Messiah	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Akedah</i>	Sacrifice	Scapegoat	Guilt Offering	Messiah	Son of God
Thompson	5	•	•	•	•			•	•		
Zimmermann	4	•	•		•	•					
Dennis	4	•	•	•			•				
McHugh	4	•	•	•	•						
Köstenberger	4	•	•	•		•					
Morris	4	•		•	•						
Grigsby	4	•	•	•		•					
Beutler	3	•	•	•							
Michaels	3			•			•				•
Beasley-Murray	3	•	•	•							
Haenchen	3	•	•					•			
Williams	2	•	•								
Zumstein	2	•	•								
Frey	2+	•	•								
Nielsen	2	•									
Lincoln	2	•	•								
Keener	2	•	•								
Carson	2	•	•	•							
Schnackenburg	2	•	•								
Forestell	2+	•	•				•				
Brown	2+	•	•	•							
Barrett	2	•	•								
Bultmann	2+	•		•		•?					
Painter	1									•	
Moloney	1						•				
Dodd	1			•						(•)	
May	1		•								
		22	20	13	4	4	4	2	1	1	1

⁹ The authors in this Table are ordered first according to the number of allusions detected, and then in reverse chronological order, from most recent to oldest. For full bibliographical information, see n.7 above. The (+) sign indicates my perception of that author's openness to further references not directly discussed by the author. The (?) in Bultmann's row represents his ambivalence on the reference, and the (•) represents Dodd's implied—but not overtly stated—position on the reference.

As a whole, and despite the dizzying array of the variously proffered possibilities for the referents to the phrase “lamb of God”—we counted ten in our survey—the near consensus is that there is indeed a multiplicity to, or a compositeness contained in the Baptist’s declaration (although *of what exactly* that multiplicity is comprised is less clear). What few scholars have ventured to do, however, is to attempt to understand *how* or *why* this multiplicity or polyvalence in referentiality works. The three studies noted above by Nielsen, Zimmermann, and Williams, on the other hand, do make such an attempt, and it is to these studies that we now turn our attention. Each of these scholars also represents three different interpretational strategies, and, together, provide us with a fine entry-point into the discussion.

IV.3.1 J.T. Nielsen and Metaphor Blending Theory

In the essay “The Lamb of God: The Cognitive Structure of a Johannine Metaphor”,¹⁰ Jesper Tang Nielsen accomplishes two main goals: he introduces metaphor blending theory in relation to the Gospel of John, and, from that theoretical perspective, he provides an interpretation of the Johannine metaphorical pronouncement regarding the “lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.” Metaphor blending theory is the creation of new “semantic structures” from the combination of two distinct semantic domains (in conceptual blending theory, these are called “mental spaces”) through the employment of metaphor.¹¹ The application of conceptual blending theory to biblical exegesis thus involves two steps: investigation of the possible “mental spaces” that lie behind the metaphorical blending in order to define the semantic potential of each of these spaces; and an analysis of the narrative structure to determine which of these meanings “unfolds” in the text in purview.

¹⁰ Nielsen, “Lamb of God.”

¹¹ Nielsen’s essay builds upon the cognitive-linguistic work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Gilles Fauconnier and Eve Sweetser, *Spaces, Worlds, and Grammar* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997); and Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind’s Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), among others. See further, Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 217–18.

Nielsen claims that the two most viable “mental spaces” for John 1:29 and 36 are the Passover lamb of the exodus traditions and the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. His starting hypothesis, therefore, is that the Johannine lamb of God is a deliberate blending of these two mental spaces. Turning to the four Servant texts in Isaiah, with an emphasis especially on the fourth Servant Song, he concludes that the humiliation of the Servant provokes dislike and that his exaltation evokes recognition. Thus, there are two “transferrals” in this concept: the transfer of the Servant from a humiliated to exalted position, which leads, in turn, to the *cognitive* transfer of the many who have a mistaken view of the Servant to their recognition of him as one who takes away the punishment of the many, that is, the removal of sin.¹² The comparison with the lamb emphasizes his meekness and innocence. Nielsen also considers the mental space created by the Passover lamb, rejecting the notion that the Passover lamb had any atoning function. Instead, for Nielsen, the lamb functions as a figure in a liberating and salvific event, and subsequent celebrations of the original event continued to focus on its apotropaic qualities, viz. its ability to ward off evil.¹³

In Nielsen’s approach, with respect to the Baptist’s pronouncement in John 1:29 and its immediate context, Jesus takes on “the entire semantic potential of the Lamb of God.”¹⁴ It is, at this point in the Gospel’s opening, left undefined. However, as the narrative continues, through Jesus’ “uplifting” at 3:14, 8:23, and 12:32, the text makes apparent his divine identity, calling forth a recognition of his identity from the audience. According to Nielsen—and on this point I disagree with his assessment, as I will explain below—this uplifting incorporates both elements of crucifixion and resurrection, or else the cognitive effect (recognition) would not take place.¹⁵ Finally, the double citation in chapter 19 is presented in a way that allows Jesus to appear as the true Passover lamb and the suffering servant of Isaiah 53. He concludes:

¹² Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 244–52.

¹³ Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 225–31. In my estimation, Nielsen’s singular focus on the apotropaic function of the lamb over and against any atoning value is overstated. The historical situation was, in practice, much more complex than this. I discuss this below in Sec. IV.4.1 on the Passover lamb, especially in my examination of the relevant texts from *Jubilees*.

¹⁴ Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 243.

¹⁵ Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 247.

“the lamb of God plays a constitutive role in Johannine christology: “Jesus assumes in his passion the role of the Passover lamb when his death is depicted as an apotropaicum which transfers people into a situation protected from death; but he also takes over the role of the suffering Servant when he dies because he is also lifted up and glorified in order to provoke the appropriate realization of his identity, which transfers people into a sinless situation.”¹⁶

Nielsen’s creative application of metaphor blending theory to the FG—and to John 1:29 in particular—is both refreshing and illuminative. Taking a novel approach to an old problem, Nielsen avoids simply restating the same solutions that have been offered at least since Dodd. The strength of the study lies in the ability of metaphor theory to explicate how metaphors—and in this case, a blended metaphor—theoretically function in the mind of the reader. According to Nielsen, the application of metaphor theory to the FG exposes a parallel between the dynamic of Jesus’ crucifixion and resurrection, on the one hand, and the Servant of Isaiah’s humiliation and exaltation, on the other, while at the same time juxtaposing with this dynamic the movement from death to life offered in the apotropaic symbol of the Passover lamb. If we grant Nielsen these exegetical moves, his study emphasizes a particular and significant element of Johannine christology (Jesus is lifted up and glorified on the cross) while communicating Nielsen’s understanding of the Gospel’s corresponding soteriology (those who recognize the pattern of glorification are freed from sin and death). Nielsen has thus successfully applied metaphor theory to John, proposing a model of how these two themes of Jesus’ uplifting and salvation might work to reinforce and interpret each other. Unfortunately, one of Nielsen’s key claims—that the language of “uplifting” refers to both crucifixion *and* resurrection—is questionable, and this renders his overall application of metaphor theory less than convincing. What is apparent is that the “uplifting” language in all three contexts points specifically to the crucifixion (and not to Jesus’ resurrection): at John 3:14 it is likened to the spatial movement of being raised up on a pole as in Numbers 21:8, thus referring to the physical act of “lifting up” in crucifixion; at 8:28, his impending death is

¹⁶ Nielsen, “Lamb of God,” 255.

the main topic at hand (8:21–22); and, most telling of all, at 12:32, the saying is immediately accompanied by its explicit explanation that it refers to the manner in which Jesus was to die (12:33).

Moreover, something that is lacking in this approach is an understanding of how these concepts would have arisen and worked in conjunction with each other *in a first-century context* and *in the Johannine community*. In the absence of such a sophisticated model of metaphor theory at hand, what would have enabled the original hearers to conceive of these allusions and examine these traditions and “mental spaces”? This is especially the case when we consider the matter from the perspective of the first-century hearer of the FG in the context of a predominantly oral society where the luxury of detailed textual study is inaccessible to the vast majority of people. In contrast, our method, grounded innately in an oral-literary method, demonstrates how this composite allusion would have operated in the ancient world on its own terms. In so doing, we will also re-examine what individual components make up the “blended metaphor,” or, better, *composite allusion*. Unlike Nielsen, we will not limit our analysis to only the two which he examined (Isaiah 53 and the Passover Lamb) but remain open to other possibilities as the evidence leads us.

To sum up: Nielsen’s detailed study, incorporating insights from metaphor blending theory, helps us understand how the complex metaphor in John 1:29 functions, at least in theory, in readers’ minds. The reader associates certain qualities of the Servant of Isaiah 53, on the one hand, and certain other qualities of the Passover lamb, on the other hand, blended with the figure of Jesus as the Fourth Gospel unfolds. While our exegetical results will differ from Nielsen’s, we carry with us this basic insight regarding the application of the qualities of the Servant and the Passover lamb to the figure of Jesus.

IV.3.2 R. Zimmermann and Metaphorical Christology

Ruben Zimmermann, like Nielsen, also applies metaphor theory to John 1:29, but does so in a different fashion.¹⁷ Theologically, one of Zimmermann's interests in his 2017 essay is John's christology: he intends to show that the phrase "the lamb of God" is christological, in what ways it is christological, and how it is "typical for the christology of the fourth gospel."¹⁸ From a hermeneutical perspective, Zimmermann's approach moves us towards a reader-centred orientation: his method is attentive to considering the impact that John's metaphorical christology may have on the contemporary reader.¹⁹ At least in this regard, it differs somewhat from my own, which gives priority to engagement with and reception by an *ancient* audience and setting. However, what I find notable about Zimmermann's approach is his general openness to considering further interpretative possibilities for 1:29 besides the two mentioned by Nielsen.

Zimmermann investigates four options provided by the modern exegetical tradition for understanding the metaphors in 1:29 and 36: Isaiah 53:7 LXX; the *Tamid* sacrifice; the Passover lamb; and the *Akedah*. After a brief examination of these four possible interpretative options, he concludes that the "textual indications do not only impede a definite interpretation of the lamb, but may even be read as deliberately forestalling it."²⁰ That is, the evangelist seems to have deliberately chosen metaphorical language not to restrict but to enable new possibilities of expression and to "increase the spectrum of meaning of his message."²¹ Zimmermann observes that all four options offer different semantic emphases: the lamb of Isaiah 53 and the *Akedah* stress substitutionary atonement, the *Tamid* evokes an association with the temple cult, and the Passover lamb evokes the salvation and safeguarding of Israel. Zimmermann proposes that all these elements of the metaphor are then transferred to Jesus but

¹⁷ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology."

¹⁸ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 79.

¹⁹ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 91–94.

²⁰ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 89.

²¹ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 89.

further modified by the fourth evangelist in a crucial respect: by expanding the focus of atonement from Israel to the whole *kosmos*.

While Zimmermann's exegetical conclusions, as he himself readily admits, do not substantially move the discussion forward with respect to the question of the origin of the allusive phrase the "lamb of God,"²² his key insight concerns the *nature* of metaphorical language in the FG. Three of his five concluding reflections are especially germane to our discussion. First, Johannine metaphorical christology points towards an "openness" rather than a "narrowing" of meaning.²³ Thus, Zimmermann argues that varied interpretations of the Johannine metaphors are not the result of our lack of knowledge of the sources and of the setting of its original composition, but that they are embedded in the text and are a "part of the christological formulation itself." This is especially true, I believe, here at the opening stages of the Gospel, although—as will be argued below—by the Gospel's closing there is a tightening of the metaphorical imagery and the allusions behind it. Second, Zimmermann points to what he describes as a "reader-orientation." Johannine metaphorical christology is not fully prescribed in the text but is, to an extent, dependent on the *readers'* reception, interaction and, ultimately engagement with it; the final intention is that the reader be enabled to reformulate in their own words their own confession of Jesus as the Messiah.²⁴ Finally, and closely related to the last point, Johannine christology possesses an "aesthetic" dimension which is communicated via imagery and is thus evocative of "emotions and memories from life experience."²⁵ These three qualities of Johannine metaphorical christology—its pluriformity, reader-orientation, and emotive-mnemonic dimension—are directly related, we shall see, to how the composite allusion at John 1:29 and 36 was formulated and how it worked for the ancient hearer.

²² Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 94–95.

²³ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 95.

²⁴ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 96.

²⁵ Zimmermann, "Metaphorical Christology," 96.

To summarize, from Zimmermann, we garner an appreciation of the polyvalence of Johannine metaphor, and the possibility—especially from an audience-centered approach—of hearing a plurality of meaning in this single phrase. Along with Zimmermann, we consider the possibility that this hermeneutical openness is embedded in the text and is a “part of the christological formulation itself.”

IV.3.3 C. Williams and Composite Allusions in the Fourth Gospel

With Catrin Williams’ essay, we arrive at the most recent research into the composite allusion of John 1:29.²⁶ Williams’ focus in her 2020 essay is on the FG’s use of scripture—including its allusive references—within the Gospel’s narrative design and with a view to their rhetorical and theological functions. In particular, she examines the interrelationship of several passages: John 1:29, in which Jesus is proclaimed by John the Baptist as the “lamb of God;” the three passages recounting Jesus as being “lifted up” (3:14, 8:28; 12:32); and John 19:36-37, in which is recounted the significance of Jesus being pierced in his side. Not unlike Nielsen, Williams describes the Johannine development as a “gradual unfolding” of the meaning contained in its network of associations.²⁷

Like Zimmermann, Williams notes that with John’s tendency to employ composite imagery, it is often “unnecessary to pin down John’s rich deposit of scriptural allusions to individual references and single meanings.”²⁸ She treats John 1:29 as a composite allusion with some “degree of indeterminacy,”²⁹ which links the phrase “the lamb of God”—pointing to Passover imagery—with the imagery of “taking away sin”—found in Isaiah 53. Nevertheless, Williams is careful to limit her argument to the textual evidence, discounting explicit cultic associations with the sin offering of Leviticus 4:3, which is not identified as a lamb, as well as of the scapegoat ritual of the Day of Atonement, which uses different

²⁶ Williams, “Seeing.”

²⁷ Williams, “Seeing,” 153.

²⁸ Williams, “Seeing,” 134.

²⁹ Williams, “Seeing,” 136.

terminology (λαμβάνω and ἐξαποστέλλω in the LXX versus John's αἴρω). She adds further controls to the interpretive possibilities by noting that catchword associations stem from the use of the same vocabulary and must also be legitimated on *intratextual* grounds (that is, within the Gospel of John).³⁰ Given the prominence of Passover imagery in John's passion narrative, this leaves, then, the Passover lamb as the "primary referent" in Jn 1:29.³¹ And, with respect to the relative clause, "who takes away the sin of the world," the clearest link is not first of all to cultic notions of sacrifice, but to the servant of Isaiah 53:7 who is "like a lamb (ἀμνός) before its shearer." This image, however, in turn, is set within the fourth Servant Song, which witnesses how the servant "bore the sin(s) of many," and, at Isaiah 53:10, is referred to as an $\text{D}\Psi\text{X}$ which in the LXX is translated as *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*. There is, then, an implicit cultic reference when Isaiah 53:7 and 53:10 are linked together. Furthermore, noting the scriptural background of the significance of the sacrificial death of a lamb, she posits that this "strongly suggests" that the evangelist "includes the effects of Jesus's death as his way of eliminating sin."³² Thus Williams suggests that the fusion of these two images does contain an *implicit* connection to suffering and death even at this early juncture in the Gospel by indicating the way that sin is dealt with in John.³³

To summarize, what Williams demonstrates in this essay is a careful consideration of the textual evidence at hand—both possible referents in the background as well as of the rest of the FG—while at the same time appreciating the polyvalence that is inherent in this particularly Johannine way of multi-layered storytelling. She articulates, based on catchword exegesis, the textual relationship of John 1:29 to the Passover lamb and to the Servant of Isaiah 53. Furthermore, with a consideration of the implicit cultic references in the Isaiah passage and with a view to the significance of the sacrificial death of lambs, she draws a soteriological connection to Jesus' suffering and death. This last observation, I believe, invites

³⁰ Williams, "Seeing," 137.

³¹ Williams, "Seeing," 137.

³² Williams, "Seeing," 141

³³ Williams, "Seeing," 141.

further investigation from us into the significance of the motif of sacrifice—both in the background texts as well as in the FG. This investigation will proceed, as we shall see, increasingly on the grounds of thematic coherence rather than that of textual congruity. As we extend the discussion beyond what these three scholars offer, a few words about some of the differences between these two modes of inquiry are in order.

IV.3.4 Extending the Discussion: Themes and Lexemes

I begin this section with an illustration of the difference between a citation and an allusion. A citation's function in its received text is controlled, to a considerable extent, by the source text, even in the case of composite citations which arguably are the most fluid of all citations. Generally speaking, the *raison d'être* for a citation is to bring to bear some measure of authority from the source text being cited, or, in the case of composite citations, the source *texts*. The source text(s) loom large in the background of a citation and the linkage to that text is inevitably textual and lexematic in nature. It must be recognizable as a citation. The *form* of the citation is just as important as its content; because of this, some have even considered ancient citations as a kind of “proof-texting” or “taking out of context” where the content of the citation is no longer crucial. While I have argued in Ch. I that this is usually *not* the case,³⁴ even if this were so, the point remains that the *external authority* of the cited text is in no way diminished. One of the primary functions—if not *the* primary function—of the employment of scriptural citations is authorial legitimation.

However, an allusion's primary function is qualitatively different. The allusion is an implicit reference in a literary unit whose goal is not first of all to bring to bear some external

³⁴ See Ch. I above, where I suggested with respect to composite citations that usually those who hold such opinions do so because of a lack of awareness of ancient exegetical methods and the anachronistic imposition of modern hermeneutical expectations onto ancient authors. This is the case for single citations, but also for composite citations where the rationale for fusing two or more citations is not immediately apparent. Awareness of ancient Jewish techniques and a close examination of the wider contexts of cited source texts often demonstrates that ancient authors had specific exegetical intentions for linking and/or citing sources. Such knowledge, in turn, informs our understanding of the author's literary and theological interests and deepens our understanding of the passage in question. And what is important when it comes to Jewish exegetical techniques is the issue of (scriptural) legitimation.

authority to the hearer, but is, first and foremost, a literary—or better, an oral/aural-literary—creation whose meaning is *deepened* and *enhanced* in some way by awareness of the tradition or the narrative to which that allusion points (see Ch. I above). Here, a distinction between the original author and the original audience is especially helpful. From a compositional perspective, catchwords for the author are the means through which connections between texts exist and can therefore be leveraged for the purpose of scriptural legitimation. Lexemes and lexematic analysis are therefore indispensable. But from the vantage of the audience situated in an orally dominant society, thematic and motific resonances can be just as effective. While a particular catchword may be the vehicle for the mind to recall a particular tradition, a particular *concept* or *idea* or *tradition*, even when represented by different but synonymous or parallel lexemes may play the very same role. That is, for an allusion, more so than for a citation, connection is not only through *form* but also through *content*. Parallel or similar themes and traditions can be triggered in the audience on the basis of ideas, even in the relative absence of common lexemes. In fact, we have already seen this phenomenon at work in some of the Second Temple Jewish literature examined in Chapter II.

We saw this principle at work most clearly in the composite allusion of the psalmist in 1QH^a 16:5-12. In that passage, two dominant scriptural themes were encapsulated by the concepts of water and life, on the one hand, and planting, vegetation, and growth, on the other. Although each of these traditions could loosely be represented respectively by the keywords מים (“water”) and מטע (“planting”), synonymous and parallel phrases often stood in for these words in the passage in the composite allusion. And, despite the lack of lexemic congruence, the ability of the passage to evoke in the audience these two broad scriptural traditions—each represented by a variety of texts—did not diminish. For the ancient audience, therefore, the concepts and ideas generated by these words, even if the words employed might differ depending on the situation, are just as critical as the actual morphological units themselves. In fact, this phenomenon can be detected through much of the “oral-literary” works we have encountered, from M. Parry’s observations on Homeric poetry, to J.M. Foley’s comments on

Serbo-Croatian epics, to the legal-narrative documents of CD, to the Wisdom literature of *Sirach*, to the biblical psalter, to our example from LXX Isaiah.

Furthermore, an allusive marker in a text of a broad, well-known scriptural tradition points towards the essential contours of a tradition rather than to its textual details. For instance, when the Passover lamb is evoked, what is brought to mind for the audience is the tradition of YHWH's protection of Israel on that fateful night of their liberation from Egypt, their flight in haste, and the fact of their deliverance from slavery. What is less dominant is any one particular text within that tradition (since it is represented in the Jewish scriptures by several texts), or peripheral details of that tradition, such as how old the lamb was to be (not more than a year), or whether there are provisions for other animals if a household did not have a lamb on hand (which there were), or how specifically the Israelites were to be clothed that night (with loins girded, sandals on their feet, and staves in hand). While these are a part of the tradition that are specified in the Exodus 12 text, they are peripheral details rather than key elements of the tradition. The key elements are those whose absence would significantly alter the meaning of the overarching narrative.

Returning to the Gospel of John and the "lamb of God," it seems especially to be the case that for this particular allusion, we must not neglect resonant motifs that may be represented by *different* lexemes. It is critical to bear in mind that although different words may be employed, such as *ἀμνός* / *שׁבֹבֵט* (lamb) or *κρίδος* / *לֵיל* (ram) or *πρόβατον* / *הֶשֶׁ* (sheep); all of these words fall under the broader semantic category of a sacrificial animal, and it is this broader semantic category of a sacrificial animal that is closely associated metonymically to that larger tradition of cultic sacrifice and the forgiveness or removal of sins. Put another way, when ancient Israelites thought about or talked about sacrifice—that is, the burnt offering given at the altar of the Temple—strongly associated with that tradition was the sacrificial animal that accompanied the vast majority of sacrifices. Now, this is not to say that the mentioning of these animals on their own evoked the tradition of sacrifice, but given the right semantic context—that is, in proximity with other concepts strongly associated with the cultic

tradition—it certainly could. I argue below that this is precisely what is happening in John 1:29: “the lamb of God,” together with the concept of God taking away sins, almost certainly would have evoked for the first century Jewish hearer the notion of cultic sacrifice.

To be clear, I am not arguing that the presence of thematic resonance undermines the significance of textual criteria or minimizes the need for textual analysis. All of this is a necessary beginning point, especially when considering the vantage of the author. But if it can be demonstrated that an underlying tradition(s) or theme(s) can be associated with a variety of lexemes, and that that particular tradition or theme also contributes significantly to the literary or theological purposes of the FG, then thematic analysis must be given due consideration, alongside textual analysis. In this particular instance, I believe the additional focus on thematic resonance is indeed warranted and will result in a significant broadening and enriching of our understanding of John 1:29.

IV.4.0 Three Complex, Inter-connected, Multi-layered Traditions: Paschal Lamb, Suffering Servant, and Cultic Sacrificial Imagery

In this section I will discuss three primary, complex “traditions” that I believe are being evoked in the phrase “see, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.” Here I use the word ‘tradition’ in a non-technical sense to refer to a network of interconnected stories and motifs. The first is the Passover lamb and the tradition of the exodus; the second is Isaiah 53 and the suffering Servant; and the third is the sacrificial system of the Temple cult.

IV.4.1 The Paschal Lamb and the New Exodus

The first tradition to be discussed is that which has been recognized most widely in the literature, that of the paschal lamb. The symbol of the Passover lamb finds its origins in the exodus story (Exod. 12:1–28) where cultic instruction and narrative are tightly woven together. With regard to cultic instruction, God’s people are to sacrifice a one-year old lamb as an annual memorial for YHWH’s deliverance of them out of Egypt; in the context of the

narrative, the blood of the sacrificial lamb placed on the posts and lintels of the doors of the Israelites serve as a sign to the angel of YHWH to pass over or, alternatively, to protect³⁵ their homes in order to spare their firstborns. In the narrational setting, as has often been noted, the function of the blood of the lamb in the story is apotropaic—it serves as protection against evil and death—rather than cultic in the sense that it is associated with the formal sacrificial system of the Temple. There is, however, a gradual development of the Passover tradition in the Hebrew Bible, from its origins as a memorial of the exodus to its becoming enshrined as one of ancient Israel’s central feasts (cf. Deut. 16:1–8; 2 Kgs. 23:21–23; 2 Chr. 30:1–5; Ezek. 45:21–23).³⁶ Thus, by the time of the late Second Temple period, the Passover feast had acquired additional significance in becoming associated with the Temple and cultic worship: it was to be celebrated only at the Temple, where the Passover lamb was to be brought to the priest to be slaughtered, roasted, and consumed (2 Chr. 30:1–5; 35:13–14; cf. *Jub.* 49:16–21). Moreover, the blood of the Passover lamb, now slaughtered at the altar of burnt offering, would also be ritually poured out at the base of the altar, just like portions of the blood of the sin, guilt, and other offerings (*Jub.* 49:20; cf. Lev. 4). So, inevitably, the blood of the Passover lamb would have become associated in the ancient Jewish mind not only with the apotropaic associations of the original exodus story, but also with the general sacrifices offered at the Temple, a kind of “ritual blending” in the mind of Jewish worshippers.

A closer look at *Jubilees* 49–50 is especially instructive here. Although the main intention of the text in *Jubilees* is to detail “the legislation for proper celebration of the

³⁵ The exact meaning of the Hebrew word פֶּסַח (Passover) is disputed. Its traditional rendering from ancient times, based upon etymology and connection with the verb פָּסַח, is to “pass over;” scholars have noted, however, that in its narrative context in the Exodus story it may be more likely to signify “to protect,” or “to defend,” rather than a literal passing-over. However, these two definitions are not necessarily mutually exclusive; they can be seen, rather, as a matter of perspective. By *passing over* the homes of the Israelites, God *protects* his people. See further Victor P. Hamilton, “פֶּסַח,” in *TWOT*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1999), 728–29. This lexicographical observation corresponds well with the larger exegetical framework of the apotropaic function of the blood of the lamb.

³⁶ See further J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), 155–269; and Baruch M. Bokser, “Unleavened Bread and Passover, Feasts Of,” in *ABD*, ed. David Noel Freedman et al., vol. VI, (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 755–765.

Passover,”³⁷ one can also glean from the text the author’s understanding of the *purpose* of the Passover. First, *Jubilees* 49:15 states that by observing the Passover, “no plague will come upon them to kill and strike (them) during that year when they have celebrated the Passover at its time in every respect as it was commanded.”³⁸ In other words, the apotropaic function of the rite is expanded from its original exodus setting to Israelite life in general: its observance will protect the Jew from general harm throughout the entire year. Secondly, the wider context of *Jubilees* also provides an additional reason for the close observation of Passover, so that “they will not go astray from the Lord” (*Jub.* 49:21, cf. 50:2). Indeed, the one who is able to come and celebrate the Passover but fails to do so “will bear responsibility for his own sin” (a phrase borrowed from Numbers 9:13, employing the word אָפְרָה) and “is to be uprooted because he did not bring the Lord’s sacrifice at its time” (*Jub.* 49:9). There is, then, a clear association of the Passover with sin and rebellion: to *fail* to observe the Passover is tantamount to sin and opens one up to spiritual apostasy. From the evidence of *Jubilees*, it can be established that Passover had developed around itself in later traditions a complex justification, including both apotropaic as well as sin-related dimensions.

This is not to say that to the ordinary Jew the sacrifice of the Passover lamb necessarily had an inherent “atoning value”³⁹ in the same way as other cultic sacrifices, but it had a close association with general Israelite purity and obedience. And, as stated above, phenomenologically and experientially, it would have been highly reminiscent and evocative of many of the other sacrifices at the altar of burnt offering at the Temple and, therefore, of the entire cultic institution.⁴⁰ The end result in at least some ancient Jewish minds, I argue, would

³⁷ James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees, Chapters 1–50*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford, vol. 1 & 2, Herm. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2018), 1170.

³⁸ All translations of the text of *Jubilees* are taken from James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2020).

³⁹ On the use of the root כָּפַר (to atone), see further Christian Eberhart, “Introduction: Constituents and Critique of Sacrifice, Cult, and Atonement in Early Judaism and Christianity,” in *Sacrifice, Cult, and Atonement in Early Judaism and Christianity: Constituents and Critique*, ed. Henrietta L. Wiley and Christian Eberhart SBLRBS 85 (Atlanta, Geor.: SBL Press, 2017), 12, 16–17. I use it here in its narrower cultic sense.

⁴⁰ Scholars who argue against an association of Passover with cultic sacrifice typically fail to distinguish the description of the original rite of Passover in exodus from its actual practice in later Judaism as argued above. So,

likely have been a kind of “bleeding into” the Passover rite the general idea of atonement or forgiveness.⁴¹ We shall consider this in more detail below (IV.4.3) in the discussion of the connection between John 1:29 and cultic sacrificial imagery.

Returning to the Gospel of John, it is to be noted first of all that the textual link between John 1:29 and Exodus 12:3 occurs only in the Hebrew, and that indirectly, through Isaiah 53:6–7. None of the key lexemes in John 1:29 (and 1:36) occurs in the Greek text of Exodus 12:3 LXX, but a bridge can be formed on the basis of the catchword $\eta\psi$ which is also found in Isaiah 53:6–7 (translated as $\pi\rho\acute{o}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ in Isa 53:7b but placed in poetic parallel with $\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in Isa. 53:7c). Textual congruity in the allusion to the Passover lamb (Exod. 12:3), then, depends on Isaiah 53, which will be examined below. Nevertheless, the thematic connection to Passover is difficult to dispute as the Passover motif has long been recognized as prominent in John.⁴² It is celebrated in the Gospel not once, as in the Synoptic Gospels, but three times; and of the seven feasts mentioned in the FG, it is recounted as both the first and the last festival in the narrative (Jn 2:2, 6:4, 11:55–56). Furthermore, Chapter 6 records a narrative of the feeding of the crowds that is then complemented and explicated by an extended discourse replete with bread imagery from the Passover and exodus. And, most importantly, Jesus’ crucifixion is portrayed in John as a symbolic fulfillment of the Passover by means of two conspicuous narrational elements: first, the timing of Jesus’ crucifixion coincides with the slaughtering of the Passover lamb at the temple, that is, at “about the sixth hour” (Jn 19:14 cf. *Jub.* 49:1)⁴³; and, secondly, his death is described by the narrator as fulfilling the composite citation which fuses the reference to the Passover lamb (Exod. 12:10, 46; Num. 9:12) with a reference to the

e.g., Christian Eberhart, “‘The Lamb of God That Takes Away the Sin of the World’: Reflections on Atonement in the New Testament,” *Touchstone* 31.2 (2013): 38.

⁴¹ Also instructive in this regard are midrashic understandings of Passover. See, e.g., James K. Howard, “Passover and Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel,” *SJT* 20, no. 3 (1967): 332, which similarly associate Passover with atonement.

⁴² See, e.g., Howard, “Passover and Eucharist,” 329–37; more recently, see Paul M. Hoskins, “Deliverance from Death by the True Passover Lamb: A Significant Aspect of the Fulfillment of the Passover in the Gospel of John,” *JETS* 52, no. 2 (2009): 285–99; and Gerry Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts in John’s Gospel*, SNTSMS 162 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 83–126.

⁴³ See further Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, vol. 2, 883; cf. Segal, *Passover*, 233.

righteous sufferer (Ps. 34:20 [33:21 LXX]).⁴⁴ When linked together with the reference to the lamb of God at John 1:29, this forms a striking Johannine inclusio of Passover imagery, further signalling the hermeneutical significance of the Passover theme to the gospel readers and hearers. Seen all together, the function of the Passover imagery in the FG may be said to present Jesus as the “the perfect paschal victim, the complete Antitype of the old order.”⁴⁵

But the Passover lamb for John is not merely a single element extracted from the exodus story and applied to Jesus’ life and death. John is not interested in exodus typology alone for the sake of mere recapitulation. Instead, John is really interested more in the *new* exodus that is now being fulfilled in Jesus. In fact, the entire exodus story—both the original story and especially its Isaianic New Exodus version—is one of the identifiable features of the FG.⁴⁶

In other words, the Passover lamb is representative not only of the first Passover, but of the totality of the exodus tradition which culminates in its eschatological renewal as prophesied especially in Isaiah 40–55. As referenced above in Ch. III (see III.3.0 above), Isaiah 53 plays a critical role in the literary and theological development of the larger block of material in chapters 40–55. Indeed, the Servant of Isa. 53 is the linchpin which holds together two disparate themes in Isaiah 40–55. On the one hand, there is the exilic journey of Jacob-Israel through “the way of the desert” which began in Isa. 40:1–3 and culminates in Isa. 52:7–12 in the final calling forth of Israel to “depart” from the place of its depravity, that is, Babylon. On the other hand, there is the future, idyllic, restored, and re-established state of

⁴⁴ See further Catrin H. Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 115–118.

⁴⁵ Howard, “Passover and Eucharist,” 330.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2.158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Susan Hulen, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, BZNW 137 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005); John A. Dennis, *Jesus’ Death and the Gathering of True Israel: The Johannine Appropriation of Restoration Theology in the Light of John 11.47-52*, WUNT 2.217 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Hoskins, “Deliverance from Death”; Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts in John’s Gospel*, 83–126; Paul S. Coxon, *Exploring the New Exodus in John: A Biblical Theological Investigation of John Chapters 5-10* (Eugene, Oreg.: Resource Publications, 2015); David Vincent Christensen, “Atonement in John: The Death of Jesus in Light of Exodus Typology” (Th.M. thesis, Louisville, Kentucky, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2017).

God's people portrayed in Isaiah 54–55, in which Israel “shall go out in joy and be led forth in peace” (Isa. 55:12 ESV). Isaiah 53, then, sandwiched between the beginning and the end of the New Exodus story, as it were, seems to be the means whereby this story is accomplished.⁴⁷ This New Exodus motif runs deeper than a literary construction, it is not only a symbol in Deutero-Isaiah but is indeed representative of the historical situation that exilic Israel faced in the post-Babylonian era as they were called out of Babylon to return to Zion.⁴⁸ It was “die Hoffnung auf einen neuen Exodus aus dem Sklavenhaus, auf eine neue Führung durch die Wüste und Rückführung ins Land Kanaan mit voller Wucht auf.”⁴⁹ Thus this second exodus was for exilic Israel a re-enactment of its foundational story as it sought to re-establish itself in the promised land, according to the pattern recorded in scripture: out of Egypt, through the way of the wilderness, and back to Canaan. John is capitalizing on this theme of the New Exodus in his own gospel, by signposting his gospel at the beginning and end of the public ministry of Jesus with Isaianic references at 1:29, and 12:37–40. Together, with the double citation at 19:36–37 (citing Exodus 12:46 / Numbers 9:12 and Zechariah 12:10)—which forms a structural *inclusio* with 12:37–40 and a *theological inclusio* with 1:29—these two composite citations and one composite allusion undergird a particular Johannine christological understanding of Israel's New Exodus as being fulfilled in Jesus. That is, the introductory programmatic statement of the Baptist which links the forgiveness of sins (1:29) with the passion of Jesus is declaring that the *sine qua non* of that eschatological fulfillment *is* the atoning work of the Servant's suffering and death as the “lamb of God.” This claim bears repeating: the forgiveness of sins in the atoning work of the Servant *is* the eschatological fulfillment of Israel's restorationist hope. From a literary and rhetorical perspective, this underlying structural frame—visible at key points in the narrative (at the beginning, middle

⁴⁷ See further, Rikk E. Watts, “Consolation or Confrontation: Isaiah 40-55 and the Delay of the New Exodus,” *TynBul* 41, no. 1 (1990): 31–59.

⁴⁸ See esp. Walther Zimmerli, “Der ‘neue Exodus’ in der Verkündigung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten,” in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament*, Theologische Bücherei (München: C. Kaiser, 1963), 192–204.

⁴⁹ Zimmerli, “Der ‘neue Exodus,’” 193.

and end)—directs the audience to apprehend John’s particular formulation of Jesus’s identity and mission. It portrays Jesus in the composite image of the Servant as the sacrificial Passover lamb, given by God to redeem wayward Israel.

Arguably, this New Exodus theme is a historical and theological artifact sifted down from more primitive layers of the early church,⁵⁰ finding its way not only into the FG but also the Synoptic Gospels (e.g., Mk. 1:1–3; Matt. 2:15; Luke 4:2).⁵¹ Nevertheless, the fourth evangelist certainly puts his own distinctive Johannine stamp onto it. We will explore this in greater detail in the next section as we discuss the notion of atonement in the FG (IV.4.2), but illustrative of this principle for now is John’s particular narration of the story of the feeding of the crowds (6:22–59). Although the Synoptics also recount Jesus’ feeding of the multitudes, only John accompanies the feeding story with Jesus’ explicit christological statements emphasizing the divine origin of the bread and its salvific purpose: “For the bread of God is he who comes down from heaven and gives life to the world” (6:33 ESV), “I am the bread of life,” (6:35, 48) and “I am the living bread that comes down from heaven” (6:51 ESV), etc. and, especially, “the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh.” (6:51 ESV). Furthermore, a number of other details recounted in the discourse, including the symbolic usage of the number twelve (6:13, 70, 71) and the language of gathering and perishing (6:12, cf. 11:50–52) have further signaled to several commentators the theme of Israel’s restoration-exodus.⁵² What we see here, then, is a distinctly Johannine way of speaking about Israel’s New Exodus through the imagery and language of Jesus’ sacrificial death.

⁵⁰ For a recent survey of research on exile and restoration themes in late Second Temple literature, see Nicholas G. Piotrowski, “The Concept of Exile in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Review of Recent Scholarship,” *CBR* 15, no. 2 (2017): 214–47.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 1997), 90; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), 125–44, 555–63; as well as Wright’s more recent work aimed at a non-academic audience: N.T. Wright, *The Day the Revolution Began: Reconsidering the Meaning of Jesus’s Crucifixion* (New York: HarperOne, 2018), 169–94; and Garrick V. Allen, “Exodus Traditions in the Synoptic Gospels,” in *The Reception of Exodus Motifs in Jewish and Christian Literature: “Let My People Go!”* ed. Beate Kowalski and Susan E. Docherty (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), 201–21.

⁵² See further Wheaton, *Jewish Feasts*, 100–104; and Dennis, *Jesus’ Death and the Gathering of True Israel*, 188–94.

To summarize the present argument, the Passover lamb is the first and most prominent of the multi-faceted, complex traditions that is alluded to in the phrase the “lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.” This tradition, however, is not monolithic and incorporates within its thematic gravity at least three elements: the original exodus with its emphasis on God’s deliverance and protection from evil, cultic sacrificial imagery of the Temple institution (and, by evocation, atonement for sin), and, most significantly for John, the theme of the New Exodus and the fulfillment of Israel’s eschatological-restorationist hopes.

IV.4.2 The Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53

As already noted in the previous section, a second element intimately related to the theme of the New Exodus is that of the Servant in Isaiah 53. It has already been emphasized in Ch. III above that the evangelist takes a special interest in the servant figure of Isaiah 53 at the Gospel’s critical juncture in John 12:37-40. It is also likely that this phrase, “the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world,” even at this introductory stage of the Gospel, acts as a proleptic reference to the person and work of the Servant of Isaiah 53. Below is a chart showing the relevant portions of Isaiah 53:7, 10, 11, and 12 in the MT and LXX displaying the verbal correspondences between the two passages in Isaiah and John.

Table K: Isa. 53 and Jn 1:29

	MT	LXX
Isa. 53:7c-d	כֶּשֶׁה לְשֹׁבַח יוֹבֵל וְכַרְחַל לְפָנָי גִּזְיָהּ נֶאֱלָמָה As a <u>sheep</u> to the slaughter is led and as an ewe before its shearers is silent	ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς <u>ἀμνός</u> ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος As sheep to slaughter is led and as a <u>lamb</u> before its shearer is silent
Isa. 53:10c	וְנַפְשׁוֹ מִשְׁאֵתָא When his soul makes a <u>guilt offering</u>	ἐὰν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν (ὄψεται) If you offer for sin, your soul (will see)
Isa. 53:11d	וְעוֹנֵתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל And <u>their sins</u> he will bear	καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει And <u>their sins</u> he will take up
Isa. 53:12e	וְהוּא חָטְאֵת רַבִּים נִשָּׂא And he <u>the sins</u> of many lifted (away)	καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν And he <u>the sins</u> of <u>many</u> took up
Jn 1:29		ἶδε ὁ <u>ἀμνός</u> τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν <u>ἁμαρτίαν</u> τοῦ κόσμου

In this chart, we see that the textual and lexematic bridge between John 1:29 and Isaiah 53 are the words ἀμνός (lamb) and ἁμαρτίαν / ἁμαρτίας (sin / sins). On their own these two verbal markers of common lexical stock may not warrant a confident association with Isaiah 53 as their purported source. The strength of the connection here, however, is as much conceptual and thematic as it is textual. As we saw in Chapter III above, the early church perceived in Isaiah 53 a figure who suffered vicariously for others and offered his life (וְנַפְשׁוֹ / ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν) as a guilt offering (מִשְׁאֵתָא) (Isa. 53:10).⁵³ In his meek acceptance of his fate, he was like a “lamb (הֶשֶׁ / ἀμνός) that is led to the slaughter” (Isa. 53:7 ESV), who will “take up” (נִשָּׂא / ἀνοίσει, ἀνήνεγκεν [Isa. 53:11, 12]) their—that is, Israel’s—sins.⁵⁴ Although the only verbal

⁵³ The term מִשְׁאֵתָא (“guilt offering”) is of significant exegetical import. The מִשְׁאֵתָא was one of the formal cultic offerings instituted in the Pentateuch with which the priest made atonement (כפר) for sin (Lev. 5:14–6:7). According to Gary A. Anderson, “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings: Old Testament,” in *The ABD*, ed. David Noel Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 880–81, “the basic feature of the [guilt-offering] sacrifice is its function as a means of reparation.” It seems to be distinguished from the sin offering (חַטָּאת) in that sin offerings deal primarily with the issue of impurity, while the מִשְׁאֵתָא deals with profanation of the sacred. In any case, the מִשְׁאֵתָא, like the חַטָּאת, are both said to “make atonement” (כפר) for sins. The allusion to Isaiah 53, then, in this aspect, fits hand-in-glove with the discussion above on sacrificial notions embedded in the tradition of the paschal lamb. These ideas will surface once more in our discussion on cultic sacrifice below.

⁵⁴ See further Stuhlmacher, “Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts.”

overlap are the two words *ἀμνός* and *ἁμαρτίας*, nevertheless, conceptually and figuratively, the combination of the Isaianic servant being described as “a lamb who takes up / takes away sin,” along with the concept of vicarious suffering, has convinced many exegetes that this Isaianic metaphor is being triggered here, as we noted above. While in Isaiah 53 LXX *ἁμαρτίας* is anarthrous and plural and in John 1:29 *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* is definite and singular, these differences easily fall within the range of John’s scriptural adaptations elsewhere.

The discussion above also raises the question: does the concept of vicarious suffering exist in the FG? Put another way, is the concept of atonement through Jesus’ death present in the FG? There is first of all the matter of definitions: what exactly does one mean by “atonement”? As noted above, atonement can be conceived in broader soteriological terms as well as in narrower cultic ones.⁵⁵ Leaving aside its narrower cultic definition for the moment, we wrestle here with atonement in its broader theological sense: Jesus’ death as a matter of salvation “for” others. Much hinges on one’s interpretation of the Baptist’s statement at John 1:29. The debate continues in biblical scholarship and is beyond our scope to rehearse in detail, but I offer here a brief sketch of the two representative positions.⁵⁶ Urban Von Wahlde has helpfully summarized the two basic positions as follows: those who regard John’s presentation of Jesus’s death as mere “departure,” and those who, additionally, view it as “sacrifice,” that is, as “atoning death.”⁵⁷ In the “death as departure” camp are, most famously, Bultmann and Käsemann, and those who follow them. Although recognizing that the language of the lamb of God in the early church was in all likelihood a reference to vicarious atonement, Bultmann argues that the language of the lamb of God which occurs in 1:29 is not

⁵⁵ See n. 39 above.

⁵⁶ For fuller treatments, see Max Turner, “Atonement and the Death of Jesus in John—Some Questions to Bultmann and Forestell,” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 62 (1990): 99–122; John A. Dennis, “Jesus’ Death in John’s Gospel: A Survey of Research from Bultmann to the Present with Special Reference to the Johannine Hyper-Texts,” *CBR* 4, no. 3 (2006): 331–63; and John Morgan-Wynne, *The Cross in the Johannine Writings* (Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2011), 3–39.

⁵⁷ See Urban C. Von Wahlde, “The Interpretation of the Death of Jesus in John against the Background of First-Century Jewish Eschatological Expectations,” in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 555.

picked up or emphasized again in the Gospel.⁵⁸ Rather, Jesus' death is subsequently characterized in the FG as a "returning" to the Father, and thus "the thought of Jesus's death as atonement for sin has no place in John."⁵⁹ More recently, John Painter, as another example of a proponent of this position, reiterates Bultmann's conclusions, emphasizing the Johannine portrait of Jesus as the one "who, in life and in death, does the will of the Father" and not as "the innocent Jesus bearing the sins of the guilty."⁶⁰

On the other hand, in the "death as sacrifice" camp, there is a recognition that, despite the lack of technical atonement language in the FG (*ἱλασμός* and its derivatives), when John's own unique language and the narrative of the Gospel as a whole are accounted for, the evidence leads inevitably towards understanding Jesus' death in atoning and vicarious terms. Thus, Leon Morris presents as evidence for this, among other factors, the important location of the phrase in 1:29 as the earthly introduction of Jesus within the narrative; the motif of the movement toward the "fulfilment of the hour" (2:4; 7:30; 8:21; 12:23–27; 13:1) the centrality of the death of Jesus to the FG; the unique, paradoxical Johannine conception of "being exalted / lifted up" as a reference to Jesus' death (3:14; 8:28; 12:32–34); the inevitability and purpose of Jesus' death based on his own statements (12:24; 18:11), as well as Caiaphas' ironic statement about Jesus' death being *ὑπὲρ* (for) the people (11:49–50).⁶¹ In a similar way, Jörg Frey, from a narrative-theological perspective, presents four carefully nuanced categories of thought that help illuminate various aspects of Jesus' death in the FG: as being an "*edler Tod*" ("noble death"), a "*wirksamer Tod*" ("effective death"), a "*stellvertretender Tod*" ("vicarious death"), and finally also a "*heilschaffender Tod*" ("salvific death").⁶² Frey begins by noting how Jesus' cross in the FG is the narrational "*innere Ziel*,"⁶³ where the cross and the

⁵⁸ Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 95–97.

⁵⁹ Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. 2 (London: SCM Press, 1955), 54.

⁶⁰ Painter, "Sacrifice and Atonement in the Gospel of John," 311.

⁶¹ Leon Morris, "The Atonement in John's Gospel," *Criswell Theological Review* 3 (1988): 49–64.

⁶² See Frey, "Edler Tod," 65–94. This brilliant essay by Frey has recently been translated into English as "The Death of Jesus in the Gospel of John," in *The Glory of the Crucified One: christology and Theology in the Gospel of John*, trans. Wayne Coppins and Christoph Heilig, BMSEC Studies in Early Christianity (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2018), 171–97.

⁶³ Frey, "Edler Tod," 66.

Johannine language of exaltation and glorification—on account of a post-Easter spiritual disclosure—are “*übereinander*,”⁶⁴ so that cross and glory must always be seen together. Frey acknowledges that while, technically speaking, “die Rede von der Heilswirkung des ‘Blutes’ oder Elemente der Opferterminologie” is lacking in the FG, nevertheless, one is certainly justified in speaking of a “*stellvertretenden Sühnetod*” (“vicarious atoning death”).⁶⁵ Evidence for this includes, among other things, the multiple *ὑπὲρ* statements of vicarious dying in the Gospel (6:51; 10:11, 15; 11:50–52; 15:13; 17:19), which “verbinden sich... zu einem Ganzen”⁶⁶—significantly, this includes the sacrificial imagery of the Good Shepherd giving his life for his flock (10:1–15); the evangelist’s introductory programmatic statement of the Baptist at 1:29 which forms “ein ‘Eingangstor zum joh Verständnis Christi’”⁶⁷; as well as the several scenes of “place-taking” with soteriological connotation (Lazarus, 11:1–44; Barabbas, 18: 39–40; and, to a degree, the beloved disciple, 19:25–27).⁶⁸ This internal evidence, argues Frey, combined with the much clearer external corroborating data in 1 John, weighs heavily in favor of reading at least a (non-cultic) atonement theology in the FG.⁶⁹ In my view, given a narrative-theological framework, these arguments from Morris and Frey (and others) respond convincingly to Bultmann’s and Käsemann’s questions about the absence of explicit atonement language in John. When John’s own unique language and the narrative of the Gospel as a whole are accounted for, the evidence leads the reader decisively towards understanding Jesus’ death in atoning and vicarious terms.⁷⁰ This discussion on the concept of atonement will be continued in the next section on “Other Sacrificial imagery” (IV.4.3), but presently, we continue with the focus on Isaiah.

⁶⁴ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 70.

⁶⁵ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 86, citing Thomas Knöppler, *Sühne im Neuen Testament: Studien zum urchristlichen Verständnis der Heilsbedeutung des Todes Jesu*, WMANT 88 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 67.

⁶⁶ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 86.

⁶⁷ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 86.

⁶⁸ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 88–89.

⁶⁹ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 91.

⁷⁰ Cf., for a kind of mediating position, John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 515–53.

Several additional facts emerge when one considers the FG’s overall usage of Isaiah—as we explored in Chapter III above. First, Isaiah 40–55 plays a prominent role in the Gospel⁷¹; secondly, the citation of Isaiah 53 at 12:38 begins the “fulfilment” motif in the Gospel which presages the events of the cross; thirdly, the language of “glory” and being “lifted up” (cf. Jn 3:14–15; 8:28; 12:32, 38–40) noted by Morris and Frey is likely taken from Isaiah (see further Ch. III above). Thus, the “gradual unfolding”⁷² of the Johannine drama results in an increasing clarity about the association between Isaiah 53 and this introductory statement about the “lamb of God.” When viewed in isolation, at this introductory stage in the Gospel’s opening, the association of this phrase with Isaiah 53 would need to be considered cautiously, but when viewed more holistically and having read the FG in its entirety, all of the pieces of the puzzle fit together, solidifying the linkage between the Isaianic servant who suffers vicariously and “the lamb of God” in 1:29.

IV.4.3 Other Sacrificial Imagery

We have already argued that notions of the cult were not far removed from the idea of the paschal lamb in biblical and later Jewish tradition because the Passover tradition became associated with the Temple institution over time. Furthermore, we noted the closely associated notion of the vicarious and atoning suffering of the Servant of Isaiah as an אֲשֶׁר and the atoning of sin. But can even more be said with regard to possible allusions to sacrificial imagery in John 1:29? I argue in the affirmative, especially when one considers the oral-aural-literary dimensions of the reception of the Johannine text, and the nature of ancient media culture more widely.

Before proceeding in this argument, however, I pause to briefly define exactly what is meant by the word “sacrifice.” The Hebrew word is זָבַח and its basic meaning is to slaughter or kill; its primary and most abundant usage in the Hebrew Bible is in the context of worship,

⁷¹ See, e.g., Catrin H. Williams, “Isaiah in John’s Gospel,” in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark International, 2007), 101.

⁷² Williams, “Seeing,” 153.

whether that worship be the legitimate worship of YHWH, or the idolatrous worship of pagan deities. It is, nonetheless, occasionally used in the context of non-cultic killing.⁷³ Christian Eberhart argues that the essential Levitical notion of “sacrifice” is not about killing and is fundamentally about “offering by fire.”⁷⁴ However, of its 43 occurrences in the book of Leviticus, the actual word זָבַח is never used in reference to anything other than an animal. The single exceptional circumstance is where an animal cannot be afforded, and a non-animal offering is brought to and burnt at the altar as a substitute זָבַח (Lev. 5:11). Semantically, in Leviticus זָבַח is also a subset of the larger category of “offering” (both מִנְחָה = “gift” or קָרְבַּן = “brought near) which could include other offerings that did not involve killing, such as grain offerings.⁷⁵ But while a sacrifice is always an offering, an offering is not necessarily a sacrifice. That is, a זָבַח is a specific kind of offering that implied the killing of an animal, and thus it is best to retain its fundamental definition as an animal offering that is slaughtered and burnt on the altar.

With this understanding of sacrifice, we return to consider the possibility of an allusion to other sacrificial notions in 1:29 besides that of the Servant. It is significant that as we consider the biblical notion of sacrifice, our discussion now moves deeper into the territory of thematic and conceptual considerations—and herein lies the interpretative strength and versatility of our conception of the ancient audience. Here, there are three related traditions in the Hebrew Bible (and their interpretation in the LXX) that need to be discussed: the *Akedah* of Isaac (Gen. 22), the daily sacrifice of the *Tamid* at the Temple (Exod. 29:38; Num. 28:3); and the Day of Atonement along with its scapegoat ritual (Lev. 16). I group these three under the same heading of “other sacrificial imagery,” as what is vital for our purposes is not the particular strand of biblical tradition being discussed, as much as the broader biblical *concept* of sacrifice that would have arisen in the ancient Jewish mind familiar with the Hebrew (and

⁷³ See further, Herbert Wolf, “זָבַח,” in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago: Moody Press, 1999), 233–35.

⁷⁴ Eberhart, “The Lamb of God,” 35–36.

⁷⁵ See further Anderson, “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings: Old Testament,” 870-886.

Greek) scriptures. True, the terminology in question and the specified animal(s) differ according to each situation. Thus, in Genesis 22, YHWH provides a ram (אֵילִם / κριός) (22:13) for Abraham on Mt. Moriah as a substitute sacrifice for Isaac; in Exodus 29:38 and Numbers 28:3, it is specified that a male lamb (שְׁבִיבִי / ἀμνός) is to be offered in the morning and evening at the Tabernacle as a regular burnt offering each day; in Leviticus 16:1–28, the Levitical rite enacted on *Yom Kippur* specifies two goats (עִזִּים / χιμάρους ἐξ αἰγῶν [16:5]; שְׁעִיר / χίμαρον [16:8]) as a תִּשְׁאֵף / προσοίσει περὶ ἁμαρτίας (16:9) (sin offering)—one to be offered as a burnt offering and one to be sent into the wilderness bearing on its head the sins of Israel, the so-called “scapegoat.” Verbally, only the *Tamid* utilizes the word ἀμνός. But, once again, what is crucial here is not the verbal overlap, but rather the basic concept of an עֹלָה (burnt offering) in which an animal of livestock is sacrificed to YHWH, and how its death, in turn, procures some sort of atonement (at least in its broader theological sense) that is, receiving “life” from God. In the case of the prototypical *Akedah*, Isaac’s life is spared⁷⁶; in the case of the Day of Atonement, the death of the animal procures an atonement for sin as it is consumed in fire on the altar or sent away from the people (to its death) into the wilderness; and the *Tamid*, embedded in the original context of the narrative in Exodus 29, is surrounded by atonement language (Exod. 29:36–37). This is also reflected in later Jewish development where the *Tamid*, not unlike the Passover sacrifice (as noted above), becomes directly associated with the forgiveness of sin (cf. *Jub.* 6:14): “They are to keep it [the Mosaic covenant] throughout

⁷⁶ For the notion of sacrifice in the FG and an allusion to the *Akedah*, a glance at Jn 3:16 is extremely helpful. Many have noted the verbal and thematic connections between Jn 3:16 and Gen. 22. In Jn 3:16—viewed by many as one of the central proclamations of the Johannine kerygma—the father loves (ἠγάπησεν) the world and therefore gives (ἔδωκεν) his only son (τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ) to die on a cross (3:14–15) for the salvation of the world; in Gen. 22 LXX the father is asked to sacrifice the beloved son Isaac (τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας [elsewhere יְהוָה is translated in the LXX as μονογενής, cf. Jud. 11:34, Ps. 21:21]), who is the promised seed of salvation and therefore carries the promise of the blessing of all the nations (Gen. 12). And in its context in 3:16, the giving of the son is another way of speaking of the crucifixion and resurrection of the son (3:14–15). These verbal and thematic links between 3:16 and Gen. 22 provide weighty evidence for an allusion to the *Akedah* in 3:16 and argues strongly that a similar connection is at least implicit in 1:29. On further linkages between the *Akedah* and the FG, see also Bruce H. Grigsby, “The Cross as an Expiatory Sacrifice in the Fourth Gospel,” *JSNT* 5, no. 15 (May 1982): 51–80, especially 59–60. Grigsby notes how by the first century CE, a pre-Christian Jewish tradition had already associated the *Akedah* with Passover by placing it, along with Isaac’s birth and natural death, on Nisan 15.

history so that they may continue supplicating for themselves with blood in front of the altar each and every day. In the morning and in the evening, they are continually to ask pardon for themselves before the Lord so that they may keep it and not be uprooted.” This oblique reference to the *Tamid* occurs in the context of the covenantal injunction not to consume blood, since, it is implied, that blood is meant for the sanctification and forgiveness of Israel.⁷⁷

Many scholars are reluctant to detect an allusion to the *Akedah*, the *Tamid* or the Day of Atonement in John 1:29. Typically, the discussion becomes embroiled in the different animals used in the Israelite rituals and the different words used for the different animals involved in the different sacrifices.⁷⁸ However, what has generally been missed by scholars is the mere fact that in the Hebrew scriptures (as well as in the LXX), *every* and *any* time an actual literal animal is mentioned in the context of the removal or atoning of sin, the context is *always* sacrificial.⁷⁹ That is, I conjecture that in the ancient Jewish mind, the mention of an animal (particularly of livestock such as עז [a goat], איל [a ram], כֶּבֶד [a lamb or young ram], or הֶשֶׁ [sheep or goat]) in the context of the forgiveness of sin—that is, atonement—*reflexively* brought to mind the notion of sacrifice, whether that was directly tied to the cultic institution, as in the *Tamid* and the חֲטָאָה (sin-offering) and the scapegoat, or whether it was tied to its precursors, as in the *Akedah* of Isaac.⁸⁰ These three or four instances merely represent the most prominent examples that would likely have been at the forefront of the ancient Jewish mind, but other kinds of sacrifice would not have been far behind. The essential point is that,

⁷⁷ Cf. also *Jub.* 50:11: “Only this (kind of) work [i.e., to bring offerings and sacrifices to the Lord] is to be done on the Sabbath days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God in order *that they may atone* continuously for Israel with offerings from day to day as a memorial that is acceptable before the Lord [emphasis mine].” Here the context is the keeping of the Sabbath, but the logical structure is identical to what we have seen both regarding the Passover as well as in *Jub.* 6:14 above. There is a clear association between the daily sacrifices of the *Tamid*, *atonement* and the forgiveness of sin.

⁷⁸ E.g. Brown, *John I–XII*, 29:63; Dennis, “Lamb of God,” 482.

⁷⁹ A combined electronic search, for example, in the Hebrew Bible of each of the main kinds of animals used in the Israelite cult (עז, איל, כֶּבֶד, הֶשֶׁ) with the word חֲטָאָה and its various derivatives reveals sacrificial contexts throughout.

⁸⁰ For an interesting study on the convergence of various sacrificial motifs between Isa. 53 and Gen. 22 in ancient Jewish and early Christian texts, see Paba De-Andrado, “The Akedah Servant Complex: Tracing the Linkage of Genesis 22 and Isaiah 53 in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Texts” (Ph.D. diss., Durham, Durham University, 2011), especially 106–48.

in general, the mention of an animal and the removal of sin *together* would likely have led ancient Jewish audiences to think of notions of sacrifice and the cultic setting in which the ritual took place. A modern example might help illustrate this principle. While on its own the word “automobile” typically only evokes the image of a vehicle of steel with a motor and four wheels, and the word “fueling” may recall to mind a variety of scenarios from eating to stoking a fire, in our modern era the combination of the words “auto” and “fueling” in the same phrase reflexively evokes the image of the act of filling up a vehicle with gasoline at an automobile gas station (or, to further contemporize the analogy, an electric vehicle battery at an electric charging station!). It matters not what *kind* of vehicle we have in mind, whether a truck, a van, or a sedan, the generic type of the action of “filling up” is evoked. So, too, I argue, in the ancient Jewish mind, when the words “lamb,” “God,” and “taking away sins” are combined together, invariably the image of the act of sacrifice—that is, primarily, the killing and death of an animal—and along with it, the temple cult, are evoked. It matters little whether *ἀμνός* or *πρόβατον* or *הַשֶּׁה* or *בֶּשֶׂה* are used. In an oral-aural society especially, the audience correlates the various words under a single semantic domain and just as easily relates one with the other, and in combination with “taking away sin,” the specific concept of sacrifice and its cultic setting are evoked.

Returning to the Gospel of John and the notion of sacrifice, it is generally recognized that the specific term *ἰλασμός*—“expiation / atonement”—and its derivatives are not found in the Gospel, nor is the idea explicitly applied to Jesus’s death. That is, while Jesus’ death is prominently featured in the Gospel, apart from John 1:29, the explicit description of the nature of that death as an atoning, expiatory sacrifice is lacking.⁸¹ Although this is true from a

⁸¹ However, despite the absence of the term in the FG, it would be unwise to ignore its presence in the Johannine correspondence (1 Jn 2:2, 4:10), there in the context of the removal of sin (cf. 1:29). As Frey writes: “Angesichts der Tatsache, daß die Johannesbriefe den nächstliegenden Kommentar zum Evangelium bieten - ganz gleich, wie man das literarische und historische Verhältnis zwischen beiden Größen näher bestimmt - ist die Annahme, der Evangelist hätte das Motiv der kultischen Sühne nicht gekannt, historisch kaum plausibel,” see Frey, “Edler Tod,” 91. See also C. A. Gieschen, “The Death of Jesus in the Gospel of John: Atonement for Sin?,” *CTQ* 72, no. 3 (2008): 243–61, who argues that the absence of atonement language in the FG is due to the Gospel’s usage of *allusive* language to indicate atonement theology.

terminological perspective, conceptually the matter is much more open.⁸² In addition to the arguments highlighted above by Morris and Frey, two additional pieces of data from the wider context of the FG need to be discussed which further leads the audience in this direction. The first has to do with the specific language of “eating the flesh” of Jesus found in the Johannine recounting of the feeding of the multitudes: “I am the living bread that came down from heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever. And the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh” (Jn 6:51 ESV). At one level, this is likely to be a reference to the practice of the Lord’s supper and a reference to the bread of the eucharist, but, on another level, this reference to flesh and blood is also foreshadowing—in the language of sacrifice—the impending death of Jesus.⁸³ The flesh of the sacrificial offering, it is recalled, is eaten by either the priest or the one making the offering; the blood of the sacrifice is then subsequently applied, in purificatory fashion, both to the altar as well as to those participating in the ritual. The particular way that this story has been recounted in the FG, then, is yet another indication of the presence of the concept of atoning sacrifice underlying Johannine christology. Secondly, attention can be drawn to the sanctification language of John 17: Jesus “sanctifies” (ἀγιάζω) himself, in order that his disciples may be “sanctified” (ἡγιασμένοι). Here, at what might be considered the climax of the farewell discourse, the language is inescapably that of the priestly effect of cultic sacrifice and purificatory rites.⁸⁴ Jesus, as the greatest high priest, serves as the intermediary between the Father and the disciples, praying for his disciples and sanctifying them by virtue of the sacrifice that he himself is providing in his own body and blood.

Taken together, all this evidence cannot be dismissed. While the specific term *ἱλασμός* is not found in the FG, the concept of a sacrificial, expiatory death is surely at least incipient

⁸² For a recent discussion, see Knöppler, *Sühne im Neuen Testament*, 233–51, who argues that, against the background of the Hebrew Bible (as well as the LXX), a greater presence of propitiation and atonement theology in the NT is warranted than is usually recognized; for his treatment of the FG, see 233–51.

⁸³ Howard, “Passover and Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel,” 333–34; Morris, “The Atonement,” 60–61; cf. Hoskins, “Deliverance from Death,” 297–98.

⁸⁴ Frey, “Edler Tod,” 85; Morris, “The Atonement,” 64; Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1972), 529.

in it,⁸⁵ and the Jewish first-century audiences of the FG who were familiar with the Jewish scriptures with their traditions of atonement and cultic sacrifice would have had little difficulty in connecting these themes to the FG. Thus, in a way like the usage of Isaiah 53 in the FG, as one considers the larger context of the Gospel beyond the immediate context of 1:29, the concept of atoning sacrifice emerges as one of the resonant themes and is readily connected to the declaration concerning the “lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.”

To summarize, I contend that this phrase in John 1:29 alludes to at least *three* complex traditions: the paschal lamb and the exodus tradition (both in its original context and especially in its New Exodus context); that of the servant of Isaiah 53 who suffers vicariously as an אֲשֶׁר, with the New Exodus motifs as the linkage between these two texts; and finally the general idea of cultic and atoning sacrifice as represented by such traditions as the *Akedah*, the scapegoat ritual, and the *Tamid*. I believe that when we consider the oral/aural-setting setting of the ancient world, and when seen especially from the perspective of a typical first-century Jewish audience, all of these mental associations would have been readily evoked upon aurally encountering such a phrase.⁸⁶

Excursus: The Apocalyptic Messiah

Some have argued that the declaration uttered by the Baptist in John 1:29 (also) refers to an apocalyptic messiah-figure.⁸⁷ Arguments in favor of this claim include two main sources of

⁸⁵ Von Wahlde, “Interpretation,” proposes an intriguing thesis of the development of this incipient theme by the author of 1 John, counterposing the eschatological pneumatology of the element of “the water” with that of the expiatory soteriology of “the blood.” Both theologies are found in both the Gospel and the Johannine letters, Von Wahlde claims; the difference lies only in emphasis—the Gospel emphasizes the eschatological element of the water, whereas the letters emphasize the expiatory element of blood.

⁸⁶ Cf. also Craig R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 217–24, who sees similar *symbolic* connections among the concepts of sacrifice, scripture fulfillment and the phrase “lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.”

⁸⁷ Most famously, see Dodd, *Interpretation*, 228–40. For a more recent study, see the Th.M. thesis by Christopher W. Skinner, “Did John the Baptist Call Jesus the ‘Lamb of God,’ and if He Did What Did He Mean? A Historical and Exegetical Study of John 1:29, 36” (Th.M. thesis, Dallas, Dallas Theological Seminary, 2001). After a helpful review of the relevant literature, Skinner argues that the “Lamb of God” title was not a literary creation but was indeed spoken by the Baptist (or at least something similar to it), in reference to an apocalyptic-type messiah, although the relative clause “who takes away the sin of the world” was likely fashioned (or at least significantly modified) by the evangelist as a double-entendre to fit the evangelist’s theological interests; a briefer

data. There is, first of all, the matter of three extrabiblical apocalyptic references, *1 Enoch* 90:6-19, *Testament of Joseph* 19:8, and *Testament of Benjamin* 3:8. It is claimed that all three passages describe a victorious figure who establishes his rule over his enemies. In the *Enoch* passage, a figure who defies his enemies is described as a horned sheep; in the *Testament of Joseph* passage there is a lamb figure who is victorious over its enemies; and in the *Testament of Benjamin* passage, there is a reference to the “lamb of God, savior of the world.” Secondly, there is the source of the Revelation of John, with its numerous references (28 in total) to the heavenly and exalted Christ as the slain and conquering “lamb” (ἀρνίον). Together, it is argued, these provide evidence for a historical context in the first century CE in which the moniker ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ could have been used to evoke the notion of a messianic figure appointed to deliver the Jewish people from their oppressors.

A closer examination of the evidence, however, reveals three key issues requiring consideration. First, the evidence from the two passages in *Test. Jos.* and *Test. Benj.* to which many commentators point is dubious at best, and both contain extensive Christian interpolations. With regard to *T. Jos.* 19:8, the Greek and Slavonic recensions of *T. Jos.* 19:8 contain the word ἀμνὸς that some regard as original, but the accompanying christological notion of a virgin birth (along with other early Christian messianic formulations) render it suspect. The Armenian text of *T. Jos.* 19:8 also contains the word “lamb” at 19:8 along with the notion of the lamb overcoming and destroying his enemies, but this, too, is likely to be an interpolation. R.H. Charles previously regarded it to represent an independent witness to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, and thus to amount to a more reliable manuscript.⁸⁸ His assessments, however, are now known to likely be incorrect, and thus the Armenian text provides no improvement to the situation. Rather, as per H. C. Kee and others, the Testaments were likely written originally in Greek, and any semitisms in the Greek text “can just as well be explained

version of his thesis can be found in his article, Christopher W. Skinner, “Another Look at ‘the Lamb of God,’” *BSac* 161, no. 641 (2004): 89–104. For other commentators who hold a similar view see the corresponding column in Table J above.

⁸⁸ See further Charles, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2:285–88; Charles also attempts to ground the *Testaments* in the original semitic texts.

as deriving from the language and style of the Septuagint.”⁸⁹ The Greek and Slavonic recensions also contain the phrase at 19:11 ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world), which most regard as an insertion.⁹⁰ With regard to *T. Benj.* 3:8, this, too, is quite evidently a Christian interpolation in its entirety.⁹¹ It was previously thought that the Armenian text of *Test. Jos* 19:8 represented a more credible witness, but now that this claim has been demonstrated to be erroneous, neither of these texts can be summoned as evidence for a lamb messianism in the Judaism of that time. Many commentators, it seems, have been slow to recognize Charles’ error.^{92, 93}

Secondly, removing the questionable *Testaments* from the equation, we are left with the Enochic text of the so-called Animal Apocalypse (*I En.* 90:6–19). But evidence from *I Enoch* is complicated by the fact that we do not have manuscripts in the original language for this passage (which was probably Hebrew or Aramaic or some combination of both) we have extant only the Ethiopic. However, we do have the Greek text of a not-too-distant preceding passage, *I Enoch* 89:42–49, in which the language of “sheep” (πρόβατα) represent Israel led by a leader, a “ram” (κρίδος), who eventually represents David and, subsequently, a Davidic figure. All of this is given in the context of an allegorical recapitulation (in zoological imagery) of Israel’s history since its inception. Thus, the sheep are Israel, the ram / horned

⁸⁹ H. C. Kee, “A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 1 (New York; London: Yale University Press, 1983), 775–77.

⁹⁰ For the texts in English, see Robert Henry Charles, ed., *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 353; and James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York; London: Yale University Press, 1983), 824–25.

⁹¹ See further Charles, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2:356; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:826.

⁹² E.g., Brown, *John I–XII*, 29:50; McHugh, *John 1–4*; Köstenberger, “John,” 428; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 36:24–25.

⁹³ See further Loren L. Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John: An Investigation into Its Origins and Rhetorical Force*, WUNT 2.167 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 81–88; and Joachim Jeremias, “Das Lamm, das aus der Jungfrau hervorging (Test. Jos. 19, 8),” *ZNW* 57, no. 3–4 (1966): 216–19. For an argument in favor of the continuing relevance of the two *Test.* passages to the present discussion, see John C. O’Neill, “The Lamb of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *JSNT* 1, no. 2 (1979): 2–30. However, O’Neill’s argument is highly speculative; he proposes that the interpolators could not have been Christian but must have been Jewish, on account of certain theological inconsistencies. In my mind, the evidence is far too limited to make such a claim with any certainty, and the traditional view that these interpolations were made by Christians familiar with Johannine language of “the lamb of God” is by far the more plausible conclusion.

sheep represents its leaders, and other predatory and wild animals represent the hostile nations and rulers surrounding Israel. In *1 Enoch* 90:6-19, scholars generally agree that the *κρίδος* figure is referring to Judas Maccabaeus.⁹⁴ But with respect to any possible messianic associations, the focus is decidedly *not* on the lambs or sheep. In the historical allegory of the vision, the animals only take on a leadership role by “evolving” and growing horns or becoming a ram. The exception is the pre-monarchic sheep figure of Moses who is only distinguished as “the sheep that had been saved from the wolves” (*1 En.* 89:16), and then, subsequently called, “that sheep” (e.g., *1 En.* 89:17, 28, 29). In other words, Moses is not distinguished from Israel at large in any way by the designation “sheep;” the point is simply that he is one of many other sheep who has been saved from the “the wolves” (that is, Egypt). In the same way, further on, the “lambs” in *1 Enoch* 90:6–16 represent, as a whole, the younger generation of Israel (= Hasidim) as it confronts the older generation. It is only the “horns” that the lambs grow, and, specifically, the “one great horn” that then becomes the focal point of the battle against Israel’s enemies. Thus “sheep” is representative of Israel at large, and, if anything, a symbol of vulnerability and proneness to wandering and being misled⁹⁵; moreover, “lamb” in this passage is symbolic only of youth. Based on the Enochic texts, therefore, and with regard to messianic expectations, one might expect “the ram of God,” or “the horn of God,” but not, as in the FG, the “lamb of God.” While the Enochic Animal Apocalypse tradition distinguishes clearly between “sheep” and “ram,” this is not the case in the biblical traditions with respect to “sheep,” “goats,” “lambs,” and “ram” in relation to notions of sacrifice and atonement, as we saw above. In summary, the Enochic literature contains no special messianic association with “lambs” or “sheep.” With respect to the Gospel of John, therefore, the phrase “the lamb of God,” against the background of the extant evidence in the *Testaments* and *1 Enoch*, gains no special messianic value.

⁹⁴ See, e.g., George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, vol. 1, Herm. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2001), 396.

⁹⁵ See further Johns, *The Lamb Christology*, 88–96.

Thirdly, as for the Revelation of John in the New Testament, which does frequently witness to the apocalyptic conquering Christ who is called the “lamb” (ἀρνίον), this fact alone would be inadequate to establish a messianic background for John 1:29. Indeed, it may be easier to argue for influence in the other direction: that the Book of Revelation picked up on Johannine christology grounded in the FG’s use of the lamb of God, and, in combination with other traditions of apocalyptic animal imagery (such as 1 Enoch 89–90 and Dan. 8), applied this to Jesus Christ in the Revelation.⁹⁶ In particular, the central image of the ἀρνίον in the theologically critical passage Revelation 5:1–14 is a *slain* (ἐσφαγμένον) *lamb*, and this is repeated at 13:8. Therefore, this points decisively to the crucifixion for its core definition—rather than at general messianic ideas at that time. The “lamb” aspect of the figure directs the audience not to conquering messianic qualities, but rather, in line with the FG, to sacrifice and, arguably, atonement, although this requires further evidence that cannot be pursued here. Put another way, the ἀρνίον epithet in Revelation does not recall typical Jewish messianism as much as it subverts conventional Jewish notions of victory and conquest.⁹⁷ To fully substantiate this statement would require a thesis in its own right, but it is, I believe, a much more plausible thesis than the alternative of considering the usage of ἀρνίον in Revelation alone as background evidence for an apocalyptic and warrior-like messiah in John 1:29.

Granted, from a historical perspective, the thought of the Baptist pronouncing deliverance in the form of a coming militant and conquering Messiah coheres well with some of the Synoptic data and is an attractive idea given our knowledge of the first-century setting. But this is simply not where the Johannine evidence points. While the notion of atoning sacrifice, Passover, and the work of the servant of Isaiah 53 do recur at pivotal places and represent key themes in the rest of the FG, the notion of a militant, apocalyptic messianic figure who is victorious over his enemies is decidedly absent. Would a first-century Jewish

⁹⁶ For a recent collection which contains a couple of essays exploring the relationship between the Fourth Gospel and the Revelation of John, in connection with “apocalypticism,” see Catrin H. Williams and Christopher Rowland, eds., *John’s Gospel and Intimations of Apocalyptic* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013).

⁹⁷ Similarly, see Johns, *The Lamb Christology*, who argues that the “lamb” ἀρνίον in Revelation, as elsewhere in scripture, conveys vulnerability and peace rather than violence, 158-171.

person have heard in the phrase ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου certain apocalyptic messianic overtones? I answer in the negative: ancient Jewish—or Gentile, for that matter—audiences would *not* have perceived an allusion to an apocalyptic messiah in this phrase, and neither did the author of the FG intend to convey it.

IV.5.0 Formal Analysis of the Composite Allusion in John 1:29 and Summary

The foregoing analysis has led to the conclusion that in the statement of the Baptist we find a complex, multi-layered composite allusion comprised of three interconnected elements: the paschal lamb and the exodus (including the New Exodus of Isa. 40-55), the vicarious suffering of the Servant of Isaiah 53, and sacrificial imagery of the Temple cult. As stated above, the verbal links between John 1:29 and these three traditions are detectable in the lexemes ἀμνὸς and ἁμαρτία, and are found in varying degrees within them, but it is the mutually reinforcing *thematic resonances* among the three traditions that are most outstanding. In Chapter II, I classified the composite allusions examined there under three identifiable types. Type I composite allusions consist of *two or more clear allusions each tethered to distinct morphemes*; Type II composite allusions consist of *single allusive markers which are connected (either through catchwords or similar themes) to scriptural motifs or themes represented by a plurality of scriptural passages*; and Type III composite allusions consist of *a literary passage which contains within it some complex mixture of Type I and Type II composite allusions which nevertheless forms a coherent whole*.

In John 1:29, we can discern two or three distinct sub-units. The first is the “lamb of God,” the second is “who takes away the sin of the world;” and the third (which we have not investigated) is the morpheme ἴδε (look). In my schema, this phrase as a whole is considered a compact Type III allusion, in which are found both textual and thematic elements. On the one hand, the first sub-unit, “the lamb of God,” points towards the Passover lamb tradition; on the other hand, the combination of the “lamb of God” “who takes away sins,” along with the lexemes ἀμνὸς and ἁμαρτίαν, refers specifically to the Servant of Isaiah 53. Both references

are confirmed when they are situated within the literary context of the FG as a whole. At the same time, the phrase also conceptually evokes the traditions of cultic sacrifice in the Jewish scriptures, pointing to the concept of sacrificial atonement—which is also confirmed in the unfolding Johannine narrative.

With regard to the textual elements, the strongest ties are to Isaiah 53, where ἀμνός (Isa. 53:7) and ἁμαρτία (Isa. 53:11–12) are both found. Although the two words are separated by some distance in the Isaiah passage, treating Isaiah 52:13–53:12 as a unit is warranted on the basis of the poetic unity of the song as well as on the principle of catchword association where nearby elements in the alluded-to text can become associated with the alluding text (see Ch. I above). This tendency to take into account the wider context of the Servant song is also attested in the fourth evangelist’s citation of Isaiah 53:1 in 12:38 as an introduction to the events of the passion (see Ch. III above), and where “the arm of the LORD” serves as a metonymic reference for the work of the Servant of Isaiah. Then, in the allusion to the paschal lamb of exodus, textual congruity can be established based on the Hebrew catchword אֶזְרָא, which is found in Isaiah 53:7 and Exodus 12:3.⁹⁸ Granted, this catchword is present only in the Hebrew text, but the evangelist has demonstrated that he is familiar with and capable of utilizing the Hebrew text when it most suits his need (e.g., the evangelist’s citation of Isa. 6:10, see Ch. III above). And finally, in relation to the cultic tradition, the combination of the words ἁμαρτία and ἀμνός in close proximity is found in a number of cultic texts which prescribe the sacrifice necessary for atonement (e.g., Lev. 9:3; 12:6; 12:8; 2 Chr. 29:21; Ezr. 8:35). All these textual correspondences would have provided the ancient Jewish-Christian exegete with ample opportunity to associate these multiple passages with one another in an attempt to interpret them in light of God’s new revelation given in Jesus (Jn 1:1–18).

But it is the thematic ties in John 1:29 to all three of these traditions, and especially in combination *together*, that cements the viability of the composite allusion here and through

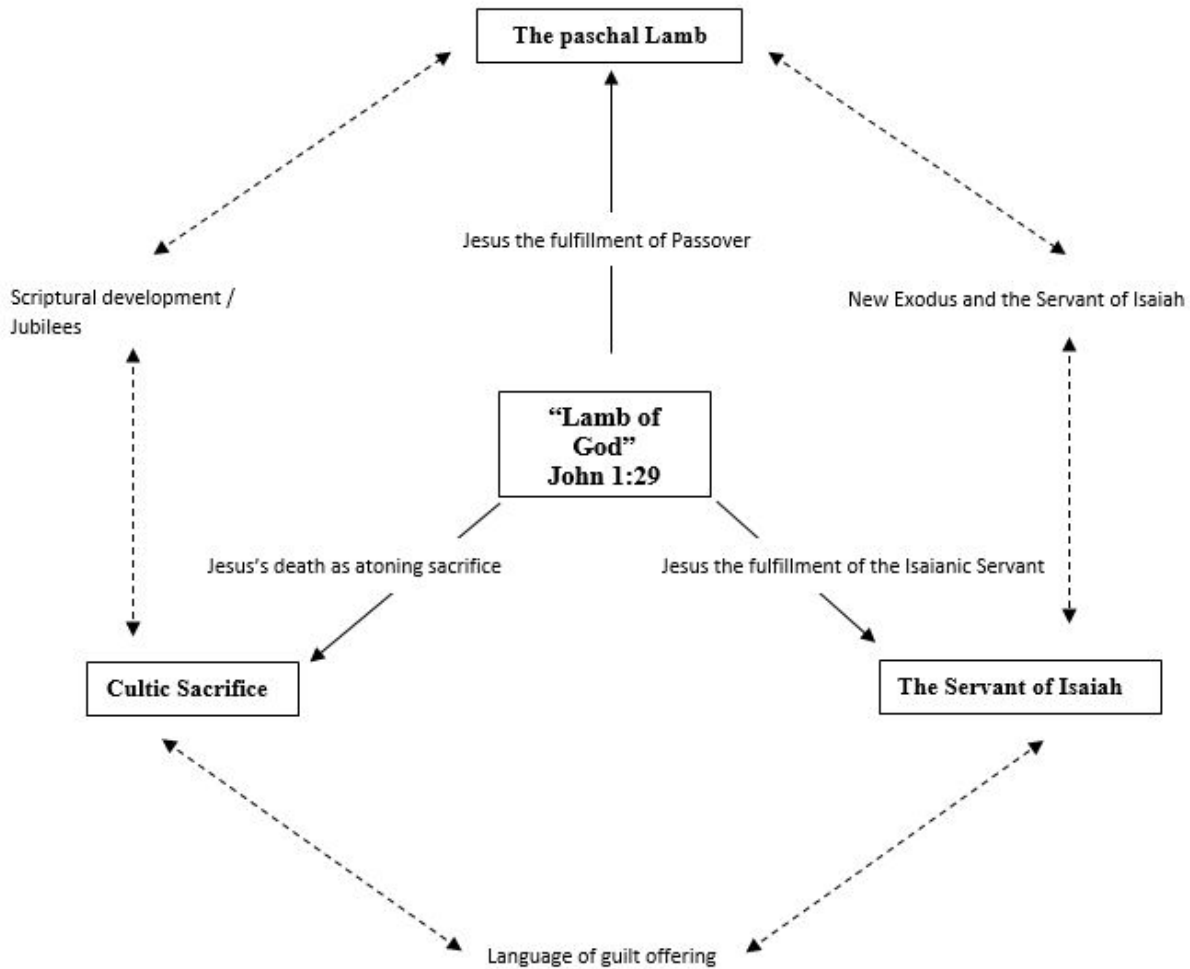
⁹⁸ Williams, “Seeing,” 138; Richard J. Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory: Major Themes in Johannine Theology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2015), 154–56.

which the composite allusion primarily “works.” This is especially so in considering the *reception* of this composite allusion (as opposed to its composition, in which textual associations based on catchwords primarily likely operated). Of the three alluded-to traditions—the paschal lamb, the Servant of Isaiah, and cultic sacrifice—we may perhaps speak of the allusion to the paschal lamb as the strongest, or as the primary allusion: Jesus is the fulfillment of the Passover-exodus tradition. The motif of the Passover recurs more frequently in the Gospel than the other two traditions and resonates more strongly with the overall framework of the FG. It occurs in John 2:13–25 with Jesus’ cleansing of the Temple, which occurs during the Passover, in 6:1–14, 22–59 where Jesus feeds the multitude while the “Passover was at hand” (6:2), and, finally, in 13:31–17:26, and 19:13–37 in the Farewell Discourse and in the Passion narrative. Thus, at a narrational level, the Baptist’s introduction serves to foreshadow the various passages wherein this motif recurs, and it introduces the audience to the fundamental theme of Jesus as the fulfillment of the Passover-exodus. Nevertheless, the other two alluded-to traditions are not far behind. So, the combination of ideas in the Servant of Isaiah 53, who is called a “lamb,” whose life is a “guilt offering” and who “bears our [Israel’s] iniquities” comfortably fits into the range of semantic possibilities for the Johannine “lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.” And, recalling the significance of the reception of Isaiah in the FG, and the pivotal role of Isaiah 53 to the basic structure of John, it seems that here too in this early juncture the evangelist is already preparing the audience to receive the idea of Jesus fulfilling scripture as the suffering Servant (Jn 12:38–40) who ushers a new Israel into a new era through a new exodus. Finally, in addition to these two elements, the notion of cultic sacrifice (and atonement) was a significant feature of Second Temple Jewish religious expression and would have been familiar to John’s audience, especially considering the oral-literary environment that they inhabited. Inevitably, the juxtaposition of the notion of a “lamb” which “takes away sin” would have readily called this feature to mind. This connection is reinforced when one thinks about the FG’s emphasis on Jewish feasts and the centrality of the Temple in those feasts. The motif of cultic sacrifice

also resurfaces in the FG at critical points: in 6:51–59 with its sacrificial imagery; in the ὑπέρ motif which can be found, among other passages, in Jn 10, 11:51–52 (18:14), and 15:13; and in the sacrificial language of Jn 17. Therefore, I argue that all three of these elements—the Passover tradition, the tradition of the Isaianic Servant, and the notion of sacrifice—are present in the composite allusion in John 1:29 in the “lamb of God” reference.

But what is equally impressive is how each of these three elements in the triple allusion are connected *to each other*. That is, taking any one of the three allusions as a point of departure, it requires only a single step sideways to arrive at either of the other two elements; each are directly connected to the others thematically (and textually, in the case of Passover and Isa. 53). Thus, the Passover lamb is related to sacrifice and sin via the cultic development in the Jewish Scriptures and the general cultic experience of Jews of the late Second Temple era (as is apparent in *Jubilees* 49–50), reinforcing the sacrificial dimension of Passover. The Passover lamb and the Servant of Isaiah are connected directly through the New Exodus theme: the “new” Passover lamb sacrifice is superimposed on to the suffering Servant of Isaiah. And the Servant of Isaiah, with its associated language of the “guilt offering” connects directly to ideas of cultic atonement, reinforcing the sacrificial dimension of the Servant passage. Each of these three concepts is related to the Johannine pronouncement(s) of the Lamb of God, but each is also connected to each other through these independent themes and concepts. A diagram of the related motifs, then, looks like this:

Diagram B: The Lamb of God in Jn 1:29.



From a narratival perspective, the result of this compact, three-way allusion centered on the “lamb of God” is the masterful introduction of a complex set of motifs that will, in due course as the Gospel unfolds, be unpacked in various ways. Jesus, as the “lamb of God,” is the fulfillment of the Passover tradition. But that is not all: as the *new* Passover lamb, he fulfills it through the notion of a *new* exodus, for a *new* Israel, by taking up the role of the prophesied Servant of Isaiah and fulfilling Israel’s eschatological hopes. And, undergirding all of this is the theological crux that the lamb’s death—central to the Passover, strikingly present in the

Isaianic Servant passage, and the narrative *telos* of the entire Gospel⁹⁹—which atones for the sin of the world, is the key to it all. While each of these three allusions does find independent corroboration as recurring motifs in the rest of the FG and can each be analyzed independently as an allusion in this introductory moniker, the true strength of the composite allusion lies in the blending together of all these concepts. The interconnected themes and motifs *within* the composite allusion, along with its interconnectedness to the rest of the FG, form a cumulative weight that is difficult to ignore.

A final word about allusion in this passage from the perspective of social memory and metonymic referencing helps us draw our thoughts to conclusion. According to social memory theory, communities selectively “frame” or “key” certain memories to be passed on in its history, memories which serve to help the community form its present identity as well as remember its past. This mechanism of “keying” memories to the present experience, we argue in Ch. I, can just as well be applied to multiple traditions in the past with each other, and multiple traditions from the past, in turn, to the present. From a literary perspective, allusions are the “mnemonic nodes” upon which these frames are conveyed. In the composite allusion in John 1:29, this could have occurred in the following fashion. In his inscription of this passage, as the Johannine author reflected on the traditions of the life and death of Jesus, one tradition from his scriptural heritage especially leapt out at him: the Passover tradition (Exod. 12:1–28). Bound historically, liturgically and in dramatic fashion to the eucharistic words of Jesus at the last supper (although not present in the FG, this eucharistic setting likely represents the earliest layers of the tradition of Jesus, cf. 1 Cor. 11:23–25), this emotionally charged memory would have been a natural place to begin in remembering and reflecting on Jesus’ life and death. But in contemplating the meaning of Jesus’ fulfillment in the Passover, the larger exodus narrative in which this tradition was embedded was inevitably evoked as well. And this meditation on Jesus as the fulfillment of the exodus narrative, considering Judaism’s first-century messianic, restorationist, and eschatological hopes inescapably led the

⁹⁹ Cf. Frey, “Edler Tod,” 66.

author to Isaiah 40–55 with its language of Israel’s new exodus from captivity (e.g., 40:1–2, among others), especially the future-oriented language associated with these hopes and expectations in LXX Isaiah. Perhaps no text symbolizes this second exodus more than the servant texts, and, in particular, Isaiah 53 with its graphic description of the servant of YHWH who will be instrumental in “bearing the iniquities” of Israel (53:11, 12), “making many righteous” (53:11), and whose life will be a “guilt offering” (53:10), “poured out to death” (53:12). This association would have been facilitated and confirmed by catchword exegesis and the presence of the keyword הֶשֶׁב (lamb) in both contexts. And, in turn, this language of the cult—especially the combination of הֶשֶׁב and מִשְׁבֵּט —would have readily evoked the sacrificial system wherein these concepts originated, and along with it, the forgiveness of sin and the concept of atonement. Again, as in my earlier analysis of John 12:37–43, it is not the sequence of these associations that is critical, but really the final result. And although I express the process here illustratively in a simplistic fashion as occurring through the thought process of a single author, that same process could well have happened through the community, through multiple authors, and over a span of decades.

Not only did each of these three traditions help the Johannine author(s) and community to understand the person and identity of Jesus, but each of these traditions possesses an innate connection with the others. Each of these mnemonic nodes is already organically linked to the other through the textual and thematic linkages described above. While three separate and distinct traditions are in view, each of them blends into the other seamlessly, forming a strong web of connectedness. As the author composed his Gospel, what event(s) or tradition(s) of Jesus’ life could encapsulate these three scriptural frames both to capture his experience and memory of Jesus as well as to present them to his contemporary audience? What “frames” could be “keyed” to these traditions to faithfully pass on the story of Jesus to the present and future disciples of Jesus? Seen from a literary-creative perspective, how could the evangelist distil these themes in an introductory manner at this opening juncture in the Gospel as effectively as possible? The memory of the person of John the Baptist naturally lent itself to

this project, as it did to all the gospels. But the Johannine project went a step further by wedding to the Baptist the distinct memory of the phrase “Behold, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.” With this single phrase, the three key elements of Passover, Isaianic servant, and sacrificial atonement are all captured in their essence. It is important to realize that although this phrase contains only eleven words in the Greek, each of the keywords *ἀμνός*, *ὁ αἵρων*, and *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* serves as a metonymic marker that is a symbol for the totality of these three traditions in their richness, like the tips of three icebergs. Here in 1:29, only the tips are visible, but as the narrative of the Gospel unfolds, the depths of these traditions become increasingly exposed. From the opposite direction: can one think of a better phrase than this that epitomizes so fully these three themes? This author, for one, cannot.

CHAPTER V: JOHN 7:37B-39: A COMPOSITE “CITATION-ALLUSION”

V.1.0 Introduction

We arrive now at a passage in the Fourth Gospel fraught with exegetical difficulties: John 7:37–39. Much ink has been spilt in the history of its interpretation—both ancient and modern—without consensus.¹ Indeed, the passage is generally regarded as the most difficult of John’s citations to interpret,² accompanied by three chief, inter-related exegetical issues. First, how are vv. 37–38 to be punctuated? Does the phrase ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ of 7:38a belong to the preceding sentence, or to the following one? Secondly, who is the source of the “living water”? Is it Jesus, or is it the believer? Finally—and most importantly for our purposes—what scripture(s) are being referenced here? Recognizing the acuteness of the exegetical challenges posed by this passage, my aim in this chapter will be a modest one: not to provide definitive hermeneutical answers, but simply to assay our developed method on John’s “novel” method of citation³ to see what exegetical fruit this investigation may yield.

Perhaps the first question to be asked is this: In a study whose focus is on composite *allusions*, why include a chapter examining this *citation*? Two main reasons justify our selection. The first is that, despite the presence of an unambiguous introductory formula, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή (as the scripture said), the *source* of this citation is anything but unambiguous. Indeed, many commentators note the allusive, summary-like character of the citation⁴ and treat it as such. The second rationale for including it in this dissertation is that, although accompanied by a citation formula, this passage is best regarded as a complex literary unit comprising *multiple elements*, including at least one—probably two—composite

¹ For a survey of both ancient and modern exegesis of this passage see Curtis Scott Shidemantle, “The Use of the Old Testament in John 7:37–39: An Examination of the Freed-Carson Proposal” (Ph.D. diss., Illinois, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2001), 1–54.

² E.g., Edwin D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, NovTSup 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1965), 23.

³ C. K. Barrett, “The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” *JTS* 48 (1947): 156.

⁴ Barrett, “Old Testament,” 156; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2d ed., vol. 36, WBC (Dallas: Word, Inc. 1999), 116; Shidemantle, “The Use of the Old Testament in John 7:37–39”, 287.

allusions. If one examines the passage as a unit which includes verse 37b, the intertextual links to the Jewish scriptures become clearer and the exegetical decisions to be made become simpler. To be precise, in this chapter I will seek to demonstrate that what is found in this passage is best described as a complex literary unit in which is found a *composite allusion nested within a composite citation, both of which are juxtaposed with another composite allusion*. I will henceforth refer to it as a “composite citation-allusion” for convenience’s sake. Formally, it is best to be counted as among the citations, but functionally, it is best exegeted as an allusion.

The chapter will proceed as follows. First, I will set out the Greek text, noting in a chart the key lexemes and listing all the potential scriptural sources of the various elements of this composite citation-allusion. Next, I will find my own entry-point into the discussion counter-intuitively, via verse 39, that is, the last verse in the passage. The reasons for this will become clear as I proceed, but my intention is to begin in the least controversial portion and find some secure footing before working my way backwards to the more disputed portions of the passage. In doing so, I will also seek to contextualize my analysis within the larger narrative as it pertains to John’s eschatological concept of the Spirit. Thirdly, I will examine this complex, composite citation-allusion in light of one of the key components of our method: the metonymic referentiality of oral-derived literature (see Ch. I above). Here, as with the previous composite allusions, I will offer a formal analysis of this composite citation-allusion. Fourthly, having completed this analysis, I will continue the discussion by visiting the more disputed questions of the punctuation and grammar of John 7:38 in light of ancient media criticism and the oral-literary culture of the ancient world, hopefully adding some fresh insights to this long-standing conversation. Finally, I will summarize my findings and assess the exegetical results of our analysis.

V.2.0 Key Lexemes and Possible Source Texts

Table L: Jn 7:37b–38

John 7:37b–38	John 7:37b–38
37b <u>ἐάν</u> τις <u>διψᾷ</u> <u>ἐρχέσθω</u> πρὸς με και <u>πινέτω</u> . 38 ὁ <u>πιστεύων</u> εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ, <u>ποταμοὶ</u> ἐκ τῆς <u>κοιλίας</u> αὐτοῦ <u>ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος</u> <u>ζώντος</u> .	37b “If anyone <u>thirsts</u> , let him come to me and <u>drink</u> . 38 The one who believes in me, just as the Scripture said, <u>rivers of living</u> <u>water from his belly</u> <u>will flow</u> .

Table M: Possible Allusions in Jn 7:37–38

Isaiah 48:21* 6/8 lexemes	Psalms 104(105):41* 3/8 lexemes	Psalms 77 (78):15b, 16, 20a* 3/8 lexemes	Ezekiel 47:1–12 3/8 lexemes (only v. 9 shown)	Isaiah 55:1 3/8 lexemes
καὶ ἐάν <u>διψήσωσιν</u> , δι’ ἐρήμου ἄξει αὐτούς, <u>ὕδωρ</u> ἐκ πέτρας ἐξάξει αὐτοῖς· σχισθήσεται πέτρα, καὶ <u>ρύσεται ὕδωρ</u> , καὶ <u>πίεται</u> ὁ λαός μου.	διέρρηξεν πέτραν, καὶ ἐρρύσσαν <u>ὕδατα</u> , ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν ἀνύδροις <u>ποταμοί</u>	καὶ ἐξήγαγεν <u>ὕδωρ</u> ἐκ πέτρας καὶ κατήγαγεν ὡς <u>ποταμούς</u> <u>ὕδατα</u> ...ἐπεὶ ἐπάταξεν πέτραν καὶ ἐρρύσαν <u>ὕδατα</u> καὶ χεῖμαρροι κατεκλύσθησαν	καὶ ἔσται πᾶσα ψυχὴ τῶν <u>ζώων</u> τῶν ἐκζέοντων ἐπὶ πάντα, ἐφ’ ἃ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐκεῖ ὁ <u>ποταμός</u> , <u>ζήσεται</u> , καὶ ἔσται ἐκεῖ ἰχθύς πολὺς σφόδρα, ὅτι ἤκει ἐκεῖ τὸ <u>ὕδωρ</u> τοῦτο, καὶ ὑγιάσει καὶ <u>ζήσεται</u> · πᾶν, ἐφ’ ὃ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ὁ <u>ποταμός</u> ἐκεῖ, <u>ζήσεται</u>	Οἱ <u>διψῶντες</u> , πορεύεσθε ἐφ’ <u>ὕδωρ</u> , καὶ ὅσοι <u>μὴ</u> ἔχετε ἀργύριον, βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε καὶ <u>πίετε</u> ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς οἴνου καὶ στέαρ.
Proverbs 18:4 3/8 lexemes	Zechariah 14:8* 2/8 lexemes	Jeremiah 2:3* 2/8 lexemes	Isaiah 44:3 2/8 lexemes	Exodus 17:6 2/8 lexemes
<u>ὕδωρ</u> βαθὺ λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀνδρός, <u>ποταμός</u> δὲ ἀναπηδύει καὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς.	καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελεύσεται <u>ὕδωρ ζῶν</u> ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐσχάτην, καὶ ἐν θέρει καὶ ἐν ἔαρι ἔσται οὕτως.	ὅτι δύο πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαός μου· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν <u>ὕδατος</u> <u>ζωῆς</u> , καὶ ὠρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους, οἱ οὐ δυνήσονται <u>ὕδωρ</u> συνέχειν.	³ ὅτι ἐγὼ δώσω <u>ὕδωρ</u> ἐν <u>δίψει</u> τοῖς πορευομένοις ἐν ἀνύδρω, ἐπιθήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ τὰς εὐλογίας μου ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα σου	ὅδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα πρὸ τοῦ σὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐν Χωρηβ, καὶ πατάξεις τὴν πέτραν, καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ αὐτῆς <u>ὕδωρ</u> , καὶ <u>πίεται</u> ὁ λαός μου.

(*) indicates the presence of a phrase consisting of at least two lexemes

The two charts above present the Johannine passage in question, along with ten of the scriptural passages most often associated with the citation in John 7:38. I have ordered these passages from greatest to least verbal correspondence based on the key lexemes in the passage, from left to right, and from top to bottom. As can be seen from the underlining scheme above, there are eight key lexemes in John 7:37b–38, three in verse 37b, and five in verse 38. Here, “key” is simply defined as distinctive lexemes which are common to both John 7:37b–38 and the ten possible source texts above (although it is possible to argue that the lexeme *ἐκ* is also a key lexeme, it has been excluded here because of its non-distinctiveness). None of the above possible source texts contains all eight of the lexemes in the larger section of 7:37b–38, nor do any of the passages contain all five key lexemes found in the citation proper of John 7:38 (I agree with the majority of commentators that the citation *follows* the introductory formula rather than precedes it, and will therefore not rehearse this argument).⁵ Needless to say, none of the passages in which these potential source texts are found possesses anything like a strict (or even loose) verbal correspondence with 7:37b–38 (or with the citation proper) which one might typically expect from a “citation.” That is, linguistically speaking, none of the potential source texts in question possesses a combined cumulative lexical, grammatical, and syntactical coherence with any meaningful parts of 7:37b–38 that would render it an undisputable candidate as the primary source text.

Generally, only *individual* key lexemes in the potential source texts are found which correspond to *individual* lexemes in John 7:37b–38. There are two significant exceptions to this pattern, however. The first is the combination of the lexemes *ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος* (water will flow), a combination which is also found in Isaiah 48:21, Psalm 104:41, and Psalm 77:20a LXX; the second is the distinctive phrase *ὕδατος ζῶντος* (living water), a phrase which is also found in Zechariah 14:8 and Jeremiah 2:3 LXX. We shall return to discuss both of these two significant exceptions below and seek to understand *why* they are so significant—especially the phrase *ὕδατος ζῶντος*. For now, we simply note their presence in the list of what are

⁵ See, e.g., J. Blenkinsopp, “John VII. 37–9: Another Note on a Notorious Crux,” *NTS*, no. 1 (1959): 96.

otherwise individual lexemes in the various potential source texts. Nevertheless, the individual lexematic overlap between these passages and John 7:37b–38 is not insignificant. Of these ten passages, Isaiah 48:21 especially stands out in that it contains six of the eight lexemes; five passages contain three of the eight lexemes (Ps. 104:41; Ps. 77:16, 20a; Ezek. 47:9 [1–12]; Isa. 55:1; Prov. 18:4); and the remaining four passages each contain only two lexemes (Zech. 14:8; Jer. 2:3; Isa. 44:3; Exod. 17:6).

Based solely on this statistical lexematic analysis, special consideration should be given to the following passages where a combined pairing of lexemes is found: Isaiah 48:21, Psalm 104:41, Psalm 77:16, 20a, Zechariah 14:8 and Jeremiah 2:3. As in previous chapters of this study, however, verbal congruence is only one of the factors to be considered—it marks the beginning of our discussion rather than its conclusion. An equally important consideration, which shall be addressed below, is thematic coherence. Finally, also noteworthy in this preliminary analysis is the fact that *none* of the possible source texts contains the distinctive word *κοιλία*—again, we shall return to this detail below. But our immediate concern is the distinctive phrase, ὕδωρ ζῶν.

V.3.0 John 7:39, the Spirit, and the Johannine Concept of “Living Water”

Table N: Jn 7:39

John 7:39	τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ὃ ἐμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτόν· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη.	Now this he said about the Spirit whom those who believed in him were about to receive; for the Spirit was not yet [given], because Jesus was not yet glorified.
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As has been suggested by previous commentators, a suitable entry-point into the conversation can be found in John 7:39.⁶ Here, the evangelist spells out in an explanatory note⁷ just what

⁶ Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1972), 301; Gordon D. Fee, “Once More—John 7:37-39,” *ExpTim* 89, no. 4 (1978): 116.

⁷ See Merrill Chapin Tenney, “The Footnotes of John’s Gospel,” *BSac* 117, no. 468 (1960): 350–64.

“this” (τοῦτο), that is, the composite citation-allusion,⁸ is referring to: the Spirit, “whom those who believed in him were about to receive; for the Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified.” However, rather than concluding that this comment is indicative of the *source* of the ὕδωρ ζῶν, “living water” (*pace* Fee and Lindars), its decisive exegetical function in its context in this passage is simply to indicate the equivalency of the ὕδωρ ζῶν with the Spirit. In other words, τοῦτο is referring not so much to the entire citation, as it is a reference to the *last words* of that citation—ὕδωρ ζῶν (living water). Secondly, the narrator is also clarifying for the audience the reason for *the absence* of the Spirit in this pre-pneumatic phase of the narrative in John 7, an absence, apparently, that would have been sufficiently curious to John’s audience to warrant this explanatory note. The focal point for the exegete, then, is on the critical phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν, and why John chose that phrase in particular as a descriptor for το πνεῦμα (the Spirit) in his Gospel. Incidentally, while water symbolism generally in the FG is a topic warranting specialized study,⁹ the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν in Johannine literature is especially distinctive (occurring in the NT only three times in the Fourth Gospel [4:10, 11; 7:38] and, in its nominal form, four times in Revelation [7:17; 21:6; 22:1; 22:17]).

V.3.1 The Use of ὕδωρ ζῶν in John

The usage of the term ὕδωρ ζῶν and the evangelist’s explicit identification of the term with το πνεῦμα is a key interpretative moment for the Gospel. Although the participial modifier ζῶν is not mentioned in Jesus’ discourse with Nicodemus in John 3, Jesus’ teaching about water, spirit, and rebirth in 3:1–15—a probable allusion to Ezekiel 36:25–27¹⁰—is best understood as the first iteration of John’s linkage between the Spirit and (living) water.¹¹ The term ὕδωρ ζῶν

⁸ Fee, “Once More - John 7,” 116.

⁹ See Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel*, 175–206.; Larry Paul Jones, *The Symbol of Water in the Gospel of John* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Wai-Yee Ng, *Water Symbolism in John: An Eschatological Interpretation*, Studies in Biblical Literature, v. 15 (New York: P. Lang, 2001); and Sherri Brown, “Water Imagery and the Power and Presence of God in the Gospel of John,” *ThTo* 72, no. 3 (2015): 289–98; cf. also Francis Wright Beare, “Spirit of Life and Truth: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel,” *Toronto Journal of Theology* 3, no. 1 (1987): 142–53.

¹⁰ Cf. Linda L. Belleville, “‘Born of Water and Spirit’: John 3:5,” *Trinity Journal* 1, no. 2 (1980): 125–41.

¹¹ For a helpful theological treatment of το πνεῦμα in the FG, see Margaret Davies, *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 140–51.

does, however, appear in John 4 in the story of Jesus' encounter with the woman from Samaria (4:10, 11) where Jesus makes an offer of ὕδωρ ζῶν to the woman, contrasting it to the ordinary water of the well. In that story, Jesus does not further specify what this living water is, except to say that it will be a spring of water "leaping up" (ἀλλομένου) to eternal life, and that the source of this ὕδωρ ζῶν is none other than himself. As the conversation unfolds, Jesus then climactically reveals to her that he is the eschatological Messiah of whom she speaks, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ λαλῶν σοι. Thus, in the context of 4:1–26, the living water offered by Jesus is the eschatological gift that the Messiah brings (4:26). There is a further, implied, reference to living water in 6:35, where ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ οὐ μὴ διψήσει πώποτε (the one who believes in me will certainly never thirst). Although the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν is not mentioned here, this is a clear intratextual reference back to the living water of 4:10–14 where the one who drinks of it οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (will certainly not thirst forever). At 6:35, the nature of this implied living water is not elaborated upon, but it is juxtaposed to the bread of life (ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς), and, if one comes to Jesus and believes in him, he or she will have eternal life (6:40). The next, and only other, occurrence of ὕδωρ ζῶν is in John 7:38. What was previously implicit, is now made explicit: this eschatological gift of the Messiah, the living water, is *the Spirit*.

This identification of living water in 7:37–39 comes at a critical juncture in the FG, causing division among those who hear it (7:40–52) and it becomes the last mention of the Spirit in chapters 1–13. Mention of the Spirit next occurs in the Farewell Discourse and Jesus' teaching on the role of the Paraclete for the believing community (chs. 14–16); it is then picked up again at the crucifixion where Jesus surrenders the s/Spirit at his death (19:30), and it emerges once more at the resurrection where Jesus bestows the Spirit on his disciples at his departure (20:22–23). Like a screw gradually tightening as the narrative unfolds, the identification of το ὕδωρ ζῶν with the eschatological gift of the Holy Spirit for the believing community and the Spirit's role and function in that community becomes increasingly secure, until it is embedded firmly in the reader's consciousness by the Gospel's end. This progressive

movement regarding eschatological pneumatology in the FG has been noted by a number of scholars.¹²

But what is the theological, literary, and cultural background of the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν? Did John simply invent the term? Although it has been noted that the phrase is of Jewish origin, I believe that insufficient weight has been assigned to this fact in the discussion of the potential sources for this composite-citation allusion. Despite the general association of water and life in the Roman and Hellenistic world,¹³ the fact is that the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν simply does not occur in the extant Classical Greek corpus.¹⁴ Its first occurrence in Greek is in fact in the Septuagint as a translation of the Hebrew מַיִם חַיִּים. In other words, it is a Hebraic idiom through and through. This indicates that the author is drawing specifically on the associated background of this phrase in the Jewish scriptures.

A brief word study of the phrase מַיִם חַיִּים is therefore in order.¹⁵ The original, concrete meaning of the phrase seems to be to indicate water that is “alive”, so to speak, and “replenishing.”¹⁶ This water is, by definition to the ancient mind, potable, and capable of sustaining life (cf. Gen. 26:19), as opposed to brackish water.¹⁷ Scholars have often associated

¹² See, e.g., Dale C. Jr. Allison, “The Living Water (John 4:10-14, 6:35c, 7:37-39),” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (1986): 143–57; Gary M. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1987); Ng, *Water Symbolism in John*; Volker Rabens, “The Spirit and Living Water in John’s Gospel,” in *Holy Spirit: Unfinished Agenda*, ed. Johnson T. K. Lim (Singapore: Genesis, 2014), 57–61; Andrea Taschl-Erber, “Christological Transformation of the Motif of ‘Living Water’ (John 4; 7): Prophetic Messiah Expectations and Wisdom Tradition,” in *Reading the Gospel of John’s Christology as Jewish Messianism: Royal, Prophetic, and Divine Messiahs*, ed. Benjamin E. Reynolds and Gabriele Boccaccini, AJEC 106 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018); John Christopher Thomas, “The Spirit in the Gospel According to John, 1 John, and 2 John: ‘Rivers of Living Water,’” *Pneuma* 43, no. 3–4 (2021): 442–69.

¹³ See Beth M. Stovell, “Rivers, Springs, and Wells of Living Water: Metaphorical Transformation in the Johannine Corpus,” in *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew Pitts, Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 10, Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context 2 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 472–75.

¹⁴ This is confirmed by a combined search of these words in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>.

¹⁵ See also Michael Fishbane, “The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and Its Ancient Transformations,” in *Sha’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. Michael Fishbane, Emanuel Tov, and Weston W. Fields (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992); and Stovell, “Rivers,” 466–71.

¹⁶ Cf. *Shev Shema ’tata*, “Introduction,” 4.

¹⁷ Greek language, incidentally, possessed a different idiom for the notion of fresh water that had to do with its taste, that is, “sweet water” (ὕδωρ γλυκύς), cf. Js. 3:11.

the phrase as also referring to “running” water,¹⁸ and it seems to require this sense in its later, purificatory uses (cf. Lev. 14:5–6, 50–52),¹⁹ a development wholly understandable in an ancient world where fresh water is usually found in streams or rivers or springs. But, in two instances in the Hebrew Bible it is used for the water of a well, תַּיִם מֵיִם בְּאֵר, (Gen. 26:19 and Song 4:15), where the association with the power to sustain life seems to be its primary connotation.²⁰ The digging of a well in antiquity was no small feat, and water sources could have been as deep as 70m or more.²¹ In contrast to springs, then, these instances of “living water” from the subterranean water table are likely not to be a reference to the movement of the water but to its suitability for drinking.²² This emphasis on the association with life is retained throughout its usage in the Jewish scriptures, first, through its ritual usage and its power to cleanse and restore (e.g., Lev. 14:5–6; Num. 19:17) and then, later, as a powerful religious symbol for Israel and its relationship with YHWH. Thus, the phrase “living waters” (or the image of wells, or springs, or fountains of water) is employed in the prophetic and wisdom literature where water becomes an important symbol for YHWH himself (Jer. 2:13, 17:13), for his salvation (e.g., Isa. 12:3), for wisdom (e.g., Prov. 13:14; 14:27), and for YHWH’s restoration of justice (Isa. 32:2; 41:17–18), as well as his restoration for his people (e.g., Isa. 48:21, 49:10, 55:1). In a similar fashion, in Isaiah 44:3—although the phrase מֵיִם ׀ תַּיִם is not invoked here—the image of water being poured out on a thirsty land is used to describe YHWH pouring his eschatological Spirit out on his people (an image clearly significant for John 7). Finally, in the exilic and post-exilic period, the imagery of flowing or living water is found to play an important eschatological role in its association with the

¹⁸ See, e.g., Philippe Reymond, *L’Eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l’Ancien Testament*, VTSup 6 (Leiden; Boston: E.J. Brill, 1958), 63; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 36:60; Fishbane, “The Well,” 4.

¹⁹ See further Jonathan David Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* SBLAB 23 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 132–34.

²⁰ See also Jean Daniélou, “Le Symbolisme de l’eau vive,” *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 32, no. 4 (1958): 335–46, who, in examining the symbolism of living water in the Hebrew Bible, argues that “l’eau vive... n’est pas seulement l’eau courante, par opposition l’eau stagnante. Elle est l’eau qui communique la vie, par opposition aux eaux qui donne la mort”, 341.

²¹ See B. J. Hardcastle, “Wells Ancient and Modern—an Historical Review,” *Quarterly Journal of Engineering Geology and Hydrogeology* 20, no. 3 (1987): 231.

²² *Contra* Fishbane, “The Well,” 4; and James Edward Hogg, “‘Living Water’—‘Water of Life’,” *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 42, no. 2 (1926): 132.

restoration of Jerusalem and the temple (Zech. 14:8; cf. also Ezek. 47:1–12 where the adjective מֵיִחַי (living) is not used in reference to water, but where water flows from the temple and brings life and healing to the Arabah; cf. also Joel 3(4):18 where an eschatological fountain flows from the house of the Lord). Notably, Zechariah displays evidence of intentional intertextuality with Ezekiel in its adaptation of the image of waters flowing from the eschatological Temple²³ (once again, the exegetical significance of the references to John 7 is clear as will be discussed below). In fact, the LXX makes the semantic linkage to life unassailable when the translator of Jeremiah employs the genitive adjectival noun of ζωῆς, instead of the participial form ζῶν, in the phrase πηγῆν ὕδατος ζωῆς for the phrase מֵיִחַי מְקוֹר (fountain of living waters [2:13; 17:13]). “Fountain of living waters” has shifted subtly but significantly to a “fountain of water of life” (incidentally, this language is also found in Revelation, which employs only the adjectival form ζωῆς in lieu of John’s participial form of ζῶν or ζῶντος). In this Greek form, it no longer denotes water that is “alive” but refers exclusively to the idea of water that *brings* life.

By the first century CE the phrase “living water” (whether in its Hebrew or Greek version) possessed several layers of signification for ancient Jewish audiences.²⁴ At its fundamental level, the phrase denoted water that was self-replenishing, and, therefore, potable. But its phraseology (in both the Hebrew and the Greek) contained the potential for deeper levels of meaning that subsequent strands of prophetic and sapiential traditions could and did take advantage of. Thus, I argue that not only would the phrase have recalled the element of fresh and running water, more importantly it would also have called to mind at least three distinct traditions represented in the Jewish scriptures. First, it recalled the various prophetic traditions (especially those in Isaiah) of the eschatological restoration of God’s people when justice would be realized. Secondly, it recalled the Zecharian-Ezekielian restoration of Jerusalem and its Temple, in which God’s blessing would flow outwards from Jerusalem.

²³ M. D. Terblanche, “An Abundance of Living Waters: The Intertextual Relationship between Zechariah 14:8 and Ezekiel 47:1-12,” *Old Testament Essays* 17, no. 1 (2004): 120–29.

²⁴ These layers, incidentally, would not have been accessible to native Greek speakers who were not familiar with the semitic phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν, which may partially explain the need for the explanatory note.

Finally, it also recalled the promise of the eschatological presence of YHWH's Spirit, as detailed in Isaiah 44:1–5 (cf. Isa. 32:15). A fourth, more isolated, tradition also likely reverberated with those familiar with the Jewish scriptures: that of wisdom and the fear of the Lord. Seen from the angle of ancient media criticism, the phrase “living water” was a potent oral-aural metonymic reference for all these strands of scriptural traditions and their possible connotations.

V.3.2 The Feast of Tabernacles as Literary and Historical Context

Before returning to the Gospel of John, it is helpful to discuss one other area of background information. John 7:2 sets the context of this narrative during the Feast of Tabernacles, which can provide further clues as to the potential sources of the composite-citation allusion in verse 38. The ritualistic details of the week-long Feast and especially the rite of water-drawing are outlined in the Mishnah²⁵ and Tosefta²⁶ and, despite the later dating, promise to be highly relevant for understanding John 7:37-38.²⁷ Without repeating all of the relevant information, we draw out the most salient points for our discussion. First, we simply note the practice of the rite of water-drawing, which was associated with the start of the rainy season and Zechariah 14:17–18²⁸ (note the corroboration of this text with the discussion above). Accordingly, this daily ceremony at the Feast was offered with the morning Tamid and the daily drink offering, in which a priest would draw water from the Pool of Siloam outside the city walls, carry it through the Water Gate to the altar via a religious procession accompanied by trumpet sound, and then pour that water into one of the two bowls on either side of the altar. The wine of the

²⁵ *m. Sukkoth* 4:9-10.

²⁶ *t. Sukkoth* 3:3–4:28.

²⁷ Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *A Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud & Midrash*, ed. Jacob N. Cerone, vol. 2 (Bellingham, Wash.: Lexham Press, 2022), 774–812, 490–93; Bruce H. Grigsby, “‘If Any Man Thirsts’: Observations on the Rabbinic Background of John 7:37-39,” *Bib* 67, no. 1 (1986): 101–8; see also Sherri Brown, “Jesus in Word and Deed through the Ritual Activity of Tabernacles in John 7:1–10:21,” in *Johannine Christology*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, *Johannine Studies* 3 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), who sets Jesus’ words in 7:37–38 in the larger context of John 7–10, all of which is, according to the evangelist, placed in the context of *Sukkoth*; cf. also, for a modern scholarly rabbinic perspective on the parallels in the rituals of *Sukkoth* and Ezekiel’s vision, Itzhak Brand, “Following the Path of the Water Libation,” *The Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 15, no. 1 (2012): 43–60.

²⁸ *t. Sukk.* 3:18.

drink offering was poured into the other bowl, and when both bowls were unstopped, the water and wine would then drain through holes in these vessels underneath the altar into a “pit”.²⁹ Secondly, we note that, from early on, the significance of the water-drawing ceremony was tied to the eschatological promises of Ezekiel 47:1–12³⁰ as well as to Zechariah 14:8,³¹ which seem to be fused together in the Tosefta.³² Indeed, the prophesied eschatological stream flowing from the altar at the Temple and out of Jerusalem was, reasoned the rabbis, the very origin for the name of the “Water” Gate.³³ In the same way, the Talmud associates Isaiah 12:3 with the water rite as well.³⁴

The Mishnah and Tosefta of course post-date John, and so these descriptions of the Festival of Tabernacles must be referenced with caution. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that some, if not all, of these traditions date back in some form to actual practices in late Second Temple Judaism. It is not at all unimaginable, then, that Jewish audiences at the time of Jesus would have associated these very passages with the Festival of Tabernacles; perhaps they were even utilized liturgically in some form at that Feast. At the very least, this information certainly corroborates what is happening at a narrational level in John 7:37–38 with its focus on the setting of the Feast of Tabernacles and the mention of “living water.”³⁵

²⁹ *t. Sukk.* 3:15.

³⁰ *t. Sukk.* 3:3–10.

³¹ *t. Sukk.* 3:8.

³² See Michael A. Daise, “‘Rivers of Living Water’ as New Creation and New Exodus: A Tradition-Historical Vantage Point for the Exegetical Problems and Theology of John 7:37–39” (Ph.D. diss., New Jersey, Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000), 91–94.

³³ *t. Sukk.* 3:3(4).

³⁴ See *b. Sukk.* 48B where the rabbinic discussion justifies the blowing of the shofar in the ceremony on account of Isa. 12:3.

³⁵ Victoria Balabanski, “‘Let Anyone Who Is Thirsty Come to Me’: John 7:37–38 in Dialogue with Josephus and the Archaeology of Aqueducts,” *Lutheran Theological Journal* 39, no. 2/3 (2005): 132–139, supplements this primary historical reconstruction with an additional piece of background information—the construction of the Roman aqueduct to Jerusalem—that further accentuates Jesus as the *true* source of flowing water.

V.3.3 A Composite Allusion in 7:38—The Living Water (ὕδωρ ζῶν) of Ezekiel 47:1–12 and Zechariah 14:8

Armed with such information we return to the composite citation-allusion of 7:37–38. Once again, our focus presently is on the singular phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν. What has been argued thus far is that the phrase itself seems to be Jewish in origin, and thus in all likelihood points John’s original audience inescapably to the Jewish scriptures. This much is certain enough and the distinctiveness of the phrase provides us with secure footing to begin our exploration. Once we examine this phrase in the HB/LXX, we also find that it is, in its later historical development, charged with highly symbolic, eschatological meaning. It is, first of all, associated in a general sense with the restoration of YHWH’s reign and the restoration of his people, but, even more importantly, it is tied *specifically* to the eschatological restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem (cf. the comments on Zech. 14:8 and Ezek. 47 above). Our brief foray into rabbinical materials confirms this. If there is any reliable, fixed point in the discussion around scriptural usage in John 7:37–38, it centers on John’s use of the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν.

This ὕδωρ ζῶν, the Johannine narrator tells us, is nothing other than the Spirit which the disciples were about to receive, the eschatological gift of the Messiah (7:39). It is the gift that had been implied in 3:5–8 in conversation with Nicodemus, which was referenced again in 4:10, 11 with the Samaritan woman, alluded to in 6:35, and is finally made explicit here in 7:37–39, available for all who believe in Jesus. This phrase, placed on Jesus’ lips at the climax of the Festival of Tabernacles, brings together all of these strands to a single point. When we recall the FG’s motif of Jesus as a replacement for the Temple,³⁶ all of these various elements fall into place like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. For Second Temple Jewish audiences, the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν evoked memories of traditions that related to the eschatological renewal of the Temple; but now, as is made clear by the invitation, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με (let him come to me),

³⁶ See, e.g., Mary L. Coloe, *God Dwells with Us: Temple Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2001); Harold W. Attridge, “Temple, Tabernacle, Time, and Space in John and Hebrews,” *Early Christianity* 1, no. 2 (2010): 261–69; and Joseph R. Greene, “Integrating Interpretations of John 7:37–39 into the Temple Theme: The Spirit as Efflux from the New Temple,” *Neot* 47, no. 2 (2013): 333–53.

Jesus claims, according to the evangelist, that these traditions are to be read in light of *Jesus*. For John's audience, the phrase once evoked images of YHWH's renewing power pouring as eschatological waters from the Temple and from Jerusalem for renewal and healing; now, *Jesus*, as the Temple's effective replacement, is the source of such renewal and power and healing. The phrase reminded hearers of God's coming, future work "in the last days" for his people; but here, Jesus announces that this time has now arrived in *him* and in *his* ministry for all who believe. Moreover, the phrase also likely evokes the image of the eschatological Spirit (Isa. 44:3), a connection that John makes explicit: "this he said about the Spirit." Taken together, the Johannine imagery of the eschatological "living waters" issuing forth from the Temple is the Spirit of God; it brings life and healing, but the Temple of God is no longer to be seen as the physical edifice on Mt. Zion, it is nothing less than Jesus himself.³⁷ In short, the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν is a composite allusion, that, at this locus in John, brings to bear these two aforementioned motifs: the eschatological waters of the Temple and the pouring out of the eschatological Spirit on God's people, and it transposes these motifs onto the person and ministry of Jesus.³⁸

Richard Hays, in his *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, also comes to similar conclusions.³⁹ Just as we have done above, Hays underscores Ezekiel 47 and Zechariah 14 as the "likeliest sources of the 'Scripture' to which the Evangelist refers."⁴⁰ What is not clear in Hays' work, however, is *how* this statement is supported. For Hays, the thematic resonances between John's identification of Jesus' body as the temple, the water rites of *Sukkoth*, and the prophetic eschatological imagery of the flowing water are sufficient to posit that such a reading provides "solutions to a notorious cluster of exegetical problems in the passage."⁴¹ While my own reading parallels Hays', our method has enabled us to dig much deeper and

³⁷ Incidentally, this interest in the restored, eschatological Temple as the source of living waters is also found in 1 Enoch 26:2–3 and 47:3–48:1. So Joseph R Greene, "Integrating Interpretations of John 7:37–39 into the Temple Theme: The Spirit as Efflux from the New Temple," *Neotestamentica* 47, no. 2 (2013): 338.

³⁸ Although it has not been the focus of this thesis, this phrase has further resonances with Torah and sapiential traditions. See, e.g., Zimmermann, *Christologie der Bilder*, 145–46.

³⁹ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2016), 314–16.

⁴⁰ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 315.

⁴¹ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 314.

provide substantial evidence, first of all, on the basis of the metonymic referencing in the Hebraic phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν, and then in the narrativ-theological context of John, for such a conclusion. Once more, although Hays' method has resulted in an exegesis that is similar to my own, the methodological foundations of our respective interpretations are where distinct differences can be detected. I contend that our methods differ not so much in the end result as in the historical (and therefore also literary and theological) *robustness* of that interpretation.

It needs to be said that this narrativ-theological interpretation stands on its own strength, irrespective of the punctuation issues of 7:38, which we will address below. Although the punctuation and syntactical possibilities should and do weigh on the debate, they are, in my estimation, not the decisive factor. Even if the punctuation were to point us in the other direction, the overall force of the macro-contextual factors given above—which aligns with what has been called the “christological” interpretation—is clear, cohesive, and cannot easily be ignored.

V.4.0 Composite Citation in 7:38b—The Water-from-the-Rock Tradition of Psalm 105(104):41; Psalm 78(77):16, 20; Isaiah 48:21; Exod. 17:6 and Num. 20:11

Having dealt at length with the specific phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν, which we concluded is a composite allusion pointing to the scriptural motifs of eschatological restoration and the Spirit of God, we can now widen our scope to examine the rest of 7:38. If, as I argue above, the lexeme ζῶν is accounted for by the composite allusion, we are left with seven distinct lexemes in 7:37b–38, five of which occur in the citation proper of 7:38b. We begin first with the citation proper in 7:38b before discussing the larger unit of 7:37b–38. A recent treatment of this passage is found in Catrin Williams' essay on composite citations.⁴² Williams examines 7:38 in detail, treating it as a composite citation, and arguing that the most likely candidates for the primary

⁴² Catrin H. Williams, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of John,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 94–127; see also Maarten J. J. Menken, “The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38,” *NovT* 38, no. 2 (1996): 160–75, many of whose insights inform Williams' essay.

source text are Psalm 78(77):16, 20 and Isaiah 48:21.⁴³ She concludes that although the rivers imagery “slightly favors the psalm text,” in the end, “both passages... provide the frame for this new mosaic of scriptural words.”⁴⁴

Similarly, Psalm 105(104):41—like Psalm 78(77) 16, 20—also retells the same wilderness event, and it, too, contains the same three shared lexemes with Jn 7:37–38 (ῥέω, ὕδωρ, and ποταμός). Indeed, since all three passages are referencing the same tradition of the Israelites’ experience in the wilderness, and since all employ several of the same lexemes, and since all three only display overlap of *isolated lexemes* with the Johannine text, I see no real justification or need to prioritize one over the other as the primary source of the citation. Even composite citations where verbal congruence consists of whole phrases or even sentences can be thought of as “combined” composite citations where neither of the source texts is considered primary but are simply fused together in a way that elements of both sources are equally present (see Ch. I above). In the same way, what seems to be happening here is that both psalm texts as well as the Isaiah text are being equally referenced because of their commonality in pointing to the tradition of the Israelite wilderness experience. Indeed, the mode of referentiality here might best be described as a composite allusion “masquerading,” as it were, as a composite citation: its form declares that it is a composite citation, but its *function* betrays it to be a composite allusion! The composite allusion here is directing the audience to the *tradition* of the water-from-the-rock experience in the wilderness, and thus, along with it, all the passages that evoke that specific tradition (Pss. 78[77], 104; and Isa. 48) as well as to its original narratives in Exodus 17 and Numbers 20. From the perspective of ancient media culture, the combined effect of these various lexemes (ῥέω, ὕδωρ, and ποταμός) in the context of the concepts of thirsting and drinking (διψάω, πίνω) is a metonymic reference to the larger, well-established tradition of YHWH’s miraculous provision in the desert. The purpose in referencing that tradition, just as in the composite allusion of ὕδωρ ζῶν, seems to be to map that established tradition onto the person of Jesus. Whereas the water-from-the-rock

⁴³ Williams, “Composite Citations,” 102.

⁴⁴ Williams, “Composite Citations,” 102.

tradition had as its focal point the figure of YHWH who provided for Israel, the Johannine Jesus, by alluding to these passages in this citation, is shifting that focus once again on to *Jesus* as the rock, the source of life and nourishment. We should not neglect to mention that the related tradition of manna in the wilderness was already alluded to in the bread of life motif in Ch. VI and its composite citation of Psalm 78(77):24 and Exod. 16:4, 15.⁴⁵ The composite citation-allusion in Jn 7, then, is not surprising and further adds to John's christological message.

This interpretation coheres well with what was said above regarding the composite allusion ὕδωρ ζῶν. There, the alluded-to texts emphasize the connection with the *future* eschatological spirit; here the background texts make a connection to the *past* experience of Israel in its covenantal relationship with YHWH. Once again, rabbinic traditions confirm the literary and thematic connections here: the Tosefta references the wilderness miracle and describes the miraculous water-providing rock as a "well" in its discussion of the water libation ceremony.⁴⁶ The tradition of ὕδωρ ζῶν, on the one hand, and the water-from-the-rock traditions, on the other, represent distinct but complementary elements of John's christological message, bound together by the composite citation-allusion to form a single literary unit. Given the context of John 7:1–52, both are christologically focused, but in different, complementary ways.

V.4.1 Allusion to Thirsting and Drinking (διψάω, πίνω) in Isaiah in 7:37b–38

In the analysis above, I argued that the composite citation in 7:38b alludes to the tradition of the water-from-the-rock episode in the Exodus-Numbers narrative. Its primary emphasis is to draw a parallel, on the one hand, between the person of Jesus as the source of true eschatological life, and, on the other, YHWH as the source of Israel's miraculous water in the desert. But as we widen our analysis to include John 7:37b, another element emerges that invites closer scrutiny: the notion of thirsting and drinking, which is present only in Isaiah

⁴⁵ Williams, "Composite Citations," 97–100.

⁴⁶ See *t. Suk.* 3:11A; and Grigsby, "'If Any Man Thirsts,'" 107.

48:21. In fact, the two lexemes *דַּבְּשׁוּ* and *פִּינוּ* are found in combination like this only a handful of times in the LXX⁴⁷ (the Hebrew equivalents, *צמא* and *שתה* occur only three times, Isaiah 29:8, 65:13, and Ruth 2:9). The two most relevant Isaianic passages are 48:21 and 55:1, as displayed in Table M. above. We turn, then, to further examine these two passages in Isaiah.

We note, first, that the Hebrew and the Greek versions differ in the case of Isaiah 55:1. Below is a comparison of the translations:

Table O: Isa. 55:1

MT	הוֹי כָּל-צָמֵא לְכוּ לַמַּיִם וְאִשֶּׁר אֵין-לָהּ כֶּסֶף לְכוּ שִׁבְרוּ וְאָכְלוּ וּלְכוּ שִׁבְרוּ בְלֹא-כֶּסֶף וּבְלֹא מַחִיר יַיִן וְחֶלֶב:	Ho! All who are <u>thirsty</u> , go to the <u>water</u> , and those without money, go, buy, and eat, and go buy without money and without price, wine and milk.
LXX	Οἱ διψῶντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον, βαδίσαντες ἀγοράσατε καὶ πίνετε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ τιμῆς οἴνου καὶ στέαρ.	Those who <u>thirst</u> , go to <u>water</u> , and as many of you who have no money, when you go, buy and <u>drink</u> without money and without price wine and fat.

The Hebrew reads *וְאָכְלוּ שִׁבְרוּ* (buy and eat) and does not contain the verb *שתה* (to drink), whereas the LXX translates this with greater freedom as *ἀγοράσατε καὶ πίνετε* (buy and drink). The verbal parallel between Jn 7:37b and Isaiah 55:1, then, is considerably stronger in the LXX than in the corresponding MT. But even in the LXX, it is by no means certain; in John, the invitation is made with *ἔρχομαι*; in Isaiah 55:1 LXX it is made with the verb *πορεύω*, reflecting the Hebrew *הלך*. The *conceptual* parallel, however, is clear, on account of three cumulative factors that are especially noticeable in the Hebrew. First, there is the presence of an invitation in the imperatival form (the Hebrew verb *הלך*, unlike the Greek verb *πορεύω*, can and does have the force here of a general invitation, cf. Isa. 55:3: *וּלְכוּ אֵלַי*) given in the context of drinking water. Secondly, the imperatival invitation in both passages is of a universal or general nature to *all* who thirst (reflected in the Hebrew *כָּל-צָמֵא* in Isa. 55:1 and in the *ἐάν τις*

⁴⁷ Ruth 2:9; Isa. 29:8; 48:21; 55:1; 65:13; cf. also Sir. 24:21; 26:12.

διψᾶ of Jn 7:37b). In this regard, one can even argue that this phrase, ἕάν τις διψᾷ, is a better translation of אֲמַץ-לֵךְ than the οἱ διψῶντες of the LXX. Finally, one must also consider the uniqueness of this kind of universal, imperatival invitation to come to God, which is given directly by God himself in the first person. There simply is no other comparable instance—at least not that I can find—in the Jewish scriptures where God extends such a general invitation to others to come directly to drink / receive from himself.⁴⁸ In the movement of Isaiah 40–55, this invitation is the final, exultant invitation for Israel to respond to the work of the Servant and receive God’s promise of a new, Davidic covenant.⁴⁹ These three factors, then, from a conceptual and thematic perspective, do indeed establish the possibility of an allusion to Isaiah 55:1.

Next, we consider Isaiah 48:21. As mentioned above, Isaiah 48:21 as a potential source text is a particularly conspicuous candidate by virtue of the sheer number of lexemes common to both passages. Of the eight key lexemes in the wider passage of John 7:37b–38, only ποταμός and ζάω are not found in Isaiah 48:21. Just as the two Psalm texts were a retelling of the water-from-the-rock episode, so too is the Isaianic passage. Its immediate context for the recollection of that tradition is an admonition to trust in YHWH and the exilic call to flee Chaldea. The passage is part of the larger movement of Isaiah 40–48 in which YHWH names Cyrus as his messiah (יְהוֹשִׁיעַ) in order to restore Israel’s fortunes.⁵⁰ Interestingly, the immediate response to Jesus’ proclamation is a discussion of Jesus’ identity: some identify him as the prophet, others identify him as the Messiah, and still others demonstrate skepticism and resistance. This mixed response in the FG might be seen to parallel the mixed response and ultimately, rejection, of Jacob-Israel to YHWH’s choice of Cyrus in Isaiah 49-55.⁵¹ While

⁴⁸ There is one other instance in Isaiah 26:20 where YHWH is inviting Israel to enter its chambers and close its doors, but this is in the context of YHWH’s coming judgment; also, one instance in Isa 48:16, which is near 48:21, where Israel is invited to draw near to YHWH to hear his reassurance which he has openly spoken. This was determined by performing a grammatical search of a combination of the verbs הלך, עלה, בוא preceded by three or fewer words either with the first-person pronoun, or the pronominal suffix, and then manually cross-checking the contexts all of resultant hits.

⁴⁹ John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40–66*, NICOT vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 433–34.

⁵⁰ See further the discussion in the relevant sections in Chs. III and IV above.

⁵¹ See further Watts, “Consolation or Confrontation.”

these themes are certainly parallel in both John and Isaiah, how much of the larger narrative of Isaiah 40–48 is intended to be picked up on by the audience is more difficult to assess. But what can be said with confidence is that slightly widening our scope of consideration to include John 7:37b further establishes Isaiah 48:21 as one of the primary sources lying just beneath the surface of this Johannine passage. Thus, while it is not quite correct to speak of Isaiah 48:21 on its own being a source of the citation in 7:37b *per se* (except insofar as it participates in the water-in-the-rock tradition as discussed above), it would indeed be correct to say that Isaiah 48:21 is most certainly one of the texts that is alluded to in the wider literary unit of 7:37b-38. According to our definition in Chapter I, this passage would now be considered a composite allusion (in addition to containing a composite citation), since it alludes both to Isaiah 55:1 and Isaiah 48:21, two passages, which, significantly, also happen to book-end the important block of literary material of Isaiah 49–55 which has as one of its central themes Israel’s new Exodus.⁵²

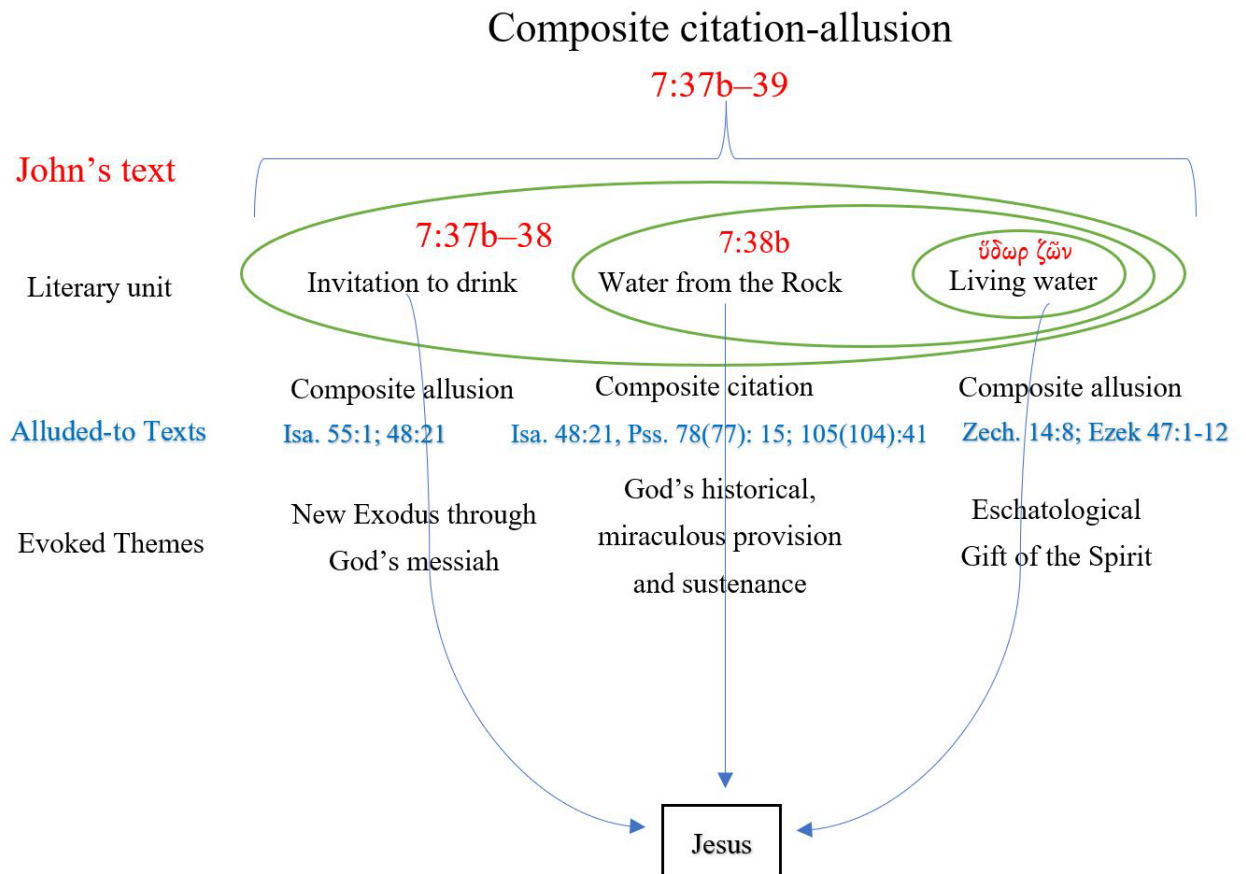
V.4.2 Reconsidering the Composite Citation-Allusion in 7:37b-39 as a Single Literary Unit

Having analyzed this larger literary unit (7:37b–39) through analysis of three smaller sub-units within it (the ὕδωρ ζῶν of 7:38b-39; the composite citation of 7:38b; and the composite allusion in 7:37b), it is now possible to put all of this information into a single, unifying theory that explains how these multi-layered, implicit references are working here in the FG. Thus, in line with the analysis above, what is found in 7:37b–39, beginning with the innermost layer and working outwards, can best be described as a Type II composite allusion (ὕδωρ ζῶν), referencing the prophetic eschatological gift of the Spirit of Jesus (alluding to Ezek. 47:1–12 and Zech. 14:8), nested within a composite citation (7:38b) functioning as a Type I/II composite allusion referring to the water-from-the-rock tradition of Israel’s wilderness experience (Isa. 48:21, Ps. 78[77]:15–20, Ps. 105[104]:41), next to another Type II composite

⁵² Again, see the discussion in Chs. III and IV above.

allusion pointing to the motif of the New Exodus. The entire unit, then, may be thought of as a complex Type III composite citation-allusion, and, diagrammatically, can be visualized as follows:

Diagram C: Living Water in Jn 7:37–39.



If this description is accurate, the level of complexity and the communicative sophistication with which the evangelist writes is impressive. Its impact, of course, on the ideal first-century hearer and reader would have happened much more naturally and less analytically than what we have articulated above. All three of these themes and sets of texts are interwoven together and folded on top of each other in such a way that separating them into three distinct analyses seems artificial and even cumbersome. In reality, what makes these allusions work the way they do and as effectively as they do is their natural cohesion to each other, and the cohesion of all of them to the narrative of the FG at just this point. They are all applied christologically to Jesus's person and ministry and integrate effortlessly into the mind of the receptive audience in application to Jesus. In our typology from Ch. I above, the entire

unit would be classified as a Type III composite allusion, being a complex mixture of various elements; the first and third elements might be classified as Type II composite allusions, more thematically based than verbally based; and the middle component, the citation proper, might be considered on the border between a Type I and Type II composite allusion, where both lexematic congruence and thematic coherence are significant factors.

Excursus: ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ and Intratextuality

It was noted above that all the significant lexemes apart from *κοιλία* in John 7:37b-39 can readily be connected to various scriptural backgrounds. Whence this phrase *ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ*, then? The scholarly literature has attempted to assign to it more possibilities than can be discussed here.⁵³ One possible approach, adopted by Williams and Menken, is to see the similarity between the *ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας* of John and the *ἐκ πέτρας* of Psalm 77:16, 20, and to postulate a linkage between them on account of two observations: 1) Psalm 114(113):8 tells of God turning a rock (רֶבֶעַ / πέτρα) into a spring of water (מַיִם-יְיָ / πηγὰς ὑδάτων); 2) an alternate vocalization of רֶבֶעַ is found in the Aramaic word רֶבֶעַ (intestines). It is then postulated that John draws on this connection since this Aramaic word is translated as *κοιλία* in the LXX.⁵⁴

There is, however, another factor that is to be considered. The word in its basic literal sense means “belly,” that is, the cavity of the body that houses one’s internal organs, and can, in this sense also mean “stomach,” “bowels,” “entrails,” etc. However, it can also denote the generative aspect of one’s body, that is, physically speaking, the “womb” (e.g., LXX Gen. 25:24, LXX Isa 49:15), but also, in a figurative sense, the “fruit of one’s body” (e.g., LXX Mic. 6:7, LXX Ps. 131:11). In a sense that is particular to the LXX, it is sometimes also used interchangeably with *καρδία*, the seat of one’s innermost thoughts and feelings—similar to

⁵³ Daise, “‘Rivers of Living Water’ as New Creation and New Exodus,” 5–6, in his survey lists at least ten possibilities: abdomen, heart, human body, human nature, semen, wilderness rock, Jerusalem as navel, temple rock, a (mis)translation of the Aramaic or the Hebrew.

⁵⁴ Menken, “The Origin,” 173–74.

one's "heart" in English (e.g., Prov. 20:27; Ps. 40[39]:8[9]). It is in this third sense that most English translations have understood the word in 7:38.

But I argue that it is the second, generative, meaning that is John's primary connotation here, on account of *intratextual* considerations. For the distinctive word also occurs in 3:4, where it occurs in Nicodemus' incredulous query to Jesus about re-entering into one's mother's *κοιλία*.⁵⁵ Interestingly, there, in 3:5–6, in Nicodemus' discussion of spiritual rebirth, water imagery is also present, and exegetically paired with *το πνεύμα*. Thus, the resultant product in John 3 is a likely allusion to Ezekiel 36:25–27 and the work of the Spirit. In addition to John 3, birthing language and imagery occurs frequently in the Gospel. Additionally, the fact that the rock of Exodus 17 is connected with birthing imagery (Deut. 32:18) and is further linked to Zion (Isa. 43:14–44:8) also strengthens the association with birthing imagery in 7:37–39. And finally, the imagery of birthing again resurfaces in John 19:34 at the piercing of Jesus' side —albeit there John uses *πλευρά*, not *κοιλία*. But the birthing metaphors and usage of *κοιλία* as the origin of life prepares the reader for the flow of blood and water which immediately flows at the piercing of Jesus's side. This is a likely symbol for Jesus's crucifixion as the source of both atonement and the Spirit.⁵⁶ This symbolism, not insignificantly, visually mirrors the ritual of the water-drawing ceremony in the Feast of Tabernacles and the simultaneous draining of the water and the wine from the unstopped bowls at the altar mixing together into the pit below the altar. All of these connections are too interconnected to be merely coincidental.

How would one effectively translate this phrase into English? This is difficult to answer, as the phrase "from his womb" would not make sense in English, and the other traditional options, "inner-most being," "heart," "center," etc., all miss the generative connotation. It would be difficult to capture both of these senses in English as John is able to

⁵⁵ On birthing imagery in Jn 3, see, e.g., Dorothy A. Lee, *The Symbolic Narratives of the Fourth Gospel: The Interplay of Form and Meaning*, JSNTSup 95 (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1994), 43–48; see also Williams, "Composite Citations," 103, citing Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John*, 257.

⁵⁶ See further Sebastian A. Carnazzo, *Seeing Blood and Water: A Narrative-Critical Study of John 19:34* (Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2012).

do in the Greek. Perhaps, as has been suggested, it might be best to leave the word transliterated as *koilia*, or, at the least, provide a footnote indicating the various possibilities and translational issues.⁵⁷

V.5.0 Synthesis: Ancient Media Culture, Metonymic Referencing, and Social Memory

I arrive now at a final integrative analysis of our passage utilizing our developed method. Although this passage has been studied repeatedly and meticulously in the history of research, the uniqueness of our study is immediately apparent as I draw the various strands of this chapter together. The explanatory power and elegance of our method comes into full view, bringing fresh insights and moving us forward in our understanding of this passage in the context of the ancient world.

The concept derived from orality studies and termed metonymic referencing by J. M. Foley has a particularly significant role in our discussion of the composite citation-allusion in 7:37b–39. In fact, of all the composite allusions examined thus far (except perhaps for CD 1:1–3), this passage contains the densest and most complex forms of referencing. The concept of metonymic referencing aids in our understanding of these allusions by conceiving how they function separately as well as together. In what follows I will approach the passage from the perspective of the first-century audience, as though hearing it for the first time.

First, before this passage was even heard by the audience, the mention of the setting of the Festival of Tabernacles (7:2, 37) would have automatically encouraged those familiar with it to imagine its most memorable aspects such as the water-drawing ceremony. Their minds were, then, already “primed to hear” the references that John is about to evoke in Jesus’ speech. Secondly, the literary artistry in the enacted drama of the narrational moment further assists hearers to pay special attention to what is about to happen as John describes it in particularly graphic detail: τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (the *last* day)... τῇ μεγάλῃ (the *great* one)... εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Jesus *stood up*) καὶ ἔκραξεν (and *cried out*). Then, as we arrive at the

⁵⁷ See further Shannon Kozubik, “The Implications Beneath the Living Waters of John 7:37-39,” *Journal of Theta Alpha Kappa* 33, no. 1 (2009): 20–35.

passage itself, Jesus' invitation, ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω ἑπρός με ἔ καὶ πινέτω (if anyone thirsts, let him come to me and drink, [7:37b]), which is couched in the prophetic language of thirsting and drinking, would have evoked the unique Isaianic tradition of YHWH inviting Israel to sate its thirst by following its God into his promises, returning to him and forsaking wickedness (Isa. 55). This is the first metonymic reference, evoking not only this specific passage in Isaiah and its invitation, but, in its capacity as the climactic chapter in the larger section of Isaiah 40–55, also evoking the whole penultimate climax of Israel's exilic history as Israel awaited God's return and restoration. But the invitation's setting has been transformed: the speaker is Jesus of Nazareth standing in the Temple, not YHWH through his prophets to Israel. The shift of focus onto Jesus continues as Jesus says, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ (whoever believes in me), a turn of phrase familiar enough to the audience of John's Christocentric Gospel by this point of the narrative.

Whether on the lips of Jesus, or in the words of the narrator—at this moment it is unclear just who it is—the authority of scripture is invoked with a citation formula to introduce what follows, thus further “spring-loading” the mental allusive muscles to listen for further potential scriptural references. Then, finally, with the phrase ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥέουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος (rivers from his κοιλία flowing with living water), having recently already heard the tradition of the supernatural manna and water in the wilderness (6:35), that tradition would have surfaced again for the hearers with these words, evoking once more the primary collective memory of their Exodus from Egypt. This is the second metonymic reference. But, for the thoughtful hearer and reader, there are two new elements in this phrase that would not have been recognized as coming from that tradition: κοιλία and the phrase ὕδατος ζῶντος (living water).

The latter, ὕδατος ζῶντος, would have caused yet another, third, scriptural tradition to be evoked—especially in light of the narrational setting of the Feast of Tabernacles: the eschatological restoration of the Temple and God's return to his people “on the last day.” This represents the third metonymic reference in this passage. And the other foreign element,

κοιλία, especially with the explanatory note of v. 39, would have brought the hearer back to John 3:4 and John's discussion of the related theme of the gift of the Spirit, as we already noted. Additionally, the concept of the Spirit is already implicit in the phrase ὕδατος ζῶντος on account of its Hebraic roots. For the native Greek speaker well-versed in the Jewish scriptures, familiar with its Greek translation and with Jewish customs, all of this would have happened naturally, spontaneously, and virtually instantaneously as the Gospel was read aloud.

The application of social memory theory to this passage can also help us understand certain key characteristics of the original Johannine community. These three traditions—the New Exodus, the first exodus, and eschatological renewal in the Spirit—were key aspects in the formation of the core identity of John's hearers. Each of these is “keyed” to the other in this composite citation-allusion, together forming a thick matrix of tradition in which John's hearers could find meaning. The binding of these three traditions together at this single point demonstrates just how tightly interwoven these traditions are for that first Johannine community, and how vital for them is their scriptural heritage, not just in isolated events, but in its whole narrative sweep, from exodus to New Exodus to eschatological restoration.⁵⁸ Theirs is not a new identity birthed in a vacuum; it is grounded profoundly in the Jewish scriptural tradition. But these key social memories are also not adopted without a fundamental transformation. These key events from their heritage are remembered, yes, but they are now also keyed unmistakably and unapologetically onto a single historical figure: Jesus of Nazareth. Although as a whole the Jewish scriptural heritage is core to their identity, the finer details of that heritage are also relativized to an extent. It is no longer the Festival of Tabernacles that was central, but how its rites were symbolically fulfilled in Jesus that is key; it is no longer the national heritage of Israel in its ethnic, covenantal relationship with God that is central, but the new relationship established through belief in God's messiah Jesus that is central. No longer is the Spirit of living water poured out through the Temple in Jerusalem into the Arabah to be awaited for “on the last day,” but the Spirit of living water of healing

⁵⁸ Indeed, one can arguably include in this narrative sweep the imagery of creation as well, see Daise, “Rivers,” 113–26.

and eternal life is now to be received by all believers after Jesus is resurrected and glorified, given “without measure” (3:34) flowing from Jesus to the disciples, as well as flowing *out* of the disciple in abundance (4:14). The scriptural heritage is a core part of their identity, but that identity now needs to be negotiated with their present experience of the historical person of Jesus and his ministry to his disciples. The end result of that negotiation is what we now have in the narrative of the Gospel of John as the evangelist continually shuttles back and forth between scriptural imagery and christological narrative. And what we have at 7:37–39 is a poignant example of that tradition now codified in the collective memory of the Johannine Jesus.

V.6.0 The Punctuation of 7:37b–38

The approach taken so far in this chapter has not discussed the thorny issue of the punctuation of John 7:37b–38. Indeed, being aware of the as-yet unresolved debate on this issue, it has been possible to suspend its discussion and prioritize the hermeneutical issues above. Having done so, what has so far been proposed overwhelmingly favors the “christological interpretation.” Two of the composite scriptural source texts—the water-from-the-rock tradition and the living water tradition—point decisively, in my mind, to the source of the living water flowing from a central figure rather than from unspecified individuals. But does the punctuation and syntax support such an interpretation? We turn now to this question. Two syntactical options arise from the possibilities of punctuation, which we will call Option A and Option B. The debate has been rehearsed countless times,⁵⁹ so our intention is only to summarize the contours of the debate in order to ascertain what impact our method may have on it.

⁵⁹ For a classic summary, see Brown, *John I–XII*, 29:320–21.

Table P: Option A Syntax

ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ. καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος	If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and let him drink, the one who believes in me. As the Scripture said, Rivers from his koilia will flow, of living water.
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In the first proposal, Option A, the passage is punctuated by placing a full stop after ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ (the one who believes in me), therefore connecting this participial phrase with the preceding ἐμέ, that is, to Jesus. Grammatically, this construction creates a chiasmic parallelism between the two phrases (the first two lines in Table P above):

If anyone is thirsty (a)
Let him come to me (b)
Let him drink (b)
The one who believes in me. (a')

Chiasmic structure in John is common. This is known as the “christological reading” and is well attested from the 2nd century since Justin and many Western Fathers.⁶⁰

Table Q: Option B Syntax

ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος	If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. The one believes in me, as the Scripture said, rivers from his koilia will flow, of living water.
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In Option B, the full stop comes earlier at the end of v. 37 after πινέτω (let him drink) and the antecedent of αὐτοῦ points to the participial phrase referring to the believer, thus logically and semantically connecting it to the composite citation ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. The sentence is interrupted by the interjection καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή (creating what is called a grammatical anacoluthon in which ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ is taken as a

⁶⁰ Brown, *John*, 29:320.

nominal pendens). As those who favor this reading readily point out, this punctuation has early textual attestation in manuscript P⁶⁶; it is followed by Origen and much of the Eastern Fathers.⁶¹ This reading has the grammatical advantage of placing the participial phrase ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ at the beginning of the sentence, rather than at the end of one, which is particularly Johannine.

Thus, grammatically, both Option A and Option B are viable. Stylistically, the parallelism of the couplet put forward in favor of the christological reading has been criticized as improbable (though not impossible) in John, whereas the *nominative pendens* is widely recognized as a frequent Johannine construction.⁶² With regard to the textual witnesses, the original manuscript would have been written in *scriptio continua*, with little to no punctuation or spacing. Thus, consideration given to the evidence that we have in P⁶⁶ in which a medial stop follows πινέτω (thus favoring Option B) is tentative—punctuation marks in ancient manuscripts are notoriously difficult to interpret.⁶³ Nevertheless, the earliest witness does seem to indicate some sort of break between πινέτω and ὁ πιστεύων, favoring the believer as the source of the living water. Style and textual history, then, may weigh slightly in favor of Option B. But the larger contextual issues, as delineated above, point strongly towards a *christological* reading, Option A. Modern scholars—as is the case with ancient interpreters—are divided over the issue.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Brown, 29:320.

⁶² Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 2:153.

⁶³ See, e.g., Michael A. Daise, “‘If Anyone Thirsts, Let That One Come to Me and Drink’: The Literary Texture of John 7:37b-38a,” *JBL* 122, no. 4 (2003): 689–92.

⁶⁴ Among major commentators, opinion is roughly equally divided between **those who favor Option A**: Brown, *John I–XII*; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*; Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray, Rupert W. N. Hoare, and John K. Riches (1957; repr., Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976); Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, vol. 4, SP (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998); Beasley-Murray, *John*; Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John*; Johannes Beutler, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017); and **those who favor Option B**: J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John*, ed. Alan Hugh McNeile, 2 vols., International Critical Commentary (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1929); C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 1958); Lindars, *John*; Maarten J. J. Menken, “The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38,” *NovT* 38, no. 2 (1996): 160–75; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel According to John: A Theological Commentary*, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997); D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, PNTC (Leicester, England; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Inter-Varsity Press; Eerdmans, 1991); Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995); J. Ramsey Michaels, *The*

Can anything new be added to this well-worn debate? Especially since the FG displays so many signs of being an oral-literary document,⁶⁵ it may be helpful to broach the issue from another angle. From the perspective of ancient media criticism, I argue that it is highly probable that the original author of the gospel intended *both* of the options to be heard by audiences as the document was read aloud. As argued above, it was highly likely that the resonances of these three composite traditions—a new Exodus invitation to come or to return to God; a reminder of Israel’s history in which God was provider of life-giving water; and the eschatological Spirit of living water pointing to the future fulfillment of God’s promises—would have been readily perceived and then applied to the person of Jesus in the Johannine audience. The christological interest of the FG and the intratextual connections within the FG demand this and are too substantial to ignore. But, in oral reading or performance, the ambiguity of the grammatical antecedent of ἐκ τῆς κοιτίας αὐτοῦ would have been highly evocative and would have sent the mind of the hearer to other possibilities beyond that of the christological. Of course, the possibility of a christological antecedent would have continued to exist in the mind of the reader and would have been the first ‘target’ for these scriptural references, despite the fact that this would then mean that Jesus, in citing scripture, refers to himself in the third person. The grammatical awkwardness is easily resolved by the presence of the introductory citation formula, and the claim that this phrase, in the narrative, is being presented as a *citation*.⁶⁶ But the grammatical ambiguity, rather than being clarified by the explanatory note that follows—which is what we might expect if the final Johannine author-editor were wanting singular clarity—is further compounded by the shift in focus from Jesus as the source of the living water to the believer *as its recipient*. This is what Lindars and Fee have astutely observed, and it does require the exegete’s attention. However, I argue that what the context of v. 39 and the grammatical ambiguity of the αὐτοῦ result in, for the Johannine

Gospel of John, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010); Marianne Meye Thompson, *John: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2015).

⁶⁵ J. A. Loubser, “Orality and Literacy in the Johannine Manuscripts,” in *Oral and Manuscript Culture in the Bible: Studies on the Media Texture of the New Testament: Explorative Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed., BPC 7 (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf and Stock, 2013).

⁶⁶ Pace Fee, “Once More—John 7,” 117.

audience, rather than the replacement of the original antecedent of Jesus with that of the believer, is an opening of the possibility for understanding *both* Jesus *and* the believer as potential sources of the living water. It is, in other words, another case of John's *double-entendre*; this seems to be one of those situations where the author has decided to "insist upon both meanings rather than choose one over the other."⁶⁷ That the believer might himself or herself become a subsidiary source of the living water does not obviate the need for a primary source; indeed, it requires it, as all advocates of Option B admit. And the resonances of this citation with Wisdom literature (see Prov. 18:4 LXX in Table M above) provide further support for this view. Recognition of this secondary resonance opens the way for further Johannine development of this pneumatological concept, for John will make explicit the parallel between the relationship of Father and Son and the relationship of Jesus and the believer (15:9; 17:18; and esp. 20:21 in the context of the Spirit and mission). Thus, according to John, it follows perfectly that the gift of the living water given to the believer from Jesus should also become a source of life that issues forth from the believer to others as they are aligned with Jesus' mission.⁶⁸

Another way to think about this debate is by considering the alternative. How likely is it that the final Johannine author-editor, given what we know about the oral-literary culture of the first century, would have left the present text as it is if he intended to convey absolute certainty about one reading over the other? We know that this text, even given a scriptural context where it might be considered inspired writing, would often have been used as an aid-to-memory for vocalized reading by others, and not simply viewed as a deposit of fixed written authority. Its composition would have been made, from its very inception, with a view to its vocalization in a communal setting. Furthermore, as Menken demonstrates, *even given a vocalization emphasizing Option B*, where there is a full stop after *πινέτω*, the *nominal*

⁶⁷ See further E. Richard, "Expressions of Double Meaning and Their Function in the Gospel of John," *NTS* 31, no. 1 (1985): 102.

⁶⁸ Cf. Greene, "Integrating Interpretations of John 7," who comes to a similar conclusion based on the integrating theme of Jesus being the Fulfilment of the Temple. Cf. also Frédéric Manns, *Le Symbole eau-esprit dans le judaïsme ancien* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1983); as well as Melanie S. Baffes, "Christology and Discipleship in John 7:37–38," *BTB* 41, no. 3 (2011): 144–50.

pendens, grammatically speaking, is still potentially ambiguous!⁶⁹ Given the obvious grammatical ambiguity that any reader would have been confronted with in first reading—and hearing—this passage, is it more likely that the author would have intentionally left it in its current form in order to leave open a certain amount of hermeneutical suppleness, or that he left it so out of ignorance about the confusion it could potentially bring to hearers? It would have been simple enough to add, “Now this he said about the Spirit *coming from Jesus* (ἐρχομένου ἐκ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), whom those who believed in him were to receive...” Or, equally, to have amended it to read, “Now this he said about the Spirit *coming from the disciples* (ἐρχομένου ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν), whom those who believe in him were to receive...” This document must be conceived of not only as a literary creation but as an oral-literary one. As a literary document, one searches for precision and a decision between mutually exclusive options, but, as an oral-literary document, the ambiguity as it is vocalized leads not to confusion but to further attentiveness, curiosity, and inquiry. Is all of this a mistake, or is it intentional? Given the author’s subtleness of thought, his employment of double meanings, his literary artistry in the FG as a whole, and the fact that both interpretations are theologically supported elsewhere in the FG, the former option, I argue, is to be preferred over the latter.

V.7.0 Summary and Conclusions

In the introduction to this chapter, I stated that our goal is not to provide hermeneutical certainty on this difficult passage, but rather to apply our developed methodology to it. Applying the concept of metonymic referentiality, we have examined three separate composite scriptural traditions: God’s invitation to his people as found in the New Exodus of Isaiah 40–55; God’s supernatural provision of water in the desert; and God’s restoration of the Temple by his spirit. By alluding to these three traditions in Israel’s scriptural heritage with the key lexemes in John 7:37b–39, and by locating them within the wider christological narrative set within the Feast of Tabernacles, John is claiming that all of these traditions find their

⁶⁹ Menken, “The Origin,” 166–67.

eschatological fulfillment in Jesus. Together, the three of them, in the form of a complex “composite citation-allusion,” bring the audience into contact with these formative collective memories of theirs, while at the same time, transforming them and re-mapping them onto the person of Jesus. That element which is more difficult to be accounted for intertextually—ἐκ τῆς κοιτίας—can readily be accounted for *intratextually*, emphasizing the generative aspect of the Spirit at work in the believer and in their community. Finally, with these allusions in mind, I asked what bearing an understanding of ancient oral-literary culture has on the punctuation and interpretation of our text. I argued that rather than leading us in any one direction, an understanding of the oral-literary nature of the text *widens* the grammatical possibilities of the text. That is, John is allowing for both hermeneutical possibilities: the source of the Spirit is *both* Jesus, *and*, in a secondary, way, the believer.

The application of our method to this passage has been a fruitful exercise. While all of the allusive references that have been examined above have been discussed in this passage’s history of exegesis in some form, what our study has sought to achieve is, first of all, to discern three distinct traditions among these passages, classifying them and grouping them accordingly. In distinguishing these traditions, greater understanding and clarity is achieved. The value of metonymic referencing for understanding how these three traditions interact in the final composite citation-allusion is considerable. Secondly, our method has been able to articulate a theoretical model by which these traditions were recalled and then, eventually, passed on in writing. These allusive references were formed within a concrete community who were rooted in a concrete setting and living in a specific time in the flow of history. What our method has enabled us to understand better is how these traditions could have been understood by that community, and the possible concrete mechanisms by which these traditions were remembered and passed on in that community. As with many of the examples we have so far investigated—whether in CD, the *Hodayot*, or John 1:29—this compact literary unit is densely compressed, enabling the hearer to grasp multiple layers of meaning with few words. But these are only one type of composite allusion; we will now proceed to examine a different

variety of composite allusion in John 15:1-11, one which is comparatively lengthy and spread over a much larger number of verses.

CHAPTER VI: JOHN 15:1–11: A COMPOSITE ALLUSION WITHIN AN EXTENDED METAPHOR

VI.1.0 Introduction

We arrive now at a different sort of composite allusion than that which has thus far been encountered in the Gospel of John. In John 1:29, two compact phrases (“lamb of God” and “takes away the sin of the world”) each act as composite allusions and point to a network of scriptural texts and motifs; in 7:37-39, a composite allusion (centered on “living waters”) is nested within a composite citation (referencing the water from the rock tradition), which is placed next to another composite allusion (referencing the Isaianic motif of an invitation to drink). Both of these previous two examples consist of compact literary units that simultaneously point to multiple scriptural sources and traditions. This complex and highly efficient mode of scriptural reference is possible by virtue of the metonymic referentiality and mnemonic keying described in Ch. I of this study. In John 15:1–11,¹ however, what is under examination is no longer a compact literary unit comprised of two or three phrases, but a passage spanning twelve verses. Nevertheless, despite this initial contrast in terms of the length of the unit under consideration, I will argue that John is using his scriptural sources in this passage in essentially the same way as in the previously examined examples. I will argue that key elements in this passage are best understood as a composite allusion to Isaiah 5:1–7, Jeremiah 2:21–22, Ezekiel 15, 17, and 19, and Psalm 80 (79 LXX), and that it is only by reading John 15 with these marked texts and traditions in mind that a truly informed

¹ Although the literary unit proper extends to v.17, many commentators see a natural break at v. 11 (e.g., Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John [XIII-XXI]: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, vol. 29A, AB [1970; repr., New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1974], 667; Johannes Beutler, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017), 402). In fact, the language of the vine and branches no longer appears past verse 6 and many think the metaphor comes to an end in v. 8, cf. Francis J. Moloney, *Glory Not Dishonor: Reading John 13–21* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1998), 56–57. I will limit the majority of my discussion to 15:1–11, except in the initial discussion of the overall literary structure and the final synthesizing analyses. Doing so provides us a with significantly greater exegetical focus.

understanding of this passage can be achieved.² Finally, I will also seek to demonstrate how an understanding of catchword exegesis and ancient media culture once again illuminates the mechanics behind how such a network of texts and traditions was likely to have become associated in the ancient mind.

As in previous chapters, the present one will proceed as follows: first, I will locate this passage in its literary context in John, providing some pertinent reasons for studying this text in particular; secondly, I will identify the key lexemes along with their purported source texts and then evaluate the respective verbal congruence and thematic coherence of these allusions; thirdly, I will apply the interpretative lens of ancient media culture and metonymic referencing to our identified allusions; and finally, I will synthesize the results of our analysis into a final, unified exegesis, noting the final theological impact that the composite allusion has on John 15:1–17.

VI.2.0 Literary Context: Delimitation and Structure

As almost all commentators observe, there is a major literary break at John 13:1, where the narrative from this point onwards begins to focus exclusively on the private ministry of Jesus to his disciples. John 13 also introduces a shift from speech to narrative, and in the singular verse of 13:1 is found a) the re-emergence and fulfillment of the “hour” (ὥρα) motif, b) the language of Jesus’ departure from the world (μεταβῆ ἔκ τοῦ κόσμου), and c) a statement that both summarizes Jesus’ previous ministry to his disciples and anticipates all that is to come: “having loved his own who were in the world, to the end he loved them” (ἀγαπήσας τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς). Along with the summary-like nature of 12:37–43 and Jesus’ climactic final call (Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἔκραξεν καὶ εἶπεν) inviting his audience to believe in

² Although Bultmann and a previous generation of scholars sought to find the background of John’s vine metaphor in extrabiblical (e.g., Mandaean) literature, scholars during at least the last thirty years have generally regarded the primary background of this passage to be the Jewish scriptures. Highly influential in this vein is the monograph by Rainer Borig, *Der wahre Weinstock: Untersuchungen zu Jo 15:1-10*, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 16 (Munich: Kösel, 1967).

him (12:44–50), the introduction of a major narrational and literary development is as clear here as anywhere in the FG.

In a similar vein, at the other end of this major section, at John 18:1, there is another major break as the narration transitions from Jesus' prayer back to free-flowing narrative and resumes the storyline of Jesus' journey (cf. 13:1–31; 14:31), across the Kidron to the garden where he encounters the contingent of soldiers and officers led by Judas. Between these two major literary breaks is a large section of Johannine material that most commentators have termed the "Farewell Discourse." The beginning and end points of this section are clear enough; what is less clear is precisely how the intervening material is to be organized, but the following general observations can be made.

The narrative setting begins with a meal and a symbolic act of foot-washing in which Jesus loves his disciples "to the end" (εἰς τέλος), interacting with Peter (13:6–11) and the disciples (13:12–20) regarding the significance of this act. Being "troubled in the spirit" (ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι), Jesus then predicts his betrayal (13:21), before sending Judas out. Then follows a series of discourses, at first punctuated by four interjections, first by Peter (13:36–38), then by Thomas (14:5), Philip (14:8), and finally by Judas (not Iscariot) in 14:22, but from 14:23 to 16:16—in which the present passage of interest, 15:1–11, is found—other characters recede, and Jesus alone speaks, addressing his disciples in an unbroken monologue. It is not until 16:17–18 that the disciples' voices are heard again, as they discuss amongst themselves the opacity of Jesus' words in which he speaks about the disciples "no longer seeing him" (οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με) in "a little while" (μικρὸν), and then, in "again a little while" (καὶ πάλιν μικρὸν), how they "will see" him again (ὄψεσθέ με). After Jesus responds, they interject once more in 16:29, now, in contrast, declaring the plainness of Jesus's speech, no longer ἐν παροιμίαις (in figures of speech), and their belief in him. But Jesus warns that they soon will be scattered and will desert him. The discourses come to a close with another unbroken monologue by Jesus encompassing all of chapter 17, this time a prayer for his disciples. As noted above, the narrative then resumes in 18:1 as Jesus continues his journey

across the Kidron to the garden. In slightly more detail, this section of John, from 13:1 to 17:26, can be outlined in the following manner (the grey highlighting indicates Jesus' discourses; and the dark grey highlighting indicates the passage of our concern):

13:1–20	Footwashing, loving his own, interaction with Peter
13:21–30	Prediction of Judas' betrayal
13:36	Interjection #1 by Peter: Where are you going?
13:36b–38	Response: You cannot follow
14:5	Interjection #2 by Thomas: How can we know the way?
14:6–7	Response: I am the way to the father
14:8	Interjection #3 by Philip: Show us the father
14:9–14	Response: Believe that I am in the father
14:22	Interjection # 4 by Judas: How will you show yourself to us?
14:23–24	Response: He who keeps my commandments, My father will love, and we will come to him
14:31	Narrative "Seam"
	<i>Discourse: I am the true ἄμπελος</i>
	Discourse: The Paraclete will guide you into all the truth.
16:16–18	Interjection #5 by disciples: What does he mean?
16:19–24	Response: Sorrow will turn into joy; Ask of me
16:25–28	Discourse: Now, figures of speech; then, plainly
16:29–30	Interjection #6 by disciples: Now we know
16:31–33	Response: Do you believe? You will be scattered. Take comfort
17:1–26	Jesus' prayer for his disciples

As can be seen both from the general description and the more specific outline given above, our passage is located right in the heart of this "Farewell Discourse." Some have

argued for a chiastic structure within this section which centers on 15:1–17,³ and although the evidence on display seems too ordered (e.g., interjections in 13:36–14:22 and in 16:16–30; discussion of the Paraclete in 14:15–21 and 16:5–15) to be haphazard,⁴ the large scope of the material and its diversity render such judgments less than certain, especially given the oral-literary culture of the day where most hearers do not typically have access to written texts. More useful, perhaps, are parallelisms that are conceived more *broadly* and *generally*, such as the following, which divides the material into five large sections (13:1–38; 13:31–14:31; 15:1–16:4d; 16:4e–33; 17:1–27):⁵

13:1–38	Footwashing, Prediction of Betrayal
13:31–14:31	First Part of Farewell Discourse
<i>15:1–16:4d</i>	<i>The Commissioning Discourse</i>
16:4e–33	Second Part of the Farewell Discourse
17:1–26	Prayer of the Hour

These kinds of literary structural analyses—whether in their more complex or simplified versions— suggest that the material in 15:1–17 is central to the whole of the Farewell Discourse.⁶ Furthermore, the material in John 15 stands out for two additional reasons. First, we note the presence of the ἐγώ εἰμι-formula, which is the last of the ἐγώ εἰμι

³ For perhaps the most well-developed of the arguments in favor of a chiastic structure, see esp. Wayne Brouwer, *The Literary Development of John 13-17: A Chiastic Reading*, SBLDS (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); as well as his two summarizing articles: W. Brouwer, “The Chiastic Structure of the Farewell Discourse in the Fourth Gospel Part 1,” *BSac* 175, no. 698 (2018): 195–214; and idem, “The Chiastic Structure of the Farewell Discourse in the Fourth Gospel Part 2,” *BSac* 175, no. 699 (2018): 304–22.

⁴For a chart containing a full list of the parallels between 13:31–14:31 and 16:4b–33, see Brown, *The Gospel According to John (XIII-XXI): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, 29A:589–92.

⁵ See George Mlakuzhyil S.J., *The Christocentric Literary-Dramatic Structure of John’s Gospel*, 2d and enl. ed., *Analecta Biblica: Investigationes Scientifcae in Res Biblicas* 117 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), 468–78; cf. also Francis J. Moloney, “The Structure and Message of John 15:1-16:3,” *ABR* 35 (1987): 35–49; who similarly considers the central unit to be 15:1–16:3.

⁶ Chrys C. Caragounis observes that this section, 15:1–7, is almost the exact center of John 13–18, see “‘Abide in Me’: The New Mode of Relationship between Jesus and His Followers as a Basis for Christian Ethics (John 15): Rethinking the Ethics of John: ‘Implicit Ethics’ in the Johannine Writings,” in *Rethinking the Ethics of John: “Implicit Ethics” in the Johannine Writings*, ed. J. G. van der Watt and Ruben Zimmermann, WUNT 291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 259.

statements with a predicate in the Gospel, and its positioning as the final such statement⁷ suggests that a certain significance is assigned to this passage.⁸ We will return to the significance of the ἐγώ εἰμι-formula below in our synthesizing remarks. Secondly, 15:1–17, from a narratological perspective, stands out from the surrounding material in its temporal aspect. Here, there is no mention of Jesus' coming departure from the disciples, nor of the future relationship of Jesus with his disciples and with the *paraclete* as in 13:31–14:31 and 16:4–31; instead, the text speaks in the present tense in a timeless manner about the *present* relationship of Jesus to his disciples.⁹ While commentators often take these differences (along with other elements) as evidence of editorial layers,¹⁰ the final unity of the entire section—as evidenced by its unifying language, themes, and arrangement—as well as the acknowledgment of other theories explaining so-called “aporia”¹¹ (including, most famously, the “seam” at 14:31), argues strongly against redactional theories that posit a more haphazard compilation.¹² Irrespective of one's evaluation of the presence of chiasmus in this Johannine section, then, John 15:1–17 seems to occupy a pivotal function passage within the Farewell Discourse. Therefore, the significant exegetical role of this text in John, its location in the second half of the Gospel, and the fact that it represents an extended passage rather than a compact one, all contribute to this text being an ideal third and final sample for our study of composite allusions.

⁷ Although see Jane Heath, “‘You Say That I Am a King’ (John 18.37),” *JSNT* 34, no. 3 (2012): 232–53, who argues for another “I am” saying with a predicate at 18:37.

⁸ So also Caragounis, “‘Abide in Me’”, 250.

⁹ Sjef van Tilborg, *Imaginative Love in John*, *BibInt* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 139.

¹⁰ E.g., Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray, Rupert W. N. Hoare, and John K. Riches (1957; repr., Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 595; and Brown, *The Gospel According to John (XIII-XXI): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, 29A:586–91.

¹¹ See Fernando F. Segovia, *The Farewell of the Word: The Johannine Call to Abide* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), esp. 1–58; Francis J. Moloney, *Glory Not Dishonor: Reading John 13–21* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1998), 1–7; L. Scott Kellum, *The Unity of the Farewell Discourse: The Literary Integrity of John 13.31-16.33*, *JSNTSup* 256 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); George L. Parsenios, *Departure and Consolation: The Johannine Farewell Discourses in Light of Greco-Roman Literature*, *NovTSup* 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

¹² A type of mediating position between these two kinds of readings is that of seeing portions of the Farewell Discourse as a “*relecture*,” see further Andreas Dettwiler, *Die Gegenwart des Erhöhten: eine exegetische Studie zu den johanneischen Abschiedsreden (Joh 13,31-16,33) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Relecture-Charakters*, *FRLANT* 169 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); and Jean Zumstein, “Der Prozess der Relecture in der johanneischen Literatur,” *NTS* 42, no. 3 (1996): 394–411.

VI.3.0 Key Lexemes and Possible Source Texts

In the following table, I have searched for virtually every significant lexeme in John 15:1–11¹³ in the six most commonly cited source texts.¹⁴ The number and length of the source texts prevent me from including them in their entire context as we have done in previous chapters. Instead, I present them here as represented by their lexemes, arranged in order, from greatest to least verbal overlap with the Johannine text:

Table R: Possible Allusions in Jn 15

John 15:1–6(17)	Ezek. 19:10– 12 LXX	Ezek. 17:6–9 LXX*	Ezek. 15:2–6 LXX*	Jer. 2:21 LXX	Ps. 80 (79) LXX*	Isa. 5:1– 7 LXX
ἀληθινός				ἀληθινός		
ἄμπελος	ἄμπελος	ἄμπελος	ἄμπελος	ἄμπελος	ἄμπελος	ἀμπελών
κλήμα	κλήμα	κλήμα	κλήμα		κλήμα	
καρπὸν φερὸν	καρπός	φέρειν καρπὸν		καρποφόρος		
καθαίρω			κάθαρσις			
μένω						μένω
ἀγαπάω						ἀγαπάω
ξηραίνω	ξηραίνω	ξηραίνω				
πῦρ	πῦρ		πῦρ		πῦρ	

*contains a Son of Man reference

Ezekiel 19:10–12 offers the most verbal overlap with John 15:1–11, containing five of the nine key lexemes; the other two passages in Ezekiel each contain four of the nine key

¹³ This is a more thorough analysis than what is found in the scholarly literature elsewhere that I am aware of. In addition to the lexemes in the chart, my search also included the γεωργος-, βαλλω-, συναγω-, and καιω-word groups.

¹⁴ Other occurrences of ἄμπελος with reference to Israel also occur in Isa. 27:2–6; Hos. 10:1–2; 14:7, Sir. 24:17–23, and 2 Esd. 5:23. Although we will not be able to explore these additional references, they will be treated implicitly in our discussion as part of the “Israel as vineyard” tradition in the section below on Isaiah 5:1–7.

lexemes; followed by Jeremiah 2:21, Isaiah 5, and Psalm 80 with three each. Combining all three of the passages in Ezekiel, six of the nine lexemes in question are accounted for in some way¹⁵—all but the adjective ἀληθινός, which is found only in the Jeremiah text, and μένω and ἀγαπάω which are found only in the Isaiah text. This has convinced Gary T. Manning that the Ezekiel texts form the primary background of the John text.¹⁶ However, when the thematic resonances of the texts are considered, a more complicated picture emerges. Indeed, I will argue below that of these scriptural passages, it is Isaiah that forms the primary background of the John text. Nevertheless, it is supplemented in important ways by each of the others, so that it is ultimately their *composite* image that provides the critical background context for truly appreciating this metaphor. From the perspective of the ancient author and his ideal audience, all of these passages are organically linked, not only lexically via catchwords, but also thematically. For instance, three thematic elements are common to all the passages above:

- 1) The vine / vineyard is used metaphorically to represent either Israel (Ezek. 17, 19; Jer. 2; Ps. 80; Isa. 5) or Jerusalem (Ezek. 15);
- 2) The vineyard / vine / branch is under threat of destruction;
- 3) YHWH is ultimately responsible for that threat of destruction.

And although the specific word καρπός is not used in the Isaiah passage, the idea that the *purpose* of the vine is to bear fruit is clearest in it; and the *idea* of fruit is certainly present—only, the specific word σταφυλή (grapes, corresponding to the Hb. עֲנָב) is used instead of the more generic word καρπός. The strength of the connection between the various background texts and John 15, then, cannot simply be ascertained through an analysis of the extent of verbal congruence. This leads me to examine in greater detail, in the next section, the thematic resonances of these texts with John 15.

¹⁵ See also Gary T. Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 140. Manning's count, however, of eight lexemes (p. 140, n.104) seems to be mistaken, as καίω is not found in any of the Ezekiel texts, and φέρω καρπὸν should probably be taken as a single lexematic unit since John's usage combines the two terms in every instance, and φέρω on its own is a relatively non-distinctive lexeme.

¹⁶ Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 138–45.

VI.4.0 Thematic Analysis of the Background Texts in relation to John 15:1–11

In this central passage of the Farewell Discourse, the narrative is momentarily suspended as Jesus brings the disciples' attention to their relationship with him through the metaphor of the ἄμπελος and its κλήματα.¹⁷ The passage begins with a clear focus on Jesus as he opens with the words: Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή (I am the true ἄμπελος). As the seventh and final metaphorical ἐγώ εἰμι saying with a predicate (there is one more ἐγώ εἰμι saying with an implied predicate at Jesus' arrest in 18:6–7), the audience is by this point in the Gospel prepared to hear about some vital aspect of discipleship to Jesus and to perhaps encounter themes of salvation and life (cf. 6:35, 48, 51; 8:12; 10:9–10; 11:25; 14:6).¹⁸ But before proceeding we need to first address a lexical-semantic question: recently, there has been some discussion regarding the best translation of the words ἄμπελος and κλήμα. Chrys C. Caragounis has presented compelling evidence that, by the time of the New Testament, a semantic shift was well under way in the ANE in which ἄμπελος and κλήμα had come to denote, respectively, a vineyard and a vine, rather than a vine and a vine-branch. This semantic shift is evident in contemporary ancient texts and inscriptions outside of the NT,¹⁹ a shift that has carried on through to today in modern Greek usage.²⁰ This has convinced some commentators to abandon the traditional vine–branch metaphor in favour of a vineyard–vine metaphor in John 15.²¹ The exegetical significance of this shift is that vineyard–vine imagery generally aligns better with the scriptural texts where Israel is portrayed as a vineyard rather

¹⁷ I will discuss below exactly how these two words are best translated.

¹⁸ See further C. H. Williams, “I Am’ Sayings,” in *DJGSE*, ed. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, Ill.; Nottingham, England: IVP Academic; IVP, 2013), 397.

¹⁹ See e.g., *BGU* XIV, 2380, 5; Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* XIX, 8, 3, as cited by Chrys C. Caragounis, “Is Jesus the Vine or the Vineyard?” in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2006), 250, 252.

²⁰ See further Caragounis, “Abide in Me.” See also his earlier essays, “Is Jesus the Vine or the Vineyard?” in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission*, 1st pbk. ed., with corrections (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2006), 247–61; and “Vine, Vineyard, Israel, and Jesus,” *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 65 (2000): 201–14.

²¹ E.g., Christopher W. Skinner, “Love One Another: The Johannine Love Command in the Farewell Discourse,” in *Johannine Ethics: The Moral World of the Gospel and Epistles of John*, ed. Sherri Brown and Christopher W. Skinner (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2017), 34; David F. Ford, *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2021), 289–91.

than a vine, and that it makes better sense of the language of “pruning” (καθαίρω) and being “thrown away” (ἐβλήθη ἔξω) in John. Interestingly, Caragounis’s work does not take into account the bulk of LXX usage, which almost uniformly utilizes ἄμπελος for יָבֵן (vine) and ἄμπελών for כַּרְמִי (vineyard).²² Thus, the LXX evidence weighs heavily in favor of the traditional rendering, since John’s reliance upon and knowledge of the LXX as a primary source substantially outweighs external contemporary Hellenistic evidence as well as evidence from later times. This is not to say that the question is completely closed on the issue—and I will return to this point in my reflections below—but the most reasonable starting-point for exegesis is to render ἄμπελος as “vine” and κλῆμα as “branch.” It seems, then, that an important emphasis for John in the use of the metaphor is the intimate and genetic relationship of a vine with its branches which is significantly diminished in a vineyard-vine metaphor. Furthermore, the focus on Jesus’ identity as the vine in contrast with a vineyard stresses the personal, *individual* and *christological* emphasis: it is Jesus in his unique personhood who is the vine, and no other.

After Jesus identifies himself as ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή (the true vine), he immediately identifies his father as ὁ γεωργός (the farmer / vinedresser), continuing the theme of his relationship to the father from John 14 (see, e.g., vv. 2, 6, 8, 12), a theme to which he later returns in this passage (vv. 8–10; 15–16). In 15:2–7, however, Jesus’s emphasis is not on the relationship between himself and his father, but on his relationship with his disciples. Thus, he calls them κλῆματα which must remain or abide (μένω) in the ἄμπελος if they are to bear fruit. In fact, this relationship of abiding or remaining (μένω) is the single most important focus in 15:1–11, with the lexeme occurring a total of 11 times in these 12 verses (indeed, it is one of John’s favourite words, occurring a total of 40 times in the entire Gospel).²³ Not only are the

²² Of the 43 times that ἄμπελος is used in the LXX, 39 of those are used to translate יָבֵן, “vine,” and only four are used to translate כַּרְמִי, “vineyard.” The four exceptions are Lev. 25:3 (x2), Num. 22:24, and Song 2:14. In a similar way, of the 75 occurrences in the LXX of the word ἄμπελών, all but three are used with reference to a vineyard; these are: Lev. 19:19; 1 Sam. 15:9; and Prov. 9:12—which has no Hb. equivalent.

²³ So also, Rainer Borig, *Der wahre Weinstock: Untersuchungen Zu Jo 15:1-10*, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 16 (Munich: Kösel, 1967), 44–46.: “Μένειν ἐν wird jetzt in Vers 4-10 insgesamt zehnmal gebraucht, und schon daraus wird ersichtlich, daß es ein wesentliches Ziel der Weinstockrede ist, diese denkbar enge Gemeinschaft darzulegen, wie sie zwischen Jesus und seinen Jüngern besteht.”

disciples to abide in Jesus; but so, too, will Jesus abide in them (vv. 4, 5); as his words abide in them (v. 7); and as they abide in his love (v. 9); just as Jesus abides in the father's love (v. 10). Only thus will their fruit also abide (v.16). The image of being organically connected to Jesus as a vine-branch to a vine is powerfully intuitive and self-explanatory. To be removed from the vine is to be removed from the source of life (vv. 4, 6), and thus to risk one's own destruction (v. 6). However, John also further delineates this relationship of abiding as a relationship of obedience to Jesus' commandments (v. 10), exemplified especially in the love commandment (v.12). It is also this relationship of abiding which is the source of fruit for the disciple, without which he or she can bear no fruit (v. 5). Thus, bearing fruit is another important theme in this passage (vv. 2, 4, 5, 8, 16): the lack of fruit in a disciple's life is reason for their removal / taking up (αἶρω), and the father will cleanse / prune (καθαίρω) those who do bear fruit in order that they might bear more fruit (v. 2).²⁴ Although John does not directly explicate what the fruit (καρπός) of the disciple is, the ethical command to love (vv. 7, 10, 12–14, 17) surely is at the heart of this fruit, and it results from the disciple's abiding relationship with Jesus. The passage does hint, however, that this fruit is not limited to an expression of love, since the disciples have also been “appointed” (τίθημι) that they might “go and bear fruit” (ἵνα ὑμεῖς ὑπάγητε καὶ καρπὸν φέρετε)—although what else that might mean is simply not clarified here. Such fruit-bearing ultimately brings glory to the father (v. 8). It is in the context of abiding in him and bearing fruit that Jesus also promises to grant the disciples whatever they wish (vv. 7–8, 16).

Yet another sub-theme in this passage is that of the destruction or judgment of the κλῆμα. Although the imagery of the vine and the branches begins on a somber note in v. 2 as it describes the removal / taking up (αἶρω) of the unfruitful branch, Jesus reserves his strongest language of judgment in v. 6 for those who do not abide in him: they are thrown out (ἐβλήθη ἔξω) and withered (ἐξηράνθη), gathered, thrown into the fire (πῦρ), and burned (καίεται).

²⁴ On the significance of the Old Testament concept of “fruitfulness” in relation to the vine, see esp. Borig, *Der wahre Weinstock*, 84-89.

Finally, there is also a note about the joy to be experienced by the disciples (v. 11), now being called his friends (vv. 14–15), which is contrasted with their formerly being called servants.

In summary, then, and in approximate order of their importance, the following major themes can be identified in the passage under consideration: **1) to abide (μένω)** in Jesus is the key to relationship with him as his disciple, for Jesus is the true vine (ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή), and his disciples are the branches (κλήμα); **2)** Jesus possesses a unique relationship with the father, ὁ γεωργός, a relationship that is characterized by love (ἀγάπη) and obedience; **3)** the disciples are to bear **the fruit (φέρων καρπὸν) of love (ἀγάπη)** as Jesus' disciples by abiding in him, thereby bringing glory to the father; and, **4)** in a way directly analogous to the Son's obedience to the father, the disciples are to abide in Jesus through obedience to Jesus and **keeping his commandments**, especially the commandment of love (ἀγαπάω). Also present in this passage are the following minor themes: **5)** those who refuse to abide in Jesus, and who are fruitless, will be **judged (αἴρω, ἐβλήθη ἔξω, ξηραίνω, πῦρ, καίω)**; **6)** those who do abide in Jesus will bear fruit, and will be **cleansed (καθαρός)** and **pruned (καθαίρω)**²⁵ for greater fruitfulness; **7)** Jesus intends for his disciples to experience **joy** because of these things; and finally, **8)** Jesus calls his disciples **friends**, not servants.

VI.4.1 Thematic Development in Ezekiel 15, 17, and 19

a) Ezekiel 15:2–6

We turn now to the triad of Ezekiel texts, the first two of which are oracles and the third a lament. In the first oracle, 15:1–8, the “wood of the vine” (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπέλου = יִצְחָק־רֵמֶס), which is in poetic parallel to “vine-branches” (τῶν κλημάτων = הַרְחִמֵהָ), is contrasted to “all other woods” of the forest (v. 2). The point of contrast between the two is their final destination: the vine-branch, unlike other kinds of wood, bears no utility on its own, except as fuel for fire (πῦρ). Having made the point of the vine-branch's ultimate destiny of destruction,

²⁵ On the use of this word in viticultural settings, see Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003), 996, n. 88. Although the word is not typically used in viticultural settings, it can be.

the oracle continues: like the wood of the vine, then, YHWH has given up the inhabitants of Jerusalem for destruction. He will “set his face against them” and, “though they escape from the fire, the fire (πῦρ) shall yet consume them,” “making the land desolate” (vv. 7–8, ESV). The imagery of consuming fire (πῦρ) is a prominent one in these verses, with the lexeme πῦρ occurring six times in vv. 4–7.

The sole focus of this oracle is the judgment of Jerusalem / Judah. There is no mention of fruit, nor of the primary purpose of a vine, nor of the more typical imagery of the planting of a vine by YHWH as in some of the other vine / vineyard texts. Instead, only the imagery of the destruction—and quite graphically—of the vine-branch is in view. The only interest of the prophet in this oracle is God’s destruction of Jerusalem. The reason for this destruction, declares YHWH, is because “they have acted faithlessly” (v.8).

Before continuing with the discussion, one further critical observation needs to be made. In verse 4, the translator of the LXX, mistaking יִצְוֹק for “cuttings,” translates the idiom יִצְוֹק וְיִשֵּׁ (two ends [of a stick]) as τὴν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν κάθαρσιν (yearly pruning). The translator thus introduces the lexeme κάθαρσις into the metaphor of the destruction of the vine-branch. The κάθαρσις word-group, normally rendered as “cleansing” or “purification,” can be utilized in viticultural and agricultural settings, especially in the act of clearing away unwanted growth.²⁶ This instance in Ezekiel 15:4 LXX is the only time that the word-group is used with reference to a vine or a vineyard in the LXX, and, as will be discussed below, the word is likely to be one of John’s verbal entry-points to the various vine-traditions in the Jewish scriptures. Taking a step back and comparing these themes in Ezekiel 15 with those in John 15, we observe that two minor themes are represented here: that of judgment, and that of cleansing or pruning.

²⁶ See further Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 996, n.88.

b) Ezekiel 17:6–9

The next oracle in Ezekiel can be subdivided into two parts: vv. 1–10, and 11–24. The language of the vine appears midway through the first half of the first section, a *לִשְׁמָהּ* or parable (17:2) in which a great eagle breaks off the top of a cedar, carries it to a land of trade, then takes the seed of the land and plants it in fertile soil. This seed sprouts and becomes a low-spreading vine (*וַיִּצְמַח וַיְהִי לְגֶזֶן סְרַחֲשָׁה קֹמָה*, in the LXX, “a vine, weak and small in size,” *ἄμπελον ἀσθενοῦσαν καὶ μικρὰν τῶ μεγέθει*), whose branches (*תִּזְלָהּ, κλήματα*) are turned towards the great eagle. But when a second great eagle comes, the vine (*וַיִּצְמַח, ἄμπελον*) shoots its branches (*תִּזְלָהּ, κλήματα*) out towards it instead. God then queries: Will the roots of this vine not be pulled up, and its fruit be cut off so that it withers? The LXX renders it somewhat differently: Will its tender roots and fruit (*καρπός*) not rot, and its leaves wither (*ξηραίνω*)?

In the second half of the oracle, God provides the explanation for the *masal*: the first eagle represents Babylon; the top of the cedar is the royalty of Jerusalem that the king of Babylon had transplanted to Babylon. Jerusalem had then made a covenant with Babylon for its survival. The second eagle is Egypt and its pharaoh, whose help the Jewish king had solicited, thus breaking his covenant with Babylon. In breaking this covenant, which God equates with his own (v.19), the king of Jerusalem has invited his own demise. God will now bring him into Babylon for judgment, and his army will be killed or scattered (vv.19–20).

Once again, the main theme of this oracle is the judgment of Jerusalem and its royalty. Their betrayal of Babylon is tantamount to betrayal of YHWH, and it will result directly in their doom. Although four of the nine key lexemes in John 15 are found in this passage, the metaphor of the vine and its branches in this parable are not the central images. The vine is used as a kind of foil for the central metaphor of the cedar, an image to which the oracle returns in its climax of vv. 22–24. Furthermore, and unlike most of the other vine imagery in the Jewish scriptures, it is not God who plants the vine in this passage, but the great eagle—Babylon. And although the bearing of fruit (*καρπός*) and the production of branches (*βλαστός*) is mentioned in verses 8 and 9, these details are not central to the metaphor. They are external

signs of the vine’s thriving (or, vice versa, their removal or destruction are the signs of God’s judgment). In other words, the vine imagery here is subservient to and controlled by the interest of the oracle in portraying Jerusalem’s disloyalty, which leads to God’s judgment. Comparing these to John 15, then, we may conclude that one major theme and one minor theme—fruit-bearing and judgment—are present in Ezekiel 17:6–9.

c) Ezekiel 19:10–12

Ezekiel 19:10–12 is also set within a larger, well-delimited oracle. This oracle is different than the two previous ones in that it is identified by the final editor as a lament (הַנְּיָן, ἰρῆνός), although it follows the traditional genre only varyingly.²⁷ The lament can be divided into two distinct halves: vv. 1–9 and vv. 10–14. In the first half of the oracle is a reference to the metaphor of a mother lion and her two cubs (vv.1–9); in the second, to the vine and its stem / staff²⁸ (הַטֵּבֵל, vv. 10–14). Most commentators observe a close connection between this oracle and that of Ezekiel 17,²⁹ and some even consider that at an earlier stage of the book the two chapters were adjacent to each other.³⁰ Although there is varied opinion regarding the exact identities of these symbols since they are not identified here (unlike in Ezek. 17), the opening address is directed to the “princes of Israel” (v.1) and the lioness and the vine are likened to their “mother.” Thus, despite a lack of certitude about specifics, the oracle is clearly a lament about Israel and the representatives of Israel. Like chapters 15 and 17, the fate of the cubs and the vine / stem is judgment: the cubs are captured to Egypt and to Babylon; and the vine is plucked up, its fruit stripped off and withered, its stem consumed by fire, and planted in the wilderness.

²⁷ Daniel Isaac Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 591–95.

²⁸ הַטֵּבֵל in the Hebrew can mean either staff, or, in botanical contexts, a stem, and this dual meaning in the Hebrew text is what makes the viticultural image work as a paranomasia for the image of leadership and rule in the oracle. The LXX, obviously, unable to translate this double meaning, opts for the singular meaning “staff” (ῥάβδος).

²⁹ E.g., Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1–19*, vol. 28, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1994), 285–87; Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24*, 591–95; Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 22 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 355–59.

³⁰ E.g., Allen, *Ezekiel 1–19*, 28:285.

In Ezekiel 19:10–14, however, there is a greater focus on the vine, its branches, and their fruit than in the two previous oracles. The vine (יָצַף, ἄμπελος), planted by abundant waters, has both fruit (καρπός) and a multitude of branches (in verse 10, initially called βλαστός, but in v. 11 called κλήμα). Such fruitfulness apparently symbolizes the prosperity and establishment of Israel. But this vine is uprooted, cast to the ground, and its fruit stripped off, dried up by the wind, and withered. The staff (LXX: ῥάβδος) is then planted in a dry and thirsty land; fire (πῦρ) consumes it.

d) Summary of Ezekiel's Use of Vine Imagery

In these three oracles in the prophecies of Ezekiel, the ἄμπελος- and κλήμα-imagery possess varying degrees of significance: in chapters 15 and 17, the imagery is largely secondary; in chapter 19 it is more prominent and well-developed. It is also in chapter 19 that we find the most verbal overlap with John 15, containing five of the nine lexemes we earlier identified as significant. These three passages essentially represent the totality of vine imagery in Ezekiel.³¹ Significantly, all three of them are primarily symbolic vehicles for YHWH's judgment on Israel. The metaphor of the vine is *not* utilized to illustrate, for instance, the vine's inherent life, or its relationship with YHWH who planted it, or its relationship with the branches, or its greater purpose in bearing fruit, but singularly for illustrating its coming destruction. So, in each of these passages, the vine imagery is accompanied by or compared to other clarifying images: other kinds of wood; the great eagle and cedar tree; a lioness and her cubs. Finally, it is noteworthy that each of these three passages contains not only significant verbal overlap with John 15, but also with each other. Ezekiel 17 and 19 are by far the most similar to each other in this respect, with Ezekiel 17 missing only one of the key lexemes of Ezekiel 19. But Ezekiel 15, too, even though it alone possesses the unique usage of the κάθαρ- word-group, shares all three of its remaining key lexemes with Ezekiel 19 (and two with Ezekiel 17). It is highly probable that with the presence of these catchwords among this set of three texts, along

³¹ There is one additional, brief, mention of ἀμπελών (vineyard) in Ezek. 28:26. In the context of the eschatological restoration of Israel, the planting of vineyards is mentioned as a sign of Israel's future security.

with their singular focus on the judgment of Israel, all of them would have been interpretatively associated with each other as a unified tradition in ancient exegesis.³² As we compare this to our thematic exposition of John 15:1–11, there is really only significant thematic coherence with a single Johannine sub-theme—that of the judgment of those who do not abide in Jesus (sub-theme #6 above). Although the theme of fruit does make its appearance in Ezekiel 19, it plays a relatively minor symbolic role, serving to magnify the vine’s uprooting and destruction. For a group of texts containing so many verbal parallels to our passage as is the case with the Ezekiel texts, the paucity of thematic overlap is rather surprising, and invites further reflection, to which we will return in the “Synthesis” section below.

VI.4.2 Jeremiah 2:21

The passage in Jeremiah containing the lexemes *ἄμπελος*, *καρποφόρος*, and *ἀληθινός* are all found in a single isolated verse. It reads as follows:

Table S: Jer. 2:21

	Jer. 2:21	English translation
MT	<p>וְאֲנֹכִי נִטְעַתִּיךָ שֹׂרֵק כִּלְהָ זָרַע אֱמֶת וְאִידֶךָ נִהְפְּכָתָ לִי סוּרִי הַגִּפְנֵי נִבְרִיָּה</p>	<p>And I myself planted you a <u>soreq vine</u> all <u>faithful</u> seed, so how have you turned putrid,³³ a foreign <u>vine</u>?</p>
LXX	<p>ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον πᾶσαν ἀληθινήν· πῶς ἐστράφης εἰς πικρίαν, ἢ ἄμπελος ἢ ἀλλοτρία;</p>	<p>And I myself planted you a <u>fruitful vine</u> all <u>true</u> how did you turn into bitterness, a foreign <u>vine</u>?</p>

³² So too, Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*, 149.

³³ The MT וְאִידֶךָ נִהְפְּכָתָ לִי סוּרִי is problematic and has been variously translated. I reconstruct the Hb. text here as לְסוּרִיָּה, following Holladay, which also aligns with the LXX. See further William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25*, ed. Paul D. Hanson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 53, Note a.

The passage is nested within a long oracle of indictment of the various sins that Israel has committed and is addressed to “all the clans of Israel” (Jer. 2:4–37). After a short reminiscence of the former “devotion of their youth” (2:1–3), YHWH castigates them for their spiritual apostasy (2:4–13), pointing out what destruction they have already brought as well as what they are about to bring upon themselves (2:14–19). Their idolatry and wickedness are utterly shameful (2:20–28) and are deserving of YHWH’s judgment (2:29–37).³⁴ The verse in which we find our lexical analogues to John 15 is set within perhaps the most graphic imagery (in a chapter saturated with other graphic imagery) of the unfaithfulness of Israel. The surrounding verses read: “On every high hill and under every green tree, you bowed down like a whore” (v. 20, ESV); “Look at your way in the valley; know what you have done—a restless young camel running here and there, a wild donkey used to the wilderness, in her heat sniffing the wind! Who can restrain her lust?” (vv.23–24, ESV).

Although the imagery of the vine in the Jeremiah text spans only a single verse of two poetic bicola, its language contains a critical catchword link with Isaiah 5:1–7: the word שֶׁרֶק, a word referring to the choice quality of the vine as indicated by its color; in this form, it is used only twice in the HB, here and in Isaiah 5:2.³⁵ It is highly likely, then, that this singular verse is an allusion to the Isaianic passage in which this imagery is more well-developed.³⁶ As the earliest parts of Isaiah likely date from the eighth century BCE, Jeremiah (both the prophet and the final author of the book) is likely to have had access to its traditions. I shall return to this significant connection between the passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah below in the section on Isaiah.

Two more observations are noteworthy. First, the word שֶׁרֶק is in poetic parallel to the word אֱמֶת, which I have translated above as “faithful” (seed). The word אֱמֶת is working on two levels: it refers, first of all, to a seed of “pure” stock—in YHWH’s cultivation, his source was untainted, it was, that is, all of שֶׁרֶק stock; but secondly, the intended irony of the

³⁴ I borrow these headings and divisions from J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 165–82.

³⁵ See further, Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 98.

³⁶ So also, Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 98.

language in the context is clear: although YHWH was faithful and true in his actions in establishing Israel, Israel’s response as the vine is clearly not one of faithfulness. The LXX, not surprisingly, translates תְּמָרָה in a literal manner as ἀληθινός, but omits עֵרְבָה (seed), thus leaving the adjective to modify the only other noun in the sentence: ἄμπελον. This phrase, ἄμπελος ἀληθινή, is precisely what John the evangelist borrows in his application of the metaphor. Our second observation is that the LXX introduces a second exegetical novelty that John also exploits: the notion of “fruitfulness.” The translator, apparently not content to substitute the Hb. קָרַב with a transliterated word (cf. Isa. 5:2 LXX), renders it instead with καρποφόρον, which is almost exactly the adjectival phrase that John adopts in 15:2: καρπὸν φέρον.³⁷ The verbal correspondence is notable, the instance in John being one of only two times that the adjectival phrase is employed in the NT.³⁸ But, in addition to the verbal correspondence is the fact that the main themes in this passage parallel our Johannine passage closely—more than the Ezekielian passages, in two ways. First, here, as in John, there is the mention of God, who planted the vine (cf. Jn 15:1 and the father as the gardener), and, secondly, there is the emphasis on the primary purpose of the vine (esp. in the LXX) as bearing good fruit, whereas, as we saw above, in the Ezekiel passages the symbolism of the fruit is incidental to the main focus, which is the judgment or destruction of the vine.

VI.4.3 Isaiah 5:1–7

It is fitting for us—as evidenced by the close ties between Jeremiah 2:21 and Isaiah 5:1–7 witnessed to above—to turn now to the Isaiah passage, which contains three shared lexemes with John 15:1–11, ἄμπελος, μένω, and ἀγαπάω. The Isaiah passage is found in the midst of the first major literary unit of Isaiah: Isaiah 1–12. In terms of literary context, the “song of the vineyard” represents both the culmination of the preceding oracles—mostly of judgment (Chs. 1–4)—as well as a transition to the more prosaic historical narrative in Chs. 6–8 of Isaiah’s

³⁷ In fact, NA²⁸ lists a minor textual tradition [D a q; (Cl)] as containing precisely this word, καρποφόρον.

³⁸ The other use is found in Acts 14:17 in Barnabas’ and Paul’s speech to those in Lystra regarding the general providence of God in providing “rains from heaven and fruitful (καρποφόρους) seasons” for the Lystrians.

interaction with Ahaz. Isaiah 6–8 act as the “narrative core” of Chs. 1–12.³⁹ The song’s significant role in these chapters, its rhetorical power, and the fact that it remains an exegetical crux, have all resulted in it being thoroughly worked over in scholarly literature.⁴⁰ Chronologically speaking, it also likely stands at the head of the prophetic “Israel-as-vineyard” traditions—that is, there is no evidence that Israel was referred to as a vineyard prior to its usage in Isaiah;⁴¹ the passage thus warrants close scrutiny in this study.

In contrast to the Ezekiel and Jeremiah passages treated above, the Isaianic passage contains a detailed development of the metaphor of the vine with reference to Israel. I treat the MT version first before examining the nuances of the LXX translation. The song begins in the first person cohortative, a self-determination to sing a song (“Allow me to sing a song”) about his beloved friend’s כַּרְם (vineyard). The entire length of the song proper spans only one and a half verses, from vv. 1b–2; but in this short span all the essential points of the parabolic story are made. The beloved friend has planted a vineyard on a fertile hill. He has prepared the land by digging and removing stones, then planted a שֹׂרֵק (*sorek*),⁴² built a watchtower, a wall,⁴³ and even hews out a wine-vat in its midst in preparation for the yield of grapes for which he expectantly waits (קָוָה). In other words, there was simply nothing more that this gardener could have done to produce the fruit which he so desired.⁴⁴ The dénouement of the song

³⁹ See further, Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 19, AB (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 172–74.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., the recent bibliographies in J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary*, ed. Peter Machinist, Herm. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2015), 72–74; and Joachim Eck, “The Song of the Unfruitful Vineyard (Isa 5:1–7): Its Position in the Book of Isaiah and Its Reception in Late Layers of Isaiah and the Twelve,” in *Isaiah and the Twelve: Parallels, Similarities, and Differences*, ed. Richard J. Bauckham, Joachim Eck, and Burkard M. Zapff (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 182.

⁴¹ H. G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27: Commentary on Isaiah 1–5*, ed. G. I. Davies and G. N. Stanton, vol. 1, ICC (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 329–30, 343.

⁴² Here, שֹׂרֵק (“sorek”) probably refers to the species and thus high quality of the vine. See further Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 319.

⁴³ This detail, omitted at first, is disclosed later, in v. 6.

⁴⁴ Although this fact is not stated explicitly, it is certainly implied by the rhetorical question of v. 4: “What more was there to do for my vineyard, that I have not done in it?” (ESV).

comes at its close: despite the farmer's diligence and patience, the vineyard yields only rotting (בְּאֲשֵׁיִם) grapes.⁴⁵

With verse 2, the song proper is now complete, and the passage shifts in voice to the vineyard owner himself who directly addresses the audience—at this point, named as Jerusalem and Judah (vv. 3–4). He calls on them using the traditional juridical language of the court: “judge between me and my vineyard,” repeating once more the vineyard's failure: it produced only בְּאֲשֵׁיִם (rotting) grapes. The plot escalates as the farmer promises to turn against his own vineyard, removing his protection from it, “making it a waste,” ceasing to care for it, and even, the audience is told, commanding the clouds “that they rain no rain upon it” (vv. 5–6). With this last threat, the true identity of the vineyard owner—until now still anonymous—is partially unveiled, but the passage, in a fashion recalling the prophet Nathan's parabolic rebuke to King David of his sin,⁴⁶ concludes: For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the “house of Israel,” the “men of Judah.” In a rhetorically powerful fashion, the original audience of this song would have first identified empathetically with the vineyard owner, then become persuaded to side with him in his juridical dispute, before themselves finally becoming entrapped by their very own judgment. There remains one last detail of this parabolic story to be elucidated. If Israel is the vineyard, and YHWH is the vinedresser, what does the fruit of the vineyard represent? YHWH declares with cutting paranomasia: He looked for מִשְׁפָּט (justice) and צְדָקָה (righteousness) but found only מִשְׁפָּח (bloodshed) and אֶעֱקֶה (an outcry). It is no surprise that this incisive song-parable—poignant, compact, and memorable—stands at the head of the prophetic tradition in which Israel is portrayed as a vineyard.

Before continuing to examine the thematic resonance of Isaiah 5:1–7 with John 15, I take a moment to note three significant differences between the MT and the LXX. Although there are a number of other differences, both stylistic and exegetical, only three are relevant

⁴⁵ The best translation of the adjective בְּאֲשֵׁיִם here, despite most modern translations, is not “wild” following the Latin vulgate (e.g., ESV, NRSV, KJV) but, deriving from the root אָשָׂה, “putrid,” or “stinking.” See further Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 320.

⁴⁶ See, among others, Gale A. Yee, “A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1-7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable,” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 43 (1981): 30–40.; such studies draw on and have been influenced by U. Simon, ‘The Poor Man's Ewe-Lamb: An Example of a Juridical Parable’, *Bib* 48 (1967), 207–42.

for our purposes. First, and most importantly, is the amplification in v. 2 of שֶׂרֶךְ to ἄμπελον σωρηχ (“sorech vine”). The translator clarifies for the audience exactly what “sorech” refers to—a type of vine. For the ancient exegete, the juxtaposing of the two words in apposition in this manner further strengthens the links between the other vine-traditions and Isaiah 5—in particular, Jeremiah 2:21, in which the word שֶׂרֶךְ is translated as καρποφόρον by the LXX, an element to which I shall return below. Secondly, the LXX has introduced a curious change to the relation of the singer of the song to the vineyard. In the MT, the singer in vv. 1–2 is singing a song about the farmer and *the farmer’s* vineyard, whereas in the LXX the *singer* is identified as the owner of the vineyard (cf. τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου, v. 1). Apparently, the translator thought it best to eliminate the MT’s change of perspective from v. 2 to v. 3 and begin the song as if the vinedresser were singing about his own vineyard. By so doing, the LXX portrays a slightly more direct connection between the vineyard owner and his vineyard, as there are only the two characters involved with no prophetic intermediary. Finally, the last significant detail of the LXX for us is the employment of the verb μένω to translate קָוָה in describing the expectant waiting of the farmer (see the *excursus* below).

Isaiah 5:1–7 contains several key themes that are not found in some of the other texts thus far examined, which also align closely with the vine metaphor in John, namely: the presence of the figure of God as the vinedresser; the emphasis on the bearing of fruit as the purpose of the vine; the presence of the all-important, unifying concept of John 15 that is expressed in the lexeme μένω (to be discussed further in the *excursus* below); and “fruit” in both cases representing an ethical-moral quality that God is seeking. In the song-parable, the fruit is Israel’s ability to bring forth justice (מִשְׁפָּט) and righteousness (צְדָקָה); in the Johannine vine metaphor, the fruit is the disciples’ ability to love one another. There is also in both passages the common element of keeping the commandments: in Isaiah, this is implicit, as the lack of מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה is essentially equivalent to an indictment of Israel’s failure to keep Torah; in John 15, it is Jesus’ commandments and word that are to be kept and obeyed. The final common thematic development in both passages is that, in the absence of the intended

fruit, judgment looms. Thus, the Isaiah text contains important parallels to *five of the eight identified themes in John 15:1–11*: these include all four of the major themes, and one of the four minor themes.

Excursus: μένω in the Fourth Gospel

Before proceeding, we need to address a prominent issue regarding the use of the word μένω in the FG and Isaiah.⁴⁷ On a surface reading, there seems to be two significant differences between the way the word is used in Isaiah 5 and John 15. First, the word μένω in Isaiah is used with reference to the *farmer*—that is, God—and not to the vineyard or vine—that is, Israel. In Isaiah, the farmer is waiting expectantly (μένω) for his vineyard to yield its fruit, whereas in John it is the disciples of Jesus who are to “abide” (μένω) in Jesus. This may seem to render the usage of μένω in the two passages as non-analogous to each other. But on further reflection, I believe that for John, the action of God (the farmer) in waiting for (μένω) his fruit and the action of the disciples in remaining in (μένω) Jesus are organically and intimately connected. The missing link that connects the two is to be found in John’s particular christology of Jesus’ and the father’s mutual “dwelling-in” (μενεῖν ἐν) the other.⁴⁸ Thus, the father, in John 14:10, is said to remain in (μένω) Jesus even as Jesus remains in (μένω) the love of the father (15:10). This concept of the mutual “dwelling-in” of Jesus and the father is found throughout the Gospel and is especially prominent in John 17. The language of Jesus mutually being in the father and the father being in him are thus closely tied to this concept of μένω. The concept of μένω for John, then, is expressive not only of the disciples’ relationship with Jesus, but also of the relationship between Jesus and the father, indeed the former grows out of

⁴⁷ The word group represented by the word μένω has long been recognized as a crucial one for the FG, but it has not received the attention it deserves, especially in English scholarship. See Andrew Brower Latz, “A Short Note toward a Theology of Abiding in John’s Gospel,” *JThIn* 4 (2010): 161–68, who includes a brief survey of the mostly anemic discussion of μένω in the major commentators. Our attention to it here aims to rectify this dearth in a small way. This situation is significantly different in German scholarship. See, e.g., Jürgen Heise, *Bleiben: Menein in den johanneischen Schriften*, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie 8 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967).

⁴⁸ See, e.g., C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 187–200, esp. 195–197.

the latter. The mutual indwelling of the father and the Son is “at every point reproduced”⁴⁹ in the mutual indwelling of the disciple to Jesus. Thus, for John, the employment of the word μένω in the context of the vinedresser—i.e., the father—is always and only one short step away from its application to the context of the believer.⁵⁰

There is, however, another question regarding the use of μένω that arises in connection with the semantic range of the Greek word. John uses it in several different senses, both literal and figurative.⁵¹ In its native Greek usage, the word has three basic meanings depending on the context and has thus been translated varyingly as “remain,” “stay,” “dwell,” “live,” “continue,” “abide,” “persist,” “endure,” “have a permanent place,” “last,” “left,” “await,” “wait,” and “wait for.”⁵² In its basic sense in Isaiah 5, it undoubtedly takes on the meaning “to wait for”—translating the Hebrew word קָנָה (to wait for)—but its basic sense in John 15, on the other hand, has more to do with remaining than with waiting—as is reflected by the English versions. Does this difference negate any meaningful connection between the uses of μένω in Isaiah 5 and John 15? Is an allusion to Isaiah 5 still warranted on account of the lexeme μένω? Yes, it is—on the basis of a combination of catchword exegesis and metonymic referencing.

I therefore proceed by noting that no other NT author employs the word to the extent that John does, especially in its “spiritual,” non-physical usage.⁵³ But whence such rich and textured language? I suggest that John did not simply invent this “spiritual” application of

⁴⁹ Dodd, *Interpretation*, 195.

⁵⁰ The common usage of the lexeme μένω by John and Isa. 5 has also recently been observed in a cursory manner by J. Lyle Story, “The New Relationship of Mutual Indwelling (John 15.1–17),” *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 26 (2017): 160. Story connects the usage to God’s *permanence* as well as his *immanence*.

⁵¹ See further G. Pecorara, “De verbo ‘manere’ apud Joannem,” *Divus Thomas* 40 (1937), 159–71, as cited in Brown, *John I–XII*, 511.

⁵² This compilation is drawn from the NAS, NRSV and ESV translations as well as the glosses in BDAG. See also Christopher David Bass, “A Johannine Perspective of the Human Responsibility to Persevere in the Faith through the Use of Μένω and Other Related Motifs,” *WTJ* 69 (2007): 305, n.3.

⁵³ As noted above, the lexeme μένω occurs 40 instances in 33 verses in John’s Gospel; another 27 times in 20 verses in the Johannine correspondence, leaving just 50 occurrences in the rest of the NT altogether. Of the 40 occurrences in John, I count 23 of these as referencing a spiritual, non-physical action or entity. Non-Johannine usage is almost entirely physical in connotation. For further statistics, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, vol. 29, AB (1966; repr., New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 510.

μένω but found inspiration for it in his primary background source, the Jewish scriptures. Although it is impossible to determine to what extent John was inspired through his knowledge of scripture and to what degree his usage is due to his own creative output, a close examination of the scriptural usage of the word and its cognates in the LXX reveals some intriguing patterns. In the LXX, the lexeme μένω often translates the Hebrew root קָוָה. In fact, by my count, of the forty-two occurrences of this Hb. root in its verbal form, twenty-seven of those are translated by μένω or one of its cognates.⁵⁴ The root קָוָה, especially in its Qal and Piel verbal forms, is a word found in the vast majority of cases in a theological context, almost always with God as the object, and has the sense of “waiting for / on,” or “hoping for,” in the sense of a “tense” or “expectant” waiting.⁵⁵ That is, it has to do with a fundamental posture and relationship of trust and dependence on God. The lexeme is found overwhelmingly in the Psalms (17 times), and in Isaiah (14 times) that is, 31 out of a total of 42 occurrences in the MT. As is well-known, Isaiah and the Psalter comprise the two most cited and alluded-to texts in the FG. What this indicates is that John was most likely aware of the significant, theological sense in which μένω was being used, in the sense of Israel waiting on God in expectant hope. It is in this sense—though in reverse—that it is applied in Isaiah 5:1–7 (and, significantly, repeated three times there in vv. 2, 4, 7): YHWH is waiting expectantly and eagerly for Israel to bear the fruit—justice and righteousness—that should have been natural to it. Would John have been unaware of this “reverse” usage of μένω in Isaiah 5, especially given that this passage stands at the head of the prophetic “Israel-as-vineyard” texts? Or, rather, did his knowledge of such texts, including its ironic reverse application in Isaiah 5, instead inform his own usage of μένω both in this passage in John 15 as well as throughout his Gospel? I suggest that the latter possibility is more likely, and I propose that a significant source of inspiration for the evangelist’s own “spiritual” use of μένω derives at least indirectly from his knowledge of the Septuagint’s theological use of it.

⁵⁴ In addition to μένω I include in this group the following lexemes: εμμένω, υπομένω, παραμένω, περιμένω, προσμένω, μונה, υπομονη.

⁵⁵ See further Claus Westermann, “קוה qwh pi. to hope,” in *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 1126–32.

More specifically, I believe that the lexeme μένω for John in the LXX serves as a kind of catchword that brings together a tradition of texts that bear witness to this basic posture of “waiting on” YHWH in hope and trust. In other words, the μένω word-group (reflecting its translation of the Hb. word קָנָה) serves as a kind of metonymic reference for an individual’s / Israel’s posture of dependence on God, as exemplified especially by the Psalmist in prayer. In previous examples, several discrete texts are bound together by distinct themes or lexemes—or a combination of both—and combined to form a recognizable tradition (e.g., “living waters”). Here, however, we are dealing with numerous texts and a single lexeme, bordering on a kind of word-study that is particular to the LXX translation. That is, in the LXX, the word μένω—given the right context—takes on the specific *theological* coloring that is present primarily through the Hebrew קָנָה. The group of texts represented primarily in the Psalter and in Psalm-like passages in Isaiah containing this sense of קָנָה - μένω then become a kind of bridge for the evangelist as he seeks to communicate afresh his understanding of the spiritual relationship between Jesus and the believer, and between Jesus and the father. The evangelist does not simply adopt μένω woodenly in the Gospel as μένω becomes one of his own central ideas; he continues to infuse it with new theological content and transforms it in ways that are appropriate to his understanding of Jesus. Thus, the word μένω in John 15 serves as a kind of keyword that links his understanding of the mutual relationships of father-Jesus-believer with the relationship of YHWH-Israel and serves as one of the interpretative entry points into the “Israel-as-vineyard” texts.

VI.4.3 Psalm 80(79):1–20

The final passage I will examine in this chapter is Psalm 80(79). Although—as with most of the Psalms—the original setting is difficult to ascertain with precision, Mitchell Dahood’s linguistic analyses comparing Ugariticisms in the Psalter provide compelling evidence that, at the least, the core of Psalm 80(79) is pre-exilic.⁵⁶ If this is so, and its original setting harkens

⁵⁶ See Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, vol. 17, AB (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1968), 238–239, 255, 257. See esp. his comments on the past-tense use of the

back to a time just before the Assyrian exile, then this has obvious implications for all of the passages thus far studied, especially Isaiah 5:1–7, whose historical setting is likely to be very similar to that of this Psalm. Such an understanding makes it possible that the vine imagery in Psalm 80 and any vine-traditions linked to it could have been a significant source for Isaiah’s song-parable of the vineyard.

In terms of its form, Psalm 80(79) has been universally regarded as a classic lament psalm.⁵⁷ One of its notable features is its three-fold refrain in vv. 4, 8, and 20: אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת (God of armies, restore us; and shine your face that we may be saved!). This naturally divides the Psalm into three distinguishable parts, each of which ends with the refrain above (or a very close version of it). The first section is the shortest and introduces the Psalm by invoking YHWH’s rescue (vv. 2–4) and by calling him to “rouse his might” (v. 3). In the second section (almost as brief as the first), the psalmist queries how long God will be angry, having fed “tears of bread” to his people, and causing them to be mocked by their enemies (vv. 5–8). The third section (vv. 9–20) is by far the longest and most developed of the three sections and contains the imagery of the vine with which it begins, describing how God had transplanted a vine (נֶזֶבֶן, ἄμπελος) from Egypt to its new land. The centrality of this vine imagery is apparent from the outset, as the entire section begins with נֶזֶבֶן as the emphatic first word (v. 9). This vine took root and “filled the land,” covering the mountains and sending its branches (קִצְיִר, κληῖμα) to the sea and its shoots to the river (vv. 11–12)—an apparent reference to the furthest extent of Israel’s rule. Why, laments the psalmist, has God broken down its walls to leave it vulnerable to passersby and “boars of the forest” and “creatures of the field” (vv. 13–14)—apparent references to the surrounding nations. The psalmist implores God to “return” and “visit” (פָּקֹד) this vine which his right hand has planted,

imperfect form of verbs in this psalm. See also his introductory comments in *Psalms I: 1-50: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, vol. 16, AB (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1965), xxix–xxx. Especially significant for our purposes is that many of the Ugariticisms that Dahood notes are found in the section of Ps. 80 in which the language of the vine is used, i.e., vv. 6–13. Cf. also Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 311, who assigns a date to the “primary Psalm” (i.e., before redaction), to between 732 and 722 B.C.E.

⁵⁷ See C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, tr. K. R. Crim and R. N. Soulen (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 53, as cited in Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, vol. 20, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1998), 308.

to “care for” it, ⁵⁸ the “son you made strong for yourself” (vv. 15–16). This vine has been “burned with fire” (שָׂרַף, πυρι) and “cut down” (v. 17). The Psalm ends with yet another plea for God to strengthen the “man of your right hand,” the “Son of Man you made strong for yourself,” for they have not “turned away from his face.” This intriguing reference to the “Son of Man” (סִיּוֹן־בֶּן־אָדָם / υἱός ἀνθρώπου—is found only once in the MT in v. 18 but twice in the LXX, in vv. 16, 18; where the MT has only בֶּן־אָדָם [son] in v. 16, the LXX anticipates v. 18 and harmonizes it to the full phrase υἱός ἀνθρώπου) in its original context is likely to be a reference both to Israel’s king as well as Israel the nation, although later Jewish traditions read these phrases messianically.⁵⁹ We shall return to this interesting detail below in our discussion of the vine in connection with the “Son of Man,” but for now we simply note the prominence of this motif in this very section of the Psalm where the vine imagery is located. In fact, in v. 16, “son” (MT. בֶּן־אָדָם; LXX υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου) is placed in synonymous parallel to the vine “which his right hand had planted.” The Psalm concludes with the third repetition of its refrain: “YHWH, God of armies, restore us; shine the light of your face, that we might be saved!”

The key lexemes for our purposes, as noted above, are בָּנֵי / ἄμπελος (v. 9), קָצַר / κληῖμα (v. 12), and שָׂרַף / πυρ (v. 17). Thematically, this psalm presents a significantly different tenor from the previous passages, in that the theme of YHWH’s judgment or chastisement of his people, comparatively speaking, is heavily muted. Nowhere is Israel described as producing “rotten fruit,” or as having betrayed God. Their predicament, it seems, is not a result of their guilt, at least not directly. In fact, the Psalm ends with a declaration of Israel’s unwavering loyalty: “we have never turned back from your face” (v.19).⁶⁰ Only in vv. 5–7 is there an indirect admission of Israel’s guilt, by way of a description of YHWH’s posture towards them: God “fumes” (LXX: ὀργίζω; v. 4) and has made them “a derision” (וְיִדְוֶן)⁶¹ to

⁵⁸ The Heb. הִנָּחֵם is difficult; I follow Dahood here who gives it the sense “take care of.” See Dahood, *Psalms II*, 17:259.

⁵⁹ See especially Andrew Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man: Eschatological Interpretation of Psalm 80 in Early Judaism*, Emerging Scholars (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2014), 115–57.; cf. also Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 317; and Tate, *Psalms*, 316.

⁶⁰ See further Dahood, *Psalms II*, 17:260.

⁶¹ Dahood, *Psalms II*, 17:257.

their enemies (v. 6); indeed he is the one who has “broken down their walls” (v. 12)—that is, God is the ultimate cause of their present sufferings. Implied in this hostile posture of God towards his people, then, is his dissatisfaction over their breach of covenant; yet this is never mentioned directly. Another key difference between Psalm 80 and the Isaiah and Jeremiah passages is its lack of focus on the fruitfulness of the vine. The *growth* of the vine—perhaps representing Israel’s historical political and geographical growth—is emphasized, but any mention of the *fruit* of the vine (or lack thereof), so prominent in the prophetic tradition, is decidedly absent here. There is, finally, a strong emphasis on the “planting” of the vine (vv. 8, 9, 15, cf. Ch. II above and the *Hodayot* passage) which clearly symbolizes Israel’s “taking root” in the promised land after their exodus from Egypt, a status which was now under threat.

Of the four major themes in the vine passage of John 15:1–17, only one of them might be perceived as being present in Psalm 80—the theme of God’s relationship to the vine. In John, the father is the gardener and Jesus is the true vine: an intimate relationship between the two is presupposed throughout; in Psalm 80 God is the one who has planted the vine, and Israel is the vine, which, given its present state of disrepair, presumes a broken relationship between the vine and its vinedresser. The Psalmist thus calls on him to “visit” it, to “care for” it once more. It is fair to assume that this vine, called a “son” (vv. 16, 18), “planted by God’s right hand” (v.16), possesses a special relationship with God⁶²—albeit one that is presently in some state of disintegration. But other than that, major themes present in John 15 are absent here, including any notion of the relationship between vine and branches, or, as mentioned above, notions of fruitfulness or of the keeping of commandments. As for the minor themes in John 15:1–17, only the theme of judgment—one that is relatively muted—is represented in the Psalm. In contrast to the Isaianic text, then, the Psalm passage presents substantially *less* thematic resonance with our Johannine text, despite containing the same degree of lexematic overlap.

⁶² See further Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man*, 215–16.

Excursus: The Vine and the Son of Man in John 15:1–11

Scholars have frequently identified connections between the vine imagery in Psalm 80, “Son of Man” theology, and the imagery of John 15:1–11.⁶³ In the following section, I assess this connection and discuss its relevance for our own project. The formula “Son of Man” is used in the FG a total of thirteen times in twelve verses, all in the first half of the Gospel.⁶⁴ Of these occurrences, the title acquires at least six different nuances depending on the context. Most frequently (six or seven times) it is found in the context of the “Son of Man” being lifted up or glorified—a reference to the cross (Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:23 (x2); 12:34; 13:31; and probably also 6:53 as an allusion to Jesus’ sacrifice, see Ch. IV above). The title is also often found in the context of divine revelation or Jesus’ heavenly origin (three to five times): 1:51; 3:13; 6:62 (we may possibly include Jesus’s statements about eternal life in 6:27 and 6:62 as well). The other common theme accompanying this title—a total of four times—is that of Jesus’ eschatological authority to judge (5:27; 8:28; 9:36; 12:34). Finally, some other themes related to this title are Jesus’ messiahship (1:51; 12:34) and the ignorance of the crowd as to the true meaning of the title (12:34b). As can be seen from this analysis, the themes often overlap so that in a single context two, or even three of these emphases can be present at once (such as, for example, John 12:34, where there is a reference to the Messiah, and to Jesus being lifted up, in the context of judgment [12:31]).

What, therefore, of John 15:1–11? Without venturing too far afield into the related—but vast—topic of the Son of Man in the FG,⁶⁵ I propose that the title becomes, for John, a

⁶³ Most recently, see Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man*, 115–57. For a brief survey of other scholars on this, p. 213, n. 20.

⁶⁴ These are John 1:51; 3:13; 3:14; 5:27; 6:27; 6:53; 6:62; 8:28; 9:35; 12:23; 12:34 (x2); 13:31.

⁶⁵ For further discussion on this well-worked topic, see—among many other studies—the relevant portion of the introductory article by Carsten Colpe, “Ο Υἱὸς Τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου,” in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1964), 464–70; Delbert Burkett, *The Son of the Man in the Gospel of John* (Sheffield: Continuum, 1991); Benjamin E. Reynolds, *The Apocalyptic Son of Man in the Gospel of John*, WUNT 2.249 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); as well as the aforementioned work by Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man*. Some scholars view the FG as containing no particular “Son of Man” theology—see further, e.g., Edwin D. Freed, “Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel,” *JBL* 86, (1967): 402–9; Delbert Burkett, *The Son of the Man*, 171. However, it seems that, while recognizing that “Son of Man” language in the FG does overlap with other christological categories in the Gospel, particularly the “Son of God” title, this position simply does not do justice to a plain reading of the various “Son of Man” usages in their contexts of the

metonymic reference in relation to certain christological motifs, one that is connected with the *second* metonymic reference to the image and language of “the vine” (ἄμπελος) in Psalm 80. Thus, on the one hand, the language of the “Son of Man” becomes a kind of cipher for the Johannine christological motifs as described above—especially that of being exalted or “lifted up” on the cross.⁶⁶ This development could have happened for the evangelist in the Johannine community as he and they continued to reflect on, remember, and re-tell the memories of Jesus in the early church. That is, these collective, christological memories and traditions have become “keyed to” the title “Son of Man.” On the other hand, the phrase must also have pointed to at least two, or probably, three other scriptural traditions for John: Psalm 80, Daniel 7:14, and probably also Ezekiel’s ubiquitous usage of the expression “Son of Man.”⁶⁷ As discussed above, the “Son of Man” reference in Psalm 80 undoubtedly had messianic connotations for certain groups in Second Temple Judaism, but in John 15 this emphasis is conspicuously absent, as the language “Son of Man” does not make an appearance here at all—or, for that matter, in the entire second half of the FG. But this is not to deny any connection between John 15 and the “Son of Man” tradition. Instead, the connection to be made in John 15 seems to be one of indirect influence rather than direct allusion to this messianic Son of Man.⁶⁸ Psalm 80 could well have been in the collective “cache” of christological Son of Man texts and traditions that were regarded as significant for the Johannine community, and, as the evangelist seeks out scriptural imagery to describe the mutual, intimate relationship between father and Son and Son and disciple, this Psalm would have been an ideal source for the use of the imagery of the vine. “Son of man” or sonship language, then, essentially acts as another, one of several, possible entry-points for the evangelist into the Israel-as-vine tradition. Stated another way, it is quite likely that John

FG, which, in general, align with the Synoptic usage of the title “Son of Man.” This is the basic position of the majority of scholars, e.g., Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 150–52; Reynolds, *The Apocalyptic Son of Man*, 89–228.

⁶⁶ See further Reynolds, *The Apocalyptic Son of Man*, 216–19.

⁶⁷ See further Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man*, 91–115; Brian Neil Peterson, *John’s Use of Ezekiel: Understanding the Unique Perspective of the Fourth Gospel* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2015), 59–61.

⁶⁸ Cf. also Streett, *The Vine and the Son of Man*, 214; Brown, *The Gospel According to John (XIII-XXI): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, 29A:670–71.

would have understood the Son of Man reference in Psalm 80(79):16–18 as a reference to the Messiah, but this simply is not his interest in John 15. His interest in John 15 is not in the “lifting up” of the Son of Man on the cross, but in the intimate relationship between the Son and the father, as well as the relationship between the Son and his disciples. Although the eschatological and messianic “Son of Man” motif in Psalm 80(79) (esp. in its LXX version) may have been one of the factors in John’s *choice* of the vine imagery in John 15, it is the relational element between father and Son—and not the perceived messianic undertones—in Psalm 80(79) that ultimately contributes to the composite theological image of the vine and its branches in John 15.

VI.4.4 Summary of Thematic Analyses

This chapter has, first of all, thematically scrutinized the text of John 15:1–11, and, secondly, the six scriptural sources most commonly associated with it. For the sources, we have done so with an eye both to the original MT as well as the Greek translation in the LXX, noting differences where they are significant. The Johannine passage has been distilled into four major themes and four minor themes: **1) to abide** (μένω) in Jesus is the key to relationship with him as his disciple, for Jesus is **the true vine** (ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή) and his disciples are the **branches** (κλήμα); **2) Jesus as the vine** (ἡ ἀμπελος) possesses a special relationship with the father, a relationship that is also described with the word μένω; **3) the disciples are to bear the fruit** (φέρειν καρπὸν) of love as Jesus’ disciples by abiding in him; **4) to abide in Jesus** means to obey Jesus and **keep his commandments**, especially the commandment of love. As for the minor themes, **5) those who refuse to abide in Jesus**, and who are fruitless, will be **judged** (αἶρω, ἐβλήθη ἔξω, ξηραίνω, πῦρ, καίω); **6) those who do abide in Jesus** will bear fruit, and will be **cleansed** (καθαρός) and **pruned** (καθαίρω) for greater fruitfulness; **7) Jesus intends for his disciples to experience joy** because of these things; and finally, **8) Jesus calls his disciples friends**, not servants.

Of the six scriptural sources investigated in this chapter, they are, in descending order of thematic resonance, as follows: Isaiah 5:1–7, which contains all four of the major themes in some form, and one of the minor themes; Jeremiah 2:21, which contains two of the major ones and one minor one; taking the set of three Ezekiel texts together, they represent one major theme and two minor themes;⁶⁹ and finally, the Psalm text contains only one major theme and one minor theme. In tabular format the data can be presented thus:

⁶⁹ Cf. the study by William G. Fowler and Michael Strickland, *The Influence of Ezekiel in the Fourth Gospel: Intertextuality and Interpretation*, BibInt 167 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 117, who also judges that Isa. 5 and Jer. 2, at least on account of the notion of Israel as the vine, stand in closer relation to Jn 15 than do the Ezek. texts.

Table T: Thematic Analysis of the Scriptural Source Texts

	Isaiah 5:1–7	Jeremiah 2:21	Ezekiel 15, 17, 19	Psalm 80
<i>μένω</i> as relationship	✓			
God as the farmer	✓	✓		✓
Bearing of fruit (ethical)	✓	✓	✓	
Obedience to commands	✓	✓		
Judgment of fruitlessness	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pruning and / or cleansing			✓	

When compared to lexematic congruence, this order is surprising, and betrays something of the complexity of John’s usage of scriptural sources in this composite allusion. Neither lexematic congruence nor thematic coherence alone seem to be able to explain adequately *how* and *why* John uses his sources in John 15:1–11; they only tell us that he did use them. But, taking both of these categories together, and applying the fresh lenses of catchword exegesis and metonymic referencing, we can posit with remarkable clarity and precision a process by which all of these source texts were intricately linked for John. It is to this process that our attention now turns.

VI.5.0 Synthesis: John 15:1–11 and Ancient Media Criticism

By applying my three-fold method of catchword exegesis, literary theory, and ancient media criticism, I conclude this chapter with a proposal regarding the most plausible process by which the evangelist has selected scriptural allusions in the composition of John 15:1–11. Naturally, this process is somewhat speculative, as there is now simply no way to “enter into the mind” of the evangelist nor of his first hearers. However, given these three analytical tools

at our disposal, along with the scriptural data that we have discussed above, what follows is a plausible reconstruction of how these texts came to be associated in their final form in the Gospel of John. I begin with the word μένω in the Gospel of John and the critical idea of the mutual indwelling of the father with the Son and the Son with the believer, the central theme of John 15.

The word קָנָה / μένω, for the evangelist and his community, because of its spiritual usage in the LXX (primarily in the Psalms and in Isaiah), became linked with Israel's basic posture of waiting in expectancy and hope for YHWH's rescue. It is a posture of dependence and trust, especially in the most challenging of times of trial and in the seeming absence of God. Incidentally, such a posture would have been a familiar one to many Jewish people in the context of Late Second Temple Judaism in which the land of Judea continued to exist under Roman Imperial rule as they awaited the fulfilment of Israel's promised "new exodus" in Isaiah (see Ch. III above). Thus, the concept would have been one of immediate relevance for many ancient Jews. This linkage between the word and the Jewish scriptures would have been made through repeated reading of and meditation on these texts, whether individually, or, probably more often than not, communally in a liturgical setting. It is, furthermore, a word that in the Greek is full of possibilities for *double-* and even *triple-entendres*. In other words, the versatility of the word-group μένω aligns particularly well with the distinctive Johannine style of writing, which subtly interleaves theological ideas with mundane ones through a careful selection of words that possess multiple meanings. On the mundane level, μένω simply refers to physically staying in or remaining in a physical location, but on the theological level, for John and the Johannine community, the word-group represents a central theological motif that describes the relational dynamic of "dwelling in" that exists between the father and the Son, as well as between Jesus and the disciple.

However, a second link needs to be established since the word-group itself does not suggest a concrete symbol or metaphor but only a spiritual posture or relationship. This missing link between קָנָה / μένω and the concrete symbol is to be found in the "Song of the

Beloved” of Isaiah 5. In this passage, ironically, it is *Israel* as a vineyard who is being waited upon in eager expectation to bear the fruit of justice and righteousness by its gracious and patient farmer and owner *YHWH*. Nevertheless, through this text, the critical connection between μένω and the image of a vineyard is established for the Johannine author. This vivid and widely accessible image of a vineyard that is intended to bear fruit aligns well with the Johannine purpose in John 15 of conveying a vital, organic relationship between Jesus and his disciples. It is this vital aspect of the relationship of discipleship that the author of the FG wishes to bring to prominence in the fifteenth chapter of the Gospel, the central portion of the Farewell Discourse. What better image than that of a vine / vineyard for portraying an intimate relationship of discipleship, one that is more than merely a relationship of student to teacher, of servant to master? Discipleship to Jesus is more vital than a purely pedagogical one; it is more organic than one of mere servitude. Indeed, the image of a vine bearing fruit communicates perfectly how life flows from Jesus to the disciple in order to bear fruit for the father, the gardener. Without connection to the source of life, spiritual life is not possible.

However, this textual linkage to Isaiah 5, via metonymic referencing, in turn leads to the broader scriptural tradition of “Israel-as-vineyard / vine” that then draws in a host of other scriptural resources, especially those in the prophetic traditions, including Isaiah 27, Hosea 10, Jeremiah 2, and Ezekiel 15, 17, and 19 (all three of which are linked through important catchwords), and also Psalm 80. Through this network of texts, all of the main elements of the Johannine discourse can be accounted for. Isaiah 5 and Jeremiah 2 are distinctively linked together by the catchword קָרַץ, which, incidentally, is translated as καρποφόρον in the LXX, and which is in synthetic parallel to ἀληθινήν. Both of these concepts are key elements of John 15:1–11, in which the former describes the fruitfulness that is to be desired in the life of the disciple and the latter describes the “quality of the vine” of Jesus, that is, his authenticity as the true Son of God. Although for John the fruit is, above all, love (Jn 15:9, 10, 12, 13, 17) rather than the justice or righteousness of Isaiah 5 (such fruit is implicit in Jeremiah 2), the idea of the *love* (ἀγάπῃ, ἀγάπη) of the father is already found in the Isaiah text in the song of

the *beloved* farmer (ἡγαπημένω), that is, YHWH, singing a song to his *beloved* (ἀγαπητοῦ, Isa. 5:1 LXX), that is, Israel. This theme of the underlying love in the Isaiah LXX passage, which is mostly incidental to it, is taken up by John and becomes the central defining trait of the disciple, the most important fruit of remaining in Jesus. And remaining in Jesus is to abide in *his* love (Jn 15:9), which, in turn, is rooted in the *father's* love (Jn 15:10). Despite the many differences between the Isaianic song of the vineyard and the Johannine metaphor of the vine, the parallel of God's love for the vineyard / vine is remarkably consistent.

Next, the necessary conceptual and lexical element of the κλήμα (branch) is probably provided by Psalm 80 and the Ezekiel passages. Although John develops the metaphor significantly by focusing in on the *relationship* between the κλήμα and the ἄμπελος, his inspiration for this symbolism is likely taken from these passages. Once more, what is incidental to the original scriptural passages in Ezekiel and Psalm 80—nowhere in these texts are the branches singled out and treated explicitly apart from the vine—now becomes in John's creative theological output a key feature of his own metaphor. Indeed, it can be said that the controlling interest of the entire metaphor for John hinges on this relationship between the vine and the branch.

Yet another feature that is borrowed from these scriptural passages by John is the theme of judgment, which is so prominent in almost all of the prophetic passages (Isa. 27 and Hos. 10 are the exceptions). In John 15, this theme of judgment is employed to speak of the natural consequences of the *absence* of such a relationship of abiding, of being removed and detached from the vine. Interestingly, however, John's application of the judgment motif is, as we observed above, in comparison to the prophetic texts, heavily muted. Only two isolated verses speak of this judgment, verse 2, in a somewhat indirect and enigmatic fashion employing the word αἶρω (that some commentators interpret as not referring to judgment at all⁷⁰), and then in verse 6, in which all of the lexemes normally associated with judgment (βαλλω, ξηραίνω, πῦρ) are clustered. Although the prophetic critique is associated solely with

⁷⁰ See, e.g., Gary W. Derickson, "Viticulture and John 15:1-6," *BSac* 153, no. 609 (1996): 34–52.

the lack of fruit (that is, in the prophetic literature, obedience in keeping Torah, and keeping justice and righteousness) for John, what results in judgment and death is not the lack of fruit *per se* (although this does seem to be implied in v. 2), but the lack of the life-giving *relationship* between the vine and the branch (v. 6). This move (at least partially) away from a fruits-oriented judgment towards a relational-abiding-oriented one seems to be an intentional hermeneutical move on the part of the Johannine author.

There is also the sonship language in the Psalm text that is another thread tying it to John 15. As discussed, I believe Psalm 80 is likely to have been one of several sources for the evangelist in his understanding of the “son of man” tradition. For John’s purpose in John 15, however, it is the sonship language rather than the “son of man” language that is adopted, with its emphasis on the intimate relationship between God the father as vinedresser and Jesus the *son* as the vine. As noted above, John focuses in especially on this special relationship of mutual abiding and love between the father and the Son as the source and pattern of abiding that the disciples are to emulate in their relationship to *Jesus*.

Finally, we must not neglect one final but important detail connecting this network of texts connection to John 15. Specifically, in Ezekiel 15 LXX is another extremely useful word that the Johannine author borrows: *κάθαρσις*. On the one hand, it can refer to the concept of pruning in viticulture, but on the other, at a spiritual level, it resonates with the Johannine theme of purification (cf. Jn 13:10), yet another *double-entendre* that can stimulate John’s audience to further probe the spiritual depths of the relationship between Jesus and the believer. Although John utilizes the word in verse 2 in its viticultural sense as a reference to pruning, he immediately extends that meaning in verse 3 to include the semantic domain of purity and cleansing. They have already been made “clean” (*καθαρός*) because of Jesus’ word spoken to them. Subsequently, in John 17, the evangelist will revisit this concept of their purity in very similar language as Jesus prays that they might be sanctified (*ἀγιάζω*) in the truth, which is God’s word.

It is, then, the sum of all of these connections together that seems to have motivated the Johannine author to articulate the metaphor of Jesus as the true vine and of believers as the branches abiding in him in order to bear the fruit of love. These many and intricate scriptural connections, both lexematic and thematic, among all of the various scriptural texts, would have been regarded by the fourth evangelist and his community as an expression of the organic, divinely ordained unity of the Jewish Scriptures. In applying this metaphor to Jesus and creatively adapting each of them to the relationship between Jesus and the father and to Jesus and his disciples, John then launches his text into the same hermeneutical orbit as these texts. It is only in hearing them and understanding them first that one can truly appreciate what John is communicating in 15:1–17.⁷¹

One final point requires our attention. In section VI.4.0 above, it was observed that in the context of the Koine Greek of the first century CE, a semantic shift had probably already begun to take place in which ἄμπελος came to denote a vineyard and κλήμα to denote a vine. This shift would then have resulted in the ancient audience hearing “I am the true vineyard; you are the vine,” rather than “I am the true vine, you are the branches.” This proposal was initially rejected above on account of the preponderance of the LXX usage (which retains the classical meanings of ἄμπελος and κλήμα as referring to vine and branch respectively) that would have provided the primary background for John. This is not to say, however, that the fourth evangelist or his audience were unaware of this wider semantic shift and thus of its potential ambiguity in meaning. As Caragounis astutely notes, this semantic ambiguity is already present in Psalm 80, in which the image of the vine (v. 8) so easily elides into the

⁷¹ Cf. Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press), “The Vine and the Branches,” 336–343. Here, unlike in the previous examples cited above in Chs. III and V (on Jn 12:37–40 and Jn 7:37–38 respectively), where we interacted with Hays’ work on the Gospel of John, the exegetical differences are particularly marked. In the two previous examples, the outcomes of Hays’ exegesis and ours were similar, even though our methods were quite different. Here, perhaps partly due to the extended nature of the passage being examined, both our method *and* the exegetical results of our investigations are noticeably divergent. Our own method pinpointed Isa. 5 as the primary background text, whereas Hays’ study does not identify Isa. 5 at all among the background texts. Hays does identify the other texts that I also discuss (Ps. 80, Isa. 27, Ezek. 15, 17, 19, Jer. 2, Hos. 10) but without identifying either the connecting linkages between these passages, nor articulating in detail how these passages bear on John’s own metaphor of the vine and its branches in Jn 15. Hays’ interests turn, instead, to his reconstruction of the nature of the church and its mission in society, and therefore subsumes this text (Jn. 15:1-15) under that theme.

image of a vineyard (v. 12). This point is germane to our discussion for two reasons. First, it strengthens the case for a connection between Isaiah 5 and the other “non-vineyard” texts (that is, those texts in which only the word ἄμπελος is used and not ἀμπελών), since the *idea* of the ἀμπελών is potentially present even when only the word vine (ἄμπελος) is used, on account of the general cultural-linguistic shift that had already occurred, or at least was occurring, in the ANE. Secondly, it theoretically strengthens the connection between Isaiah 5 and John 15 since the language of the Isaiah 5 text employs vineyard imagery (ἀμπελών) predominantly over against that of the individual vine (ἄμπελος). This leads us to suggest that it is not impossible that John would have employed the image of the vine and branch with some measure of ambiguity in mind, knowing that some of his readers—especially those less familiar with the LXX—may well have thought of a “vineyard and its vines” rather than a “vine and its branches.” Although this image may diminish slightly the emphasis on the organic and intimate connection between and vine and the branch, it has the offsetting benefit of strengthening the connection between John 15 and Isaiah 5, a result that in itself would not have been far from John’s interests since Isaiah 5 is the primary text to which he is alluding. In other words, although John’s primary intention is probably to emphasize the organic and genetic relationship between a vine (ἄμπελος) and its branches (κλήμα), he would not at all have been opposed to strengthening the tie between this metaphor in his Gospel with the vineyard song of Isaiah 5. In true Johannine fashion, then, it may not ultimately be a question of whether one or the other interpretation is correct, but rather of whether *both* the vine *and* the vineyard interpretations can *both* be valid.

VI.6.0 Formal Analysis and Exegetical Impact of the Composite Allusion in John 15:1-17

Returning to the various types of composite allusions that have been enumerated in Ch. II, I will now categorize the present composite allusion and, finally, discuss the overall exegetical impact of the allusive references in this passage. According to my formulation in Ch. II, Type I composite allusions are those that are based primarily on the lexematic congruence of

multiple markers and marked texts, all individually impinging on each other; Type II composite allusions are those that are based primarily on thematic coherence, often as a result of a single marker alluding metonymically to two or more texts; and Type III composite allusions are those that combine some mixture of both of these.

According to this schema, the composite allusion in John 15:1–11 can be considered a complex Type III composite allusion, containing within it mostly Type II composite allusions where most of its thematically-oriented markers point to more than a single source. Of the six identified markers, only two—*ἀληθινός* and *μένω*—point to a single reference. All of the others refer to multiple marked texts. And this network of texts—as have previous composite allusions examined in this study—possesses numerous meaningful connections within and among the texts themselves, not only with the Johannine text. What is of special significance in this instance, however, is that all of the markers, whether pointing to one or multiple marked texts, are bound together by the overarching metaphor of the vine and its fruit-bearing branches. The various allusions interact not only with each other, but with this larger metaphor to inform the audience’s final reception of it. In other words, the final literary product is a composite allusion that is informed by this network of scriptural texts that John draws upon to enrich and inform his own work, but in his own context, and for his own purposes. At times, he simply borrows imagery and concepts, at times he enhances, and at other times he alters and even mitigates the source imagery and concepts in important ways. I classify the themes drawn from this composite allusion under four main headings: a) christology; b) abiding as relationship with Jesus; c) fruit as ethical behaviour; and d) judgment. I will now consider the exegetical impact of each of these elements of the composite allusion on the Johannine passage, ordered from most important to least.

a) Christology

Christology features highly in John’s use of the scriptural background. The prophetic literature, beginning with Isaiah, identified Israel as the “choice vine / vineyard” of YHWH,

whom he had planted in a land he himself had given them. This vine's purpose, in prophetic perspective, is to bear for its owner the fruit of righteousness and justice. In the prophetic critique, Israel singularly failed to do so and thus warranted God's unreserved punishment. The Gospel of John, then, in naming Jesus as the *true* vine (Jer. 2:21 LXX), interprets Jesus as the fulfillment of Israel's ultimate purpose, succeeding where Israel failed. This radical claim cannot be overlooked, despite some attempts to do so.⁷² The contrast is both intentional and marked.⁷³ Seen in the context of the Johannine narrative, this christological emphasis is established upon the prior claims that have already been made that Jesus is in some way the fulfillment of the temple (2:20–21), of Moses and the law (1:17, 5:46), of the scriptures (5:39), of Abraham and God's promises to him (8:56–58), of the various feasts (e.g., 7:37–38), and of various holy sites (4:23). Here, Jesus is portrayed as fulfilling in a significant way the role of the nation of Israel, especially in its God-given purpose of exhibiting the moral-ethical fruit of righteousness and justice. Jesus, in his divine identity and mission, is the intended *telos* of what Israel was intended for, and the contrast between Jesus and Israel is clear. However, John also takes the scriptural image and transforms it. Righteousness and justice are no longer mentioned; rather, love is at the heart of the Johannine ethic. John has distilled the believer's ethic to one of love. It is the father's love in which Jesus abides, and, in turn, Jesus' love for the disciples, in which they are to abide. In abiding in this love, Jesus' disciples are themselves enabled to bear the fruit of this love. Therefore, if the moral-ethical intention of God for his people is the expression of certain ethical characteristics, it is Jesus who steps into the gap that Israel's ethical failure had left in order to make possible for his believers what could not be achieved, according to the prophetic witness, by Israel. Christologically, Jesus becomes the means by which God accomplishes that ethical intention among his people. He is the source of

⁷² E.g., van der Watt, *Family of the King*, 32 n. 47, citing Schweizer, "What about Johannine 'parables?'" 214–215.

⁷³ Thus, I agree with those commentators who see in this usage of ἀλήθινος primarily a direct contrast to Israel. So, e.g., George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2d ed., vol. 36, WBC (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1999), 272; pace Brown, *The Gospel According to John (XIII-XXI)*, 674: "It does not seem that in claiming to be the real vine Jesus is directly polemicizing against a false vine," among others.

the fruit of that love, a love which would be impossible if one were detached from him. We discuss this in greater detail below in the section “The Fruit of Ethical Behaviour.”

Additionally, the mention of “my father” further focuses the audience’s attention on christology. Both the language of sonship in Psalm 80 and the language of God’s care for his vineyard in Isaiah 5 inform our understanding of the intimate relationship between father and son. Through Psalm 80, Jesus’ relationship with the father is paralleled to the special favor that YHWH bestows on Israel and its king as the “man of his right hand” (Ps. 80:15, 17). The language, incidentally, betrays hints of Davidic—and thus messianic—lineage, although John’s true interest lies elsewhere in 15:1–17. That is, while John assumes Jesus’ Davidic lineage as a critical element of his identity elsewhere (e.g., Jn 7:42), his focus in this metaphor of the vine is on the “true” quality of his divine relationship with the father. That is, the Johannine author takes sonship language in this metaphor much further than the scriptural texts do. Not only is Jesus in a special relationship with the father as a messianic and royal figure, and not only is he the father’s appointed figure, but Jesus himself is the source of life and fruit for the disciples. Although the father is mentioned three times (vv. 1, 8–10, 16), he is not the central character in this metaphor. Jesus takes that role, and thus it is only by Jesus’ direct agency as the father’s son, *viz.* the vine, that his disciples are able to live and bear fruit for the father. It is Jesus’s word which cleanses (v. 3), and Jesus’s words which are to abide in them (v. 7); it is his commandments that are to be kept by them (vv. 10, 12, 14), and his joy that is promised to them. And even though prayer in petition is to be made to the father, it is in Jesus’ name that these petitions will be answered (vv. 7, 16). To be separated from and to refuse to remain in Jesus is equivalent to severing oneself from the source of life and thus to invite one’s own destruction (v. 6), and thus judgment, too, is inextricably linked to Jesus. As in so many other Johannine texts, the unique relationship between the “only begotten” (*μονογενής*, cf. 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18) son and the father is unequalled and although scriptural passages such as Isaiah 5 and Psalm 80 do point the way in a preparatory fashion for

Johannine christology, ultimately John interprets these far beyond what the sources themselves explicitly express.

Finally, this vine metaphor must also be read in the context of the other *ἐγώ εἰμι* sayings in the Gospel. In the *ἐγώ εἰμι* sayings with a predicate, Jesus has so far equated himself with “the bread of life,” “the light of the world,” “the door of the sheep,” “the good shepherd,” “the resurrection and the life,” and “the way, the truth and the life.” These are all christological in nature, gradually expanding the audience’s understanding of Jesus’s core identity as the narrative of the Gospel unfolds. Most of these images, like the vine metaphor, have deep scriptural roots, and all of them are in some way a fulfillment of Jewish scriptural expectation.⁷⁴ Seen in this light, the present vine metaphor is no different, portraying Jesus as the true fulfillment of Israel in its intended moral-ethical *telos*. Furthermore, if one includes the wider context of the *unpredicated* “I am” sayings, what comes into view is the Isaianic eschatological expectation that YHWH would ultimately return to Zion and rescue his people from captivity and restore them to their homeland. In Isaiah, this role is solely the prerogative of YHWH’s. YHWH alone, and no other god, would accomplish this. In John, on the other hand, it is Jesus who takes on this role, which, in Jewish perspective, is nothing less than an astounding christological claim.

In short, John’s scriptural usage through this composite allusion directs his audience towards an understanding of Jesus that places him at the very center of God’s purposes for Israel and for all who believe in Jesus.

b) Abiding as Relationship

Another prominent theme that John has emphasized through his use of scripture is that of abiding in Jesus as a relationship of dependence. This is connected especially to the song of the vineyard in Isaiah 5. Just as God waited for, and, in a sense, even depended upon Israel to bear the fruit that he longed for them to bear, and just as the psalmist trusts unswervingly on

⁷⁴ See further Ball, *I Am in John’s Gospel*, 204–54.

YHWH in the midst of difficulty and suffering, so too the disciple is to *abide* in Jesus. Believers are to posture themselves in trust and dependence on their source of life, Jesus. This relationship of abiding is closely tied to the concept of mutual love in both Isaiah and in John. In Isaiah, we recall that the song is the “song of the beloved,” sung to his “beloved vineyard.” In Isaiah 5 LXX, the use of the word “beloved” (ἡγαπημένω, ἀγαπητοῦ) occurs three times in the opening lines, and is used in such a way that it is difficult to even distinguish to whom each instance refers. The overall sense is that a deep affection and love is shared between farmer and vineyard and is mutual. These opening lines colour the whole song, for this love between the farmer and his vineyard is the pre-condition of the song; it precedes the careful labor of the farmer, as well as his patience in waiting (μένω) for the fruit for which he longs. So, too, the love of the father and the love of the son is intimately tied to John’s understanding of the relationship of abiding. It is, ultimately, Jesus’ *love* in which the believer is to abide (v. 9b), and it is in the father’s *love* which Jesus himself abides (v. 9a, 10). Taking the vine analogy a step further, this love might be considered to be the resources that are supplied by the vine to the branches—that is, the water and the nutrients, for example—by which the growth of the fruit is made possible. Without the pre-condition of abiding in Jesus’ love—a love which is, in turn, inextricably bound to the father’s love—there would be no possibility of fruit.

This emphasis on a relational abiding rooted in love is so important in John 15:1–17 that this one word-group, μένω, dominates the whole passage and can be said to be its primary theme. Two additional, related, questions therefore demand our attention. First, why did John place so much emphasis on this theme of abiding at this junction in his gospel? And secondly, what does John’s use of scripture help us appreciate about this emphasis? We begin by recalling that this passage is located at the heart of the Farewell Discourse, which is really not a single monolithic discourse but a series of discourses between Jesus and his disciples that prepares them for his departure. If—as is virtually universally recognized in scholarship today—the final form of the Gospel of John is written in the context of conflict with non-

Johannine Jews,⁷⁵ the preparation of the Johannine Jewish-Christians living in the midst of that conflictual setting must have been of primary concern. In other words, this exhortation from Jesus to his disciples is likely meant not only as a general exhortation of discipleship in his absence, but especially as an exhortation in the midst of what was likely to have been a hostile external environment for the Johannine community. The juxtaposition of this passage with the immediately following one with its themes of being hated by the world (15:18–19), of persecution (15:20), of the guilt of their persecutors (15:22–24), of their expulsion from synagogues (16:2a), and even of their being killed by their persecutors (16:2b) confirms such a reading. If this historical reconstruction of the presence of external hostility is correct, then this emphasis on abiding takes on a specialized meaning. The relationship of abiding in Jesus' love is meant not only as a stimulus for fruitful productivity and discipleship, but also as a source of *protection* for them. It is a protective factor for the community. Indeed, the Johannine Jesus says as much in John 16:1: "I have said all these things to you to keep you from falling away" (ESV). That is, it is through this relationship of abiding in Jesus that the disciples of Jesus were intended to persevere and overcome the external hostility that was directed towards them. In light of this reconstructed setting, the scriptural background of the word μένω acquires even greater significance. In essence, I argue that the historical circumstances in which the Johannine community found itself was not unlike many of the psalmists' circumstances. The Johannine community was now a minority religious group at the mercy of larger hostile forces and needed spiritual resources to help them navigate that situation. Take, for instance, as one example of many, the psalmist who is exhorted, in the face of overwhelming enemy forces, to "wait (ὑπομένω) on the Lord," "to be strong, to take courage," and "wait (ὑπομένω) on the Lord" (Ps. 27:14). It is this same sense of hope and resilience that John wants to instill in his hearers as they abide (μένω) in Jesus, remaining in him despite the presence of the external hostility that was threatening to overwhelm them. For

⁷⁵ Although see Henk Jan de Jonge, "The 'Jews' in the Gospel of John," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, Didier Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, Jewish and Christian Heritage Series (Assen, the Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 242. De Jonge argues that the dispute is between non-Johannine *Christians* rather than non-Johannine *Jews*.

the Johannine community, an abiding relationship with Jesus was not only a memory in the past, but a much-needed reality for the present. It was not simply an exhortation to remain in the vine by being passively attached to it, but it was an invitation to remain in the vine through an active, obedient posture of love. To remain in the vine in this way would be to “wait” on the Lord. Furthermore, their obedience to Jesus’ commandment to love one another (Jn 15:12) as a community would have resulted in a solidarity that would be another “protective factor” in the face of external hostility. As they “waited” on the Lord by “abiding” in Jesus, as they remembered and abided in his sacrificial love for them (Jn 15:12b), and as they expressed this same kind of love for one another, the community would be able to cope in the midst of their challenges and not be stumbled or fall away from faith (Jn 16:1).

c) The Fruit of Ethical Behaviour as Covenantal Faithfulness

Ethical behaviour as represented by the metaphor of fruit is emphasized especially by Isaiah and Jeremiah. Both of these prophetic contexts assume the larger covenantal relationship between YHWH and Israel, one that was to be characterized by obedience and faithfulness to God’s law. The ethical expectation that Israel specifically bear the fruit of justice and righteousness is clearest in Isaiah with its final, cutting paronomasia of Isaiah 5:7 as discussed above. Where YHWH sought justice and righteousness, Israel returned only bloodshed and an outcry. In comparison, Jeremiah’s indictment emphasizes Israel’s spiritual apostasy over against its ethical behaviour. Of the Ezekielian passages, only Ezekiel 19 alludes to the unethical behaviour of Israel (19:6–7), albeit not in connection with fruit. Nevertheless, as a whole, prophetic judgment in Jeremiah and Ezekiel also presuppose the breach of covenantal relationship between Israel and God, especially that of idolatry (e.g., Ezek. 6:3–10).

Although John does utilize this covenantal theme and the metaphor of the fruit of ethical behaviour in 15:1–17, he also alters it significantly for his purposes. On the one hand, there is a clear continuity between John and the prophetic exhortation towards covenant faithfulness. This is seen especially in John’s emphasis on the commandments of Jesus—the

word ἐντολή or its verbal form ἐντέλλω occurs no less than five times in this passage. Although in the wider context the author expresses the central purpose of the Gospel as one that is intended to engender belief (20:31), clearly belief for John is not to be separated from obedience to Jesus's commandments. There is, for John, no dichotomy—or even any detectable tension—between the two. To keep Jesus' commandments *is* to abide in Jesus' love (v. 10); and the conditionality of an abiding of relationship with Jesus is clear: the believer is *to keep* the commandments (v. 14). But on the other hand, *this* “covenant,” that is, this abiding in relationship with Jesus, has two distinctive features. First, Johannine obedience is interested solely in *Jesus'* commandments. Although the father's commandments are mentioned in this text (v. 10), all of the commandments directed to the disciples in this passage are *Jesus'* commandments. The father's commandments are mentioned only as being fulfilled by Jesus and are not a direct source for believers to follow. Simply stated, there is simply no detectable reference here to any external body of commandments to the disciples outside of Jesus' personal directives. In fact, Jesus' commandment is said to be a *new* commandment, in contradistinction, evidently, of the commandments of *old* (13:34).

Secondly, despite the repeated use of the word “commandments,” exactly what obedience to Jesus' commandments entails is not to be found through a description of those commandments, as in, for example the ten commandments, or even as in, for another example, Jesus' teachings in the sermon on the mount (Matt. 5–7). Instead, John's sole focus with regard to Jesus' commandments is sharpened to a single point: the commandment of *love*. This commandment of love is introduced in chapter 13 (13:34), continues to be present in chapter 14 (14:15, 21), but finds its climax here in chapter 15 (15:10, 12, 14, 17). And this commandment of love is both a commandment *from* love as much as it is a commandment *to* love. That is, the disciples' obedience of this commandment seems to be preceded by a prior relationship: “*If you love me* you will keep my commandments” (14:15). The Johannine perspective seems to imply that preceding obedience is the *reception* of Jesus' love—that is, abiding in him and in his love—and then reciprocating that love to him in return. At the same

time, the action of loving Jesus seems to be conditional on the believer's keeping Jesus' commandments: "If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love" (15:10, cf. 15:14). This love, for John, then, seems to be simultaneously an internal experience, in which one can "abide," as well as an external command to be obeyed, to be directed towards those in the community. Covenant faithfulness, for John, then—if one were to employ such terminology—is found singularly in keeping the commandment of love: loving Jesus through loving one another. Nevertheless, this paring down of all the various commandments to its Johannine essence does not mean that keeping the commandment is in any way less obligatory than keeping the law for the Jew. In fact, as we will now discuss, the absence of this fruit in the life of the believer leads to judgment.

d) Judgment for the Unfruitful

The theme of judgment, of all the emphases in the six scriptural source texts analyzed above, is by far the strongest theme, making its appearance in all of them. There are scriptural texts where Israel is a vine / vineyard and judgment is not present—for example, Isaiah 27:2–6—but all the texts examined in this chapter, which most scholars consider to be the main scriptural background texts for John, contain some measure of it. In Isaiah 5, after the vineyard yields "rotting grapes," the farmer removes its protective hedge and breaks down its wall, permitting the vineyard to be trampled upon and made into a wasteland; he neglects it and even causes the clouds to cease to rain upon it. Of the set of six texts examined, the Ezekielian texts express this element of judgment clearest, it is their exclusive focus. There is no longer any possibility of fruitfulness in Israel the vine, it is deserving of harsh judgment, as portrayed through the language of burning, uprooting, destruction, and death. In Jeremiah 2:21, although the image of the vine is isolated to a single verse, it is set in the wider context of the motif of impending judgment (e.g., 2:9, 15–19a, 35b–37). In comparison, in Psalm 80, the theme of judgment is rather subdued, occurring in the first half of the Psalm and unconnected to the vine imagery. Nevertheless, even here, the psalmist recognizes that God is

the direct cause of Israel's sorrow, grief, and derision (Ps. 80:4–6), has broken down the walls of the vineyard (80:12), and thus their present circumstances are a form of God's anger and judgment. This thread of judgment, then, runs through all of our source texts, and taken together, paint an ominous picture: YHWH's judgment looms and is coming in the loss of protection, in defeat, in exile, in withering, in uprooting, in desolation, in burning, in destruction, and finally, in death.

This theme is certainly present in the Johannine passage, expressed in John 15:2a, 6. In verse 2, unfruitful branches will be removed (*αἴρω*), and in verse 6, those who do not abide in Jesus are cast away, withered, thrown into the fire, and burned. Notice, however, a significant alteration in the Johannine portrayal of the motif of judgment of unfruitfulness. The harshest language of judgment is reserved not for being unfruitful, but for those who do not abide in Jesus. Some scholars have even argued that the polyvalent word *αἴρω*, which most interpret with reference to judgment, actually refers to an action of “lifting up” and thus denotes something positive.⁷⁶ Although this interpretation—given the univocity of the source texts—is unlikely on its own, nevertheless, the language of *αἴρω* does need to be explained. It seems that the Johannine author is once again deliberately engaging in a form of wordplay, pairing *αἴρω* with the word *καθαίρω* in the same verse, with the effect of emphasizing the latter, but at the same time softening the former, the concept of judgment. It is not primarily a disciple's *unfruitfulness*, then, which Jesus censors and condemns, but a disciple's failure to abide in him and in his love. As discussed above, in the Johannine ethical model, it is this failure to abide in Jesus that *results* in unfruitfulness which is John's main concern. Judgment of unfruitfulness, then, is largely redirected to a judgment of those not abiding in Jesus. And the imagery and language reserved for those who do not abide in Jesus is as graphic and harsh as any of the prophetic texts. This element is undeniable in the Johannine passage.

However, of the four themes represented by this composite picture of scriptural texts, the theme of judgment undergoes perhaps the greatest transformation. Judgment, as alluded to

⁷⁶ See Derrickson, “Viticulture”; cf. also Gustaf Dalman et al., *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 312.

above in the section on christology, is now *christologically* oriented. It is Jesus who has taken on the role of the vine; believers can only bear fruit when connected to the vine. On their own, apart from Jesus, they have no fruit-bearing capacity and are destined for destruction, that is, judgment. But it is noteworthy that this theme plays a relatively minor role in the passage. When seen especially against the prophetic backdrop where judgment is the single most prominent motif, the minor role it plays in this passage is unexpected, if not arresting. A telling example of this diminished role of judgment in the passage is the use of the word *κάθαρσις* (Jn 15:2). As we discussed above, this word is likely borrowed from Ezekiel 15:4 LXX. In Ezekiel it is used for the annual cleansing (*κάθαρσις*) of the vines, which, in that context, denotes removal and burning. John, however, re-appropriates the word and utilizes it in this passage as a *positive* action, pruning denotes not judgment for John but care and maintenance by the vinedresser for increased fruit-bearing. It is fair to say, then, that although John retains the motif of judgment in this passage, he both redirects it christologically, and also significantly mitigates or softens it. His primary interest in the metaphor of the vine is not to negatively warn against possible unfruitfulness, but to positively encourage believers to remain in Jesus and thus be enabled to bear much fruit.

Together, these four emphases—christology, abiding as relationship, ethics as fruit of covenant faithfulness, and judgment—interact with the larger Johannine metaphor of the vine / branch, providing increased color and detail to the metaphor in varying degrees. In the case of *christology*, knowledge of the background texts supplies a critical feature that would otherwise be lacking in the metaphor itself: Jesus as the fulfillment of Israel. With regard to the role of *abiding*, the central motif of relationship is already contained within the metaphor itself, but the Isaianic and Psalmic background furnish the audience with a deeper appreciation of the necessary spiritual posture of trust in what was likely an extremely existentially challenging circumstance for the Johannine comm. For the idea of *ethics as fruit*, a comparison with the scriptural source texts enables one to see the clarity of the Johannine ethic of love as the distillation of Jesus's commandments, even over the scriptural emphases of justice and

righteousness. And finally, with regard to *judgment*, knowledge of the scriptural resources provides the audience with an appreciation for the redirected and comparatively *diminished* Johannine emphasis in this regard.

VI.7.0 Summary

This chapter has examined the composite allusion in John 15:1–11 from both a lexematic and thematic perspective. Interestingly, the texts which bear the most lexematic overlap with the Johannine passage (Ezek. 15, 17, and 19) also display the least thematic coherence with it. Conversely, while Isaiah 5 possesses relatively less lexematic congruence to John 15 than the Ezekiel texts, it has a significantly higher degree of thematic coherence to it. By applying our three-fold method involving catchword analysis, analysis of literary allusions, and ancient media criticism to the composite allusion in John 15, we are able to ascertain not only *that* these texts were alluded to by John, but *why* they were significant, and *how* for John these particular texts as background were conceivably connected together. In other words, our method offers a powerful tool for understanding how this composite allusion “works” within the Johannine text.

Finally, we concluded our analysis by returning to the text of John 15, seeking to understand the exegetical impact of all of these background texts for the Farewell Discourse in the Gospel of John. Four scriptural themes were identified as being especially relevant for the Johannine passage: christology, abiding, ethics, and judgment. Although each of these four themes were all present in varying degrees in John 15, the evangelist also creatively adapts each of these for his own purposes, at times amplifying and extending them, at other times redefining and softening them. The end result of our analysis is a considerable deepening of our understanding of the vine metaphor in the Gospel of John.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUDING SYNTHESIS AND WIDER IMPLICATIONS

VII.1.0 Introduction

In this concluding chapter, I aim to accomplish three chief tasks. First, a brief summary will be offered of the results of our various exegetical investigations into late Second Temple Jewish literature and the Gospel of John. Secondly, I will examine these two sets of data from the previous chapters for similarities and differences, seeking to situate the final composition of John's Gospel—at least regarding composite allusions—within the ancient world as broadly aligned with other late Second Temple Jewish texts, while also noting key areas of distinctiveness. This leads directly to the third and final purpose of the present chapter: to draw out the significance of this investigation and, specifically, to apply its findings to one of the heated debates in Johannine scholarship—the topic of the “Jewishness” of John. What does this investigation reveal about the relationship between John's Gospel and the Judaism(s) of its day? Discussions and controversies continue with regard to this topic, and the aim of this present examination is to make a specific and concrete contribution to that conversation.

VII.1.1 Summary

This study began by sketching out a three-pronged approach to the analysis of composite allusions. This approach involves a combination of three distinct elements: 1) an understanding of ancient composite citations and, in particular, the ancient Jewish technique of catchword exegesis; 2) an understanding of allusive activation through literary and linguistic means; and 3) an appreciation of the interpretative implications of ancient media culture and especially metonymic referencing. What is particularly noteworthy about this three-fold method is how the three elements are complementary to each other when applied for exegetical purposes, thus paving the way for a more well-rounded and holistic final analysis. A composite allusion has been defined, in this regard, as *a literary unit, whose markers within the alluding text, in signaling to corresponding, recognizable marked signs in*

an evoked text(s), interact together to provide the hearer or reader additional interpretive value.

Our examination of late Second Temple Jewish literature centred on six different texts: one from the *Damascus Document*, one from the *Hodayot*, one from *Sirach*, and three from the Septuagint (from Exodus, the Psalms, and Isaiah). As expected from an analysis of such a diverse selection of texts belonging to varying genres and historical settings, the precise way differs in how each of these texts presents composite allusive features. However, in each case, a composite allusion—as defined with reference to the given passage—is clearly present. In a fashion directly analogous to the exegetical mechanics of composite *citations*, composite allusions operate through common lexemes and common themes in the source texts. At the end of Chapter II, a scale consisting of two axes was created: lexematic congruence and thematic coherence. Lexematic congruence is the easier of the two qualities to measure, as it consists of readily quantifiable elements: the number of common morphemes, morphology of those words, and word order / syntax. The highest level of confidence regarding the presence of an allusion can be posited when all of these lexematic elements are identified, along with thematic coherence. Therefore, when a similar or identical phrase is found together with an identifiable thematic coherence between the two texts, we can be highly confident of the presence of an allusion.

As lexematic congruence diminishes, one might assume that our confidence to posit the presence of a connection between the marker text and the marked text also diminishes in direct proportion. Studies that follow strictly literary methods, for example, might come to such a conclusion.¹ However, what this dissertation has uncovered is that, even when lexematic congruence is slim or absent, an allusion can still be present solely on account of the presence of thematic coherence. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, it can be noted that ancient texts are reflective of ancient media culture and thus require us to think *metonymically*. Keywords, when received by ancient audiences and writers, may represent larger traditions or

¹ A prominent example of such a method can be found in Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*.

even whole metanarratives that encompass a multiplicity of elements. The various elements drawn from that metanarrative or tradition (that is, other elements from texts networked to that tradition) potentially impinge on the exegesis of the alluding text. The presence of such a marker needs to be assessed through meticulous inspection of the possible source texts behind the alluding text, as well as giving careful consideration to the literary and theological purposes of the alluding text itself. This is closely related to what John Miles Foley has termed “metonymic referentiality.” Secondly, the related factor that makes such an allusion possible is the fact that in an oral-literary culture (this is especially apparent in semitic poetry, although not exclusively), synonyms and synonymous phrases often stand in for each other with little to no exegetical impact on the text in question. Thus, even if there is no direct lexematic congruence between the marker and marked texts, the possibility of a meaningful allusion still needs to be considered. This needs to be judged on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the importance or prominence of the potential motif or tradition in scripture, and its coherence to the theological or literary interests of the author of the alluding text. Lexematic-based composite allusions are thus designated in this thesis as Type I composite allusions, while thematic-based composite allusions are categorized as Type II allusions; a combination of some variety of these two types in a complex literary entity is described as a Type III composite allusion.

The opening lines of the *Damascus Document* feature most prominently a Type I composite allusion (although Type II and Type III allusions are also present). The *Hodayot* passage examined in Chapter II features most clearly a Type II composite allusion, where two larger traditions are represented respectively by two keywords: מטע (planting) and מים (water), and, together, form a Type III composite allusion in the extended literary unit. The *Sirach* text exemplifies a mediating position between the *Damascus Document* and the *Hodayot*, consisting of significant lexemic elements (though not as clearly as in CD, since the order of the lexemes between the marker and marked texts is not identical), as well as strong thematic elements based on unique, easily identifiable, scriptural motifs (e.g., creation and

YHWH as the potter).² Three additional LXX passages were examined in Chapter II: Exodus 15:3 and Psalm 71:17, both of which exhibit strong characteristics of a Type I composite allusion, and Isaiah 3:9, which displays all three types of composite allusion.

Turning to the Gospel of John, we examined four passages in the central chapters of the study. Beginning with the double citation in John 12:37–40, I examined in detail the exegetical mechanics with which the author embeds these two citations at this critical hinge of the gospel narrative, building on extensive work that has previously been done with respect to the composite character of the citations. The analysis concluded that, for John, an intricate web of thematic and lexemic strands binds these two passages together. Lexically, the words מָרַן / $\psi\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ and נִשְׁבַּח / $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ in Isaiah 52:13 are paired with מָרַן / $\psi\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ and נִשְׁבַּח / $\delta\omicron\zeta\eta\varsigma$ in Isaiah 6:1, causing them to be subjected to mutual interpretation. These, in turn, are embedded into John’s narrative and wedded to the thematic development of its focus on the christocentric fulfilment of scripture. Isaiah 6 does so through applying the motif of spiritual obduracy of God’s people to those who disbelieved in Jesus. Isaiah 53 does so by identifying Jesus with the Isaianic Servant of YHWH who suffers for Israel. As far as the analysis of composite allusions is concerned, the lexematic connections between Isaiah 6 and 53 and John are of a Type I nature, and the theme of scriptural fulfillment in the Johannine text belongs to a Type II variety. Finally, the *intratextual* connections that these scriptural passages generate within the Johannine narrative bear emphasizing, for by introducing these two scriptural texts the author transitions seamlessly from the first half of the gospel narrative to its second half, interweaving multiple crucial motifs together at a single locus (e.g., blindness / sight; disbelief / belief; lifting up; glory / no-glory; suffering).

The investigation of John 1:29 in Chapter III of the study has uncovered the exemplar of a compact Johannine composite allusion. In the short phrase, “Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world,” the evangelist compresses three scriptural motifs: the Passover-exodus motif (including the New Exodus motif), the suffering servant of Isaiah 53,

² See above, Ch. II.4.4.

and the scriptural motif of sacrificial atonement. The first and third of these references operate predominantly through a Type II mechanism, whereby keywords point respectively to a network of passages that are thematically linked together, whereas the second contains some elements with more lexically-derived features and thus belonging to a Type I allusion. Together, they combine in John 1:29 to form a compact Type III composite allusion. One of the more remarkable features of this composite allusion is the strong connection established *between* these three scriptural traditions, thus reinforcing the overall effect of this complex image on the intended audience. Furthermore, not only does the composite allusion betray an intricate network of intertextual features pointing to the Jewish scriptures, but it also initiates an equally strong intratextual linkage between various elements of this composite allusion and later parts of the Gospel. The themes of Jesus as the Passover lamb, as the suffering servant, as the fulfillment of the New Exodus, and as an atoning sacrifice all resurface at multiple critical points in the unfolding of John's narrative.

The same methodological approach was applied, with some fruitful results, to the composite "citation-allusion" in John 7:37b–39, sharpening the focus from the ten individual passages that are most commonly associated with the allusion, to three distinct metonymic traditions: living water, water from the rock in the wilderness, and an invitation from YHWH to drink of him. This enabled the discussion to distill the essential messages of each of these traditions, respectively to: God's gift of his eschatological Spirit, God's provision for his people in the wilderness, and God's effecting for his people a new exodus through his messiah. All three of these elements combine to form the christological and soteriological metaphor that is Jesus' invitation to receive from him "living water." This, too, is a compact Type III composite allusion—one of remarkable complexity and density. Once again, there are clear intratextual connections between the key motifs in this citation allusion and other passages in the Gospel.

Finally, we examined a composite allusion of a different sort in the extended passage of John 15:1–11(17). Six possible source texts were examined both lexematically and

thematically—Ezekiel 15, 17, and 19; Jeremiah 2:21; Psalm 80 (79); and Isaiah 5—concluding once more that this composite allusion consists of a complex Type III composite allusion, comprised mostly of Type II thematically-based composite allusions. Through the application of metonymic referencing and offering a close analysis of the LXX usage of μένω in comparison with the MT, we were able to discover a possible origin for the Johannine use of the verb μένω—that is, its usage in the Psalter and in Isaiah to translate the Hebrew word קָנָה. Furthermore, as we applied our three-fold method to the composite allusion, a plausible explanation emerged of the process whereby these texts became associated, both with each other as well as within John 15:1–11. A unique feature of this composite allusion is that the scriptural source passages are all integrated into the larger metaphor of the vine and its vine-branches. Each passage contributes to that metaphor in its own way, at times drawing on the main themes of the source passages, and at other times de-emphasizing the themes of their respective passages. However, common to all of the passages examined in John’s Gospel, the various elements of the composite allusion are intricately tied to recurring Johannine themes and motifs, especially at the bookends of the larger section of the Farewell Discourse (chapters 13 and 17). Not only is the passage alluding intertextually to scripture, but it also points intratextually—both backwards and forwards—to other parts of the Farewell Discourse.

VII.2.0 John and Second Temple Literature: Commonalities

Having summarized these exegetical investigations of texts drawn from late Second Temple literature and the Gospel of John, I now move to draw points of comparison and contrast between them. First, it is evident that composite allusions do indeed occur both in the FG and in the Second Temple texts examined in this dissertation. This is confirmed by the identification in earlier scholarship of such composite implied references, whether in the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, *Sirach*, the LXX, or the Gospel of John. The existence of composite allusions seems to be beyond doubt, with scholars working independently of each other all observing the same phenomenon. The first natural outcome of this particular study,

then, is the confirmation of the *presence* of composite allusions in Second Temple Jewish literature and in the Gospel of John. Accordingly, this is not an isolated exegetical feature peculiar to only one ancient Jewish author, or even one movement within late Second Temple Judaism and beyond. Rather, composite allusions amount to a broadly-based exegetical “technique” practiced in the ancient Jewish world.

How, one might wonder, was such a “technique” taught or passed on in ancient Jewish scribal and literary circles? To answer this question in detail would venture beyond the parameters of this particular study, although it would serve as an excellent area for further research. Nevertheless, given what has been observed in Chapters II–VI, it is possible to make a few tentative suggestions in this regard. The most important consideration is, first of all, that such a process is directly related to ancient media culture, where orality is a significant contributing factor. Metonymic referencing finds itself most at home in a setting where orality (especially in the form of oral storytelling or the recitation of oral poetry) is a common feature. In these settings, oral traditions, before their being written down, would have been a natural source for associating similar or parallel themes or traditions. Even after traditions were committed to writing, they could continue to be performed in such a way that common motifs and themes would cause certain stories to be associated with each other in the actual act of narrating or reciting that tradition or story. In other words, some of these linkages are likely to have pre-dated the writing of the text and could have been passed on from one oral storyteller to the next, and, from the point of its inscription, additionally, potentially from one scribe to another. This association of traditions based upon metonymic references, whether thematically or verbally, would have dovetailed nicely with what was likely a later, more literary-based, development. That is, once the tradition was codified in writing, the association of traditions would additionally have become concretized in catchword exegesis, a kind of reading that eventually became known as *gezerah shavah*. Secondly, another principle, which is the corollary of the first, is in all likelihood at work in the ancient world: audiences, upon repeated hearing of such performances of texts (oral-aural access is likely to have been the only kind of

access to texts experienced by the majority of ancient audiences), would have eventually become accustomed to, and in a sense *trained*, to hear these kinds of metonymic references. In the same way, audiences who were already familiar with the texts being alluded to would have had greater ease in apprehending an author's work which included these allusions than one who was not, and so this would have been a mutually reinforcing situation in which the "production" of composite allusions was encouraged. Certain turns of phrase and specific words would have become associated with each other and become audio-mnemonic triggers for each other or for the larger traditions to which these phrases belonged. Thirdly, this association of texts and traditions is likely to have been positively reinforced by the notion of *scriptural authority* that developed among these texts. As texts attained the status of *scripture*, any perceived verbal or thematic linkages among passages in that scriptural writing would likely also be imbued with a kind of special status and would therefore have been preserved orally and passed on from one scribe to another or from one reader/hearer to the next. These are merely suggestions as to possible mechanisms and processes that could have been in place in the ancient Jewish world. Nevertheless, they seem plausible and warrant further exploration and pursuit.

I turn now to the question of situating the composite allusions in the FG to the Second Temple materials examined in this study. Interestingly, as all of the composite allusions studied in this thesis are now drawn together, it can be noted that all of them, at some level, can be considered a complex Type III composite allusion. For instance, none of the passages under consideration falls strictly into a simple Type I or Type II composite allusion standing in isolation. Composite allusions in ancient Jewish texts seem to attract and "beget" other composite allusions, and therefore cluster together to form complex units of implied referencing. This is certainly the case in the passages examined in this particular study. The FG exhibits this quality perhaps more than any other of the documents in question. This is not a surprising phenomenon if one pauses to consider how the mind works, where one network of themes or words can trigger—often reflexively—similar or parallel networks of themes or

words. This may in part be a subconscious process. However, another reason for this “aggregation” of composite allusions may relate specifically to certain authorial purposes, at least as far as John’s Gospel is concerned. The clustering of allusions leads to an effect of “mutual reinforcement” that brings added weight to the themes or texts to which allusion is made. A single implied reference standing in isolation in the text may not be noticed, but a complex cluster of scriptural allusions is not so easily overlooked. We will return to this phenomenon below as we reflect on some of the distinctive features of Johannine composite allusions and especially their *theological* purpose.

A third commonality between the Johannine and other Jewish evidence examined in this dissertation is the tendency towards thematic Type II composite allusions. Although there are elements of more lexematically-based composite allusions (particularly in Jn 1:29), both John and the other analogous Jewish examples predominantly display Type II composite allusions. Of these, most evoke scriptural traditions to which a number of texts are linked. Again, the FG here exhibits no special qualities and may be said to participate fully in the same exegetical tendencies as the other Second Temple Jewish literature surveyed in this study. This phenomenon is likely to arise from the metonymic character of many of these allusions, which, as postulated above, is itself probably a result of their oral-derived nature.

The widely attested presence of composite allusions in the FG and other Jewish literature can be traced back to and explained on the basis of two basic qualities exhibited by both of these bodies of literature. The first is the general posture of the authors of these literary works towards the Jewish scriptures and a strong impulse to connect their own writings to them. The Jewish scriptures were, for both John and the other Second Temple Jewish authors, a primary source—if not *the* primary source—of inspiration. These authors sought to ground the language and thought forms of their own writings as fully as possible in Israel’s scriptures because they viewed these scriptures as exactly that: *scriptures*. These were sacred writings passed down through the ages, revealed by God to Israel, and thus were to undergird their own writings at the most profound level.

This is especially apparent since what is being examined are implicit allusions and not explicit citations. In other words, the level at which these writings were informed and influenced by the Jewish scriptures penetrates to their very core. For instance, it could theoretically be argued that a literary work might be littered with citations from a certain source and yet only possess a superficial connection to that source, whether through misrepresentation or misinterpretation of, or perhaps even false attribution to, that source. These citations naturally draw the readers' attention to themselves, and, at first sight, give the impression that the writing in question is intimately allied with its source. Allusions, on the other hand, and by their very nature, demonstrate a different kind of interaction between authors and their source texts. Indeed, most of the allusions examined in the preceding chapters of this study are so subtle that they do not—on first reading—draw attention at all to themselves or to their sources. It is only through careful consideration and analysis of the texts, as well as a meticulous consideration of the author's apparent intentions, that it becomes possible to appreciate the allusions to their fullest extent. As was noted in Chapter I with reference to Dale Allison's observations, allusive references have an effect on readers—perhaps somewhat counter-intuitively for us moderns—that invites *deeper* reflection and examination. This is even more so in the case of *composite* allusions, which invite an even more sustained analysis of and complex reflection upon the *multiple* implied sources behind the presenting text.

The principle that the *implicit* is more instructive than the *explicit* can be seen to be at work on two levels. As stated above, it works first on the level of illuminating the author's posture towards their primary source, that is, Israel's scriptures. It is instructive in that it demonstrates that both John and the other Jewish writings under consideration share a deep interest in being vitally connected to the Jewish scriptures. It also operates on a second level in that it demonstrates that John is operating in essentially the same *Jewish* mode of exegesis as the other authors in question. That is, the Gospel of John is not only superficially connected to other Jewish writings as though its author simply wanted to give it a semblance of Jewishness

by, for instance, including within its pages a dozen or so citations from the Jewish scriptures. Rather, when one takes a metaphorical knife to the Gospel and cuts it to its linguistic-lexematic core, it can be observed that, even in its subtle usage of allusions, it continues to betray its Jewish exegetical character. It not only looks Jewish on the outside, but it is also Jewish *on the inside*. This claim has important implications for the discussion below on the “Jewishness” of John.

First, however, we return to the other fundamental quality that the Gospel of John shares with its literary cousins of the late Second Temple period, namely its oral-derived character. This study has argued that a significant reason for the presence of composite allusions in these ancient texts is indeed their oral-derived character. Metonymic referencing is most evident in oral or oral-literary cultures where the nature of oral speech impacts on the way that traditions or phrases, or even individual words, are linked together. Although this quality would have been on display most evidently through oral performance, the metonymic character of traditions and texts would have been retained in significant ways as they came to be written down. In this respect, both the Jewish writings and John’s Gospel are very similar, since both participate equally in the ancient, predominantly pre-literary, world to which they belong.

This raises a different question that we simply have not had the opportunity to explore in this dissertation but is worthy of consideration: to what extent does the broader Graeco-Roman literary world, in which both Second Temple Jewish writings and the Gospel of John are situated, exhibit this same tendency towards composite allusions? If there is sound reasoning in the proposal that the oral-derived character of both John’s Gospel and other Jewish literatures is at least partly responsible for the presence of composite allusions in these writings, then it follows that similar oral-textual dynamics should also be detectable in other Greek and Roman writings of the classical period. Without venturing into the vast field of the classical world, which would require an independent study of its own, a glance at recent work on composite citations in the ancient world may provide us with some significant clues in this

regard. In the two-volume work on composite citations in antiquity edited by Sean Adams and Seth Ehorn,³ persuasive evidence is provided that the phenomenon of composite citations is not only attested in early Christian literature but also in classical Greek and Roman compositions. However, among the most important findings of these volumes is that what distinguished early Christian from Greek and Roman usages was the *frequency* of composite citations in Christian (and Jewish) literature. Composite citations, although a recognized feature of these various sets of data, are found much more frequently in the New Testament documents.⁴ It would not be surprising, in this respect, if a comparative analysis of composite *allusions* also yields similar results. That is, extrapolating from the data on composite citations, it is to be expected that composite allusions are also attested in Greek and Roman literary works, but probably with lower complexity and with lesser frequency.⁵ If this is true, the differential in frequency is likely to be related to the *scriptural* quality of the Jewish sources that are being evoked, and therefore the authority they possess for both Jewish authors and the Johannine evangelist.

VII.3.0 John and Second Temple Literature: Differences

As for points of contrast, the single most distinctive quality of John's composite allusions—one that sets it apart from other Jewish counterparts—is their sustained Jesus-centred focus. From a rhetorical perspective, the three Johannine composite allusions investigated in this dissertation (Jn 1:29; 7:37–39; 15:1–11), together with the double scriptural citation in John 12:37–40, invite the envisaged audience into a sustained reflection upon the identity of the

³ Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 1: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016); idem, *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018).

⁴ Adams and Ehorn, *Composite Citations in Antiquity Volume 2: New Testament Uses*, 248–49.

⁵ In one sense, it should be noted that some significant research on composite allusions in the classical world has already been undertaken. As noted in Chapter I, much of the modern scholarly appreciation for the significance of orality in ancient texts begins with the Parry-Lord Oral Formulaic theory, first conceived by Parry through a study of some of Homer's poetry. One possible path, then, for future research in classical literature would be to re-examine some of that literature as well as other Greek texts with a view to the more literary-based and thematically-oriented features of allusions that have been identified in this study. In other words, while Parry's model is helpful in recognizing the oral origins of some metonymic features, their current literary embeddedness warrants further study that considers *both* the oral *and* literary features of such references.

person of Jesus. On the one hand, this is not surprising given John's wider christological agenda; on the other, the composite character of these allusions and their christological univocity does offer significant glimpses into the underlying purpose of John's scriptural allusions. They reveal that, for John, Jesus's identity and mission is best expressed through scriptural language and in terms of *scriptural fulfillment*. Jesus' identity and purpose are, in the most profound way possible, the fulfillment of Scripture for John, his community, and in all likelihood, for the text's envisaged audience. This is already a recognized feature of John's scriptural citations, including its composite citations, and it is reaffirmed by this study at the level of implied, and especially *composite*, references. This leads back to the perceived phenomenon above whereby composite allusions tend to aggregate. That is, there is probably another dynamic at play in the "clustering" of John's composite allusions, as indeed articulated in a provisional fashion by J. Mánek⁶: their multiplicity, in principle, strengthens their claim to veracity, especially in the context of ancient juridical settings. Moreover, since Andrew Lincoln argues persuasively for the importance of the lawsuit or trial motif as a unifying theme in John's narrative,⁷ the composite features of scriptural references—both its citations and allusions—likely also attest to their reliability as witnesses to the truth about Jesus. The double citations at the center of John's narrative (12:37–40), as well as at its end (19:36–37), probably function in a similar manner. In addition to what this study claims regarding the presence and function of composite allusions in the ancient Jewish world, John's *modus operandi* includes a tendency towards multiple and complex allusiveness to Scripture, all for the sake of its christological claims. Seen from this perspective, the composite features of scriptural references amount to one more strategy—in addition, for example, to more overt theological statements and claims such as the ἐγὼ εἶμι statements—in which John provides scriptural support and legitimation for his christological perspective.

⁶ See further Jindřich Mánek, "Composite Quotations in the New Testament and Their Purpose," *CV* 13, no. 3–4 (1970): 181–88.

⁷ See especially Andrew T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2000).

Secondly, and this is not so much a contrast with other Jewish texts but rather a particular quality of the Johannine message itself, namely its *intratextuality*. Not only does John exhibit an intricate web of connectedness to the Jewish scriptures, but it also displays an equally intricate *internal* thematic and verbal network, connecting its various parts and themes together to form a coherent literary, theologically and aesthetically pleasing frame. In John 1:29, for example, there are three alluded-to traditions in the form of the Passover lamb of the exodus tradition (and that of the “New Exodus”), the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53, and sacrificial imagery of the Temple cult. Each of these themes resurfaces at pivotal moments in John’s narrative, before converging once again in the crucifixion scene. Passover and New Exodus imagery appears in chapters 2, 6, 11, 12, then especially in the crucifixion imagery in 19:36–37; the themes of suffering / dying and sacrifice appear in chapters 3, 8, and 12, as well as, of course, the entire story of the passion in chapters 13–18 and the fulfillment language in 19:36. The same kind of intratextuality can also be observed in John’s other two composite allusions under consideration. In the same way that John alludes to Jewish scripture, the author alludes to his own text. If allusiveness to scripture, both for John and other Jewish compositions, is due in part to the recognized *authority* of scripture, this may have important implications for John’s understanding of his *own* Gospel. In other words, the author takes care to weave these themes together internally in a thematically and verbally coherent manner *because* of a certain self-understanding of the significance and authority of his *own* Gospel. Compositionally speaking, such careful and intricate intratextuality in the Gospel can be seen as a strategy that John employs to enhance the authority of his own text. By inscribing these traditions in written form and layering them in this intricate way in the Gospel, John has produced a literary work that in many ways parallels the very scriptures from which he draws and which undergirds so much of his own work. The rhetorical effect that this has upon the audience is to leave them with the impression that John’s Gospel is to be read, meditated upon, and received in the same way that other Jewish scriptures are. In all likelihood, in the

evangelists's mind, his Gospel is just as much *scripture* as the Jewish scriptures upon which so much of it is founded.

Thirdly, another unique feature of John's composite allusions, when compared to other possible Jewish analogues, is the *range* of scriptural traditions from which the Gospel draws. At least in the case of the Johannine passages examined in this thesis, there is a strong emphasis on the prophetic corpus, especially Isaiah. In contrast to this, the *Damascus Document*, for example, contains a high degree of scriptural allusions to Pentateuchal sources. While other parts of the scriptural "canon" are represented in John's Gospel, they are typically done via the prophetic lens. While the Passover exodus lamb in Exodus 12 is certainly alluded to in John 1:29, it is wedded to and seen through the lens of the New Exodus and God's new provision for his people in the servant of Isaiah 53. The same can be said of the "living waters" motif. John does not merely allude to the original recollection of the episode of "water from the rock" (Exodus 17), but above all to its thematic recapitulation in the prophets and in the psalter as YHWH again offers water to his people in exile. The rationale for this preference for utilizing the prophetic tradition as scriptural background is readily surmised, and, once more, has to do with christology, in the same way that John employs other scriptural imagery.⁸ Although the Pentateuchal writings are, for instance, equally scripture for John, it is above all the prophetic tradition that points forward in a concrete and futuristic manner to God's fulfilment of his as-yet unfulfilled promises.⁹ It is this promise of fulfillment to which John consistently returns, claiming their present consummation in the person of Jesus, and the composite scriptural allusions are yet another literary technique and vehicle for doing so.

In sum, then, a comparison of composite allusions in the FG and other Second Temple Jewish literature reveals that John falls squarely within the range of exegetical mechanics displayed by other Jewish works roughly contemporary with it. The samples taken from John

⁸ As, for instance, in the case of John's ἐγώ εἰμι language. See, e.g., Catrin H. Williams, "*I Am He*": *The Interpretation of 'Ani Hu' in Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); and eadem, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of John," in Adams, *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, 2:126–27.

⁹ See, e.g., H. G. M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998); also Andrew T. Abernethy, *The Book of Isaiah and God's Kingdom: A Thematic—Theological Approach*, ed. D. A. Carson, vol. 40, NSBT (London: Apollos, 2016).

exhibit precisely the same characteristics as others in drawing on scriptural allusions in pluriform fashion, especially in its more thematically oriented form (Type II vs. Type I). It stands out from other Jewish analogues in characteristically Johannine ways: in its christology, its internal theological coherence and literary artistry, and in its emphasis on the promise of fulfillment, as particularly expressed in the exilic and post-exilic prophetic voices of Jewish scripture. These conclusions thus lay the groundwork for the third and final component of this chapter: a discussion of the possible implications of this study with reference to the current debate about the place of John among the Judaism(s) of its day.

VII.4.0 The Contributions of this Study and the Question of ‘John and Judaism’

One of the primary contributions of this study to contemporary Johannine scholarship is that it seeks to sketch out a plausible means whereby the most complex scriptural allusions in the Gospel of John were formed. Modern readers of John often sense that the phrase “as the scripture says” is laden with a hermeneutical weight that often defies full appreciation. How did the fourth evangelist come to such an understanding of the scriptures cited in the narrative? Why is scripture being cited at this particular location in the narrative? And to what end, specifically? If such puzzling questions arise for the exegete with regard to explicit citations, which unabashedly draw readers’ attention to them through their citation formulae, how much more so for their subtler cousins—scriptural allusions? An even more daunting task is to delve into complex constructions such as composite allusions. Scholars have sought to illuminate the various, and often winding, paths that John pursues through the thicket of Jewish scripture and scriptural imagery in the composition of the gospel text. But by what specific processes in the ancient world could this have taken place? It is often difficult to imagine a process whereby New Testament authors have worked their citations, and especially their allusions, into the documents in the various ways that have been detected in modern scholarship. The first contribution of our study, then, is methodological in nature: to map out such a process, within the constraints of Jewish exegesis of the first century, and with a

method that is cognizant of the ancient media culture of its time. Applying such tools to the Gospel of John can have a powerfully explanatory effect in elucidating how composite allusions and citations *work* in their respective contexts, but also—and just as importantly—*why* they did so. This, in and of itself, can pave the way for applying this method to other writings, both within and beyond the New Testament. However, another contribution of this study is found in the implications that our research has for the question of “John and Judaism.”

One of the “burning issues”¹⁰ in recent scholarship is the relationship between Jews and Christians in the first three centuries CE, particularly given the greater appreciation for the complexity of the socio-religious fabric of the ancient world.¹¹ Scholars no longer conceive of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism during the first centuries CE as binary options, or even as two ends of a spectrum. It is now generally recognized that the two entities did not become formally distinct from each other until a much later period. This more nuanced understanding is shaping New Testament studies in various ways,¹² and in this regard the scholarly discourse on the Gospel of John has, not surprisingly, become especially heated.¹³ Although the discovery of Qumran has permanently dispelled the previously established notion of the priority of Gnostic and proto-Gnostic influence (over against Jewish influence)

¹⁰ Jens Schröter, “Introduction,” in *Jews and Christians—Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?: Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model*, ed. Jens Schröter, Benjamin A. Edsall, and Joseph Verheyden, BZNW 253 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 1.

¹¹ See further, e.g., the two following volumes, separated by about three decades, which address the same essential question but exhibit considerable scholarly movement towards an appreciation of this complexity: James D. G. Dunn, ed., *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135*, The Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999); and Jens Schröter, Benjamin A. Edsall, *Jews and Christians—Parting Ways*. Cf. also Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); and Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels the Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: The New Press, 2013).

¹² See, e.g., Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, vol. 355, WUNT 2.355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015); John W. Marshall, *Parables of War: Reading John’s Jewish Apocalypse*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism 10 (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001).

¹³ See further R. Bieringer, Didier Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, eds., *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, Jewish and Christian Heritage Series (Assen, the Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001); Adele Reinhartz, *Cast out of the Covenant: Jews and Anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John* (Lanham: Lexington / Fortress Academic, 2018); The most recent discussion on this topic was held at the 2022 SBL conference in Denver, Colorado, in the session entitled “John and Judaism” (currently unpublished).

on John,¹⁴ the precise relationship of John's Gospel to the surrounding Jewish milieu continues to be debated. Four pointed and interrelated questions dominate the discussion: 1) Is the Gospel of John anti-Jewish; 2) Who are the Ἰουδαῖοι ("Jews") in the Gospel of John; 3) How do we best understand the presumed conflict between the Johannine community and "the Jews"; and 4) Is John's Gospel supersessionist?¹⁵ Recognizing that in these final pages I can only touch on these issues, my goal will be to focus on two recent contributors to the debate and to situate my thesis in the larger discussion in relation to them. My two conversation partners are Adele Reinhartz and Wally Cirafesi, who offer contrasting perspectives as to how each of these questions is to be answered. Other scholars present mediating positions,¹⁶ but in the final pages of this study, I shall limit focus to these two.

Adele Reinhartz, in her recent book *Cast out of the Covenant*, argues that, through the use of Greek rhetorical devices, John's Gospel on the one hand seeks to persuade its audience to *affiliate* with Jesus and thereby to fulfill their deepest desires for eternal life, while, on the other, encouraging its readers to *disaffiliate* from the *Ioudaioi*, which results in the exclusion of that broader community from the divine covenant. Reinhartz's answers to the four questions above, then, can be summarized as follows: 1) the Gospel is anti-Jewish; 2) the *Ioudaioi* are those whom the Johannine community has "excommunicated" from its presence; 3) John's Gospel most plausibly appealed directly to a Gentile audience, participating in the late first-century mission to Gentiles, and the conflict might be characterized as Gentile Christians taking on certain aspects of Jewish identity without becoming truly Jewish, thereby leading to a direct conflict between Johannine Christ-followers and Jews; and 4) John is indeed supersessionist, in particular expressing this attitude through a language of

¹⁴ See, e.g., Raymond Edward Brown, "Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *CBQ* 17, no. 3 (1955): 403–19.

¹⁵ Adapted from R. Bieringer, Reimund, Didier Pollefeyt, and Frédérique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, "Wrestling with Johannine Anti-Judaism: A Hermeneutical Framework for the Analysis of the Current Debate," in Bieringer et al, *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel*, 5.

¹⁶ One prominent example of such a mediating position is found in Jörg Frey, "'John within Judaism?': Textual, Historical, and Hermeneutical Considerations," in *Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?: Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model*, ed. Jens Schröter, Benjamin A. Edsall, and Joseph Verheyden, BZNTW 253 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 185–215.

“expropriation”—that is, of God removing his covenantal identity from the Jews as God’s children and granting it instead to Christ-followers. The Gospel of John, argues Reinhartz, is clearly problematic and needs to be handled with great care.¹⁷ One might summarize her position as one of “John *against* Judaism.”

In contrast, Wally Cirafesi in his recent monograph *John within Judaism*,¹⁸ drawing on modern developments in the study of religion and ethnicity, argues for a re-conceptualizing of John’s Gospel primarily as a Jewish-oriented text. Cirafesi asserts that a clear distinction should be made between John’s *reception* history and its *inception history*—and that questions regarding the relationship between John and Judaism in the first century should fall into the latter category; scholars, he claims, often make the mistake of mixing the two. Cirafesi considers four categories of Jewish ethnicity—peoplehood, laws, land, and national cult—and argues that in each case the Gospel of John should be read as a work “within Judaism,” as an expression of a “diasporic Jewish identity.”¹⁹ Thus, according to Cirafesi, 1) the Gospel is not anti-Jewish since it operates from within a Jewish framework; 2) the *Ioudaioi* are not an unspecified group, but rather represent, from a literary perspective, a specifically *priestly* interest; 3) the presumed conflict apparent in the text is best understood as an internal conflict *within* Judaism; and 4) the Gospel’s supersessionist claims can be seen as coming, once more, from *within* Judaism, articulating an exclusive superiority over other Jewish claims in the first century similar to what is attested among other Jewish groups, such as, for example, the authors of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls.²⁰

So, what can an investigation of composite scriptural allusions contribute to this present conversation, and where along this spectrum do the results of this particular study fall? As is already evident from earlier discussion in this dissertation (see especially sections VII.2

¹⁷ See Adele Reinhartz, “‘Jews’ and Jews in the Fourth Gospel,” in Bieringer et al., *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel*, 355–56.

¹⁸ Wally V. Cirafesi, *John within Judaism: Religion, Ethnicity, and the Shaping of Jesus-Oriented Jewishness in the Fourth Gospel*, AJEC 112 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022).

¹⁹ Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 279.

²⁰ Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 15–20. Cf. also Marinus de Jonge, “The Conflict between Jesus and the Jews and the Radical Christology of the Fourth Gospel,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 20, no. 4 (1993): 341–55 who espouses a similar view.

and VII.3 above), our results lean heavily in the “John *within* Judaism” camp and thus supports the conclusions drawn by scholars like Cirafesi. The reasons for this will be further articulated below, but, first, I make an observation about the *nature* of this study’s contribution to this particular field of enquiry. While scholars like Cirafesi take a “macro-approach”, incorporating recent sociological, material, and cultural insights about the larger ancient world into the debate, our approach in this dissertation can be characterized as a “micro-approach,” drilling down into the linguistic and exegetical nuances of the Johannine text and looking across to other Second Temple Jewish texts in the same fashion for comparison. If studies like Cirafesi’s can be thought of as giving careful consideration to the socio-religious world *outside* of the text in an attempt to situate the Gospel historically, socially and culturally, our study methodologically complements those like Cirafesi’s and might be thought of as mostly considering the world *inside* the text at the highest resolution possible, for the same purpose, in search for subtle nuances and connections.

As for the contribution of the specific results of our study, the first point is to reiterate that what has been discovered in this search is that John’s mode of implied referencing is, for the most part, unremarkable against the background of other Jewish authors. The evangelist uses much of the same sources as others do—the Jewish scriptures—and in much the same way—through clusters of implied references that are subtle but exegetically impactful. What our study does is to confirm the Jewishness of the Gospel in terms of compositional techniques in the highly subtle domain of its composite allusions.²¹ Thus, our findings align,

²¹ I do recognize that my claim that the Jewishness of the compositional technique of the composite allusions in the FG needs to be nuanced and balanced against the tentative observation I made at the outset of this dissertation about what are likely significant parallels between ancient *Roman* literary techniques and the composite allusions studied here (p. 8). If indeed there are significant parallels—as it seems there are—between the Jewish compositional techniques studied here and similar phenomena in the wider Greco-Roman literary world, only a detailed comparative analysis would be able to reveal to what degree composite allusions in the FG owe their inspiration to Jewish origins and to what degree they may be considered as having been borrowed from or learned in some fashion from the wider Greco-Roman culture. However, given that general similarities do likely exist between Roman and Jewish literary techniques in the area of composite allusions, the specifically *Jewish* character of these phenomena cannot be denied. Perhaps a better way to express this is that even if these techniques may have been borrowed or learned in a *general* fashion from the wider, non-Jewish culture, they were still applied in specifically *Jewish* ways in the FG (e.g., in the use of Hebrew catchword exegesis), which best explains their close approximation to other non-biblical Jewish materials.

for instance, with those of Jocelyn McWhirter's, which demonstrate how "messianic exegesis," based on the rule of *gezerah shavah*, underlies John's usage of scripture fulfilment in its explicit citations.²² One significant area in which our study differs from McWhirter's is that I have argued that allusive scriptural references are based not only on verbal links but also on thematic coherence. The contradistinction that she makes between her version of "christological exegesis," and other, more thematic, approaches is, in my opinion, overstated.²³ In the ancient pre-literary world, both verbal and thematic associations would likely have been operative. Nevertheless, our methods both share the same basic outcome of demonstrating that the Gospel of John exhibits a fundamental kinship with Jewish exegetical techniques. McWhirter demonstrates this by building upon Catrin Williams' work on analogical exegesis²⁴ and Donald Juel's prior work on christological exegesis,²⁵ while this dissertation argues for this principle on the basis of composite allusions as understood within our own, three-pronged, methodological framework.²⁶

Secondly, the intricate network of scriptural texts in the background of such composite allusions in John's Gospel supports the notion that both the *author* and the *audience* were well-versed in the Jewish scriptures. I first address the topic of the implied or intended audience, where I take a very different view from Reinhartz. It is true that some of these composite allusions may be understood at face value without any knowledge of their scriptural background. Of the three passages examined in this study, John 15, with its extended metaphor of Jesus as the vine and his disciples as the vine-branches, is perhaps the best example of this possibility. In the broader ancient Mediterranean world, viticultural practices

²² Jocelyn McWhirter, "Messianic Exegesis in the Fourth Gospel," in *Reading the Gospel of John's Christology as Jewish Messianism*, ed. Benjamin E. Reynolds and Gabriele Boccaccini, AJEC 106 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 124–48.

²³ See, e.g., McWhirter, "Messianic Exegesis," 128–29.

²⁴ See Williams, "John, Judaism, and Searching the Scriptures."

²⁵ Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1988).

²⁶ Glenn M. Balfour, "The Jewishness of John's Use of the Scriptures in John 6:31 and 7:37-38," *TynBul* 46, no. 2 (1995): 357–80, makes a similar argument on the basis of John's application of Jewish exegetical technique in these two passages. See further his full argument in idem, "Is John's Gospel Antisemitic? With Special Reference to Its Use of the Old Testament" (Nottingham, University of Nottingham Press, 1995).

were sufficiently universal that anyone from that broader culture would be able to appreciate the intimate connection between a vine and its branches, as well as the imagery of pruning. Nevertheless, the audience's understanding and interpretative value are multiplied exponentially when the *scriptural* background of YHWH as the gardener, and of Israel as the vineyard, and of other prophetic and Psalmic imagery of vines and vineyards, as well as of God's judgment, and Israel's sonship, etc., are all incorporated into one's reading of the passage. Despite the *possibility* of a completely non-Jewish reading, one that was originally intended to be informed by an extensive knowledge of the Jewish scriptures still makes better sense of the data. The composite allusions in the two other passages examined in this dissertation, however, warrant an even more specific assignment of "Jewishness" to the audience.

In John 1:29, the scriptural imagery of a "lamb of God" who "takes away the sin of the world," would mostly be unintelligible to a Gentile audience without prior understanding of Jewish traditions and scriptures. It would be difficult to imagine that this kind of language and imagery would be directed solely or predominately towards a Gentile audience if the evangelist was attempting to communicate anything specific at all in the Baptist's introduction of Jesus. There are simply too many complex ideas (e.g., forgiveness, sin, sacrifice, atonement, atoning suffering, exodus deliverance, Passover) in too compact a textual space for an uninitiated ear to be able to glean anything meaningful from this dense phrase without further instruction.

Of the three Johannine composite allusions under consideration in this study, John 7:37–39 presents perhaps a mediating position. On the one hand, the imagery of thirsting and drinking, as well as of water, is sufficiently universal, and even the phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν, *living water*, would certainly be intelligible to an ancient Greek audience. Nevertheless, as we have argued above, the specifically Hebraic origins of the term and thus the Jewish traditions it represents are so particular that most of the richness of the passage would be lost without a detailed knowledge of Jewish traditions and scriptures. In short, the presence of these

composite allusions that are intimately tied to scriptural passages, and that represent multiple themes and images configured in a complex fashion, strongly supports the idea that the intended audience of the Gospel—or at least a significant portion of them—were of Jewish origin or, at the very least were Gentiles thoroughly trained in Jewish traditions.

For many of the same reasons as those stated above, the most natural conclusion would be that the author himself was Jewish, or at least so thoroughly acquainted with Israel's scriptural traditions as to be able to embed these complex literary phenomena seamlessly into his own Gospel. Furthermore, the evangelist also seems to have been trained in Jewish exegetical techniques, displaying as he does the ability to associate various thematic and lexically linked strands together for his own theological and literary purposes. John's familiarity with both the Greek and the Hebrew Jewish scriptures further defines his cultural and religious fluency in the Jewish world. This last point bears extra emphasis: while it is one matter for Greek-speaking Gentiles to learn the traditions and scriptures of the Jewish people in their own native language, it would be quite another for them also to be trained to such a degree as to become familiar enough with the Hebrew scriptures to enable them to be sufficiently comfortable to cite or paraphrase them (e.g., in Jn 12:38–40) or to allow them to modify or inform the formulation of their composite allusions (e.g., in Jn 15 and the specifically *Hebrew* catchword links between Isa. 5 and Jer. 2).²⁷ All of these signs point towards a Jewish author, or at least an author thoroughly trained in the Jewish scriptures and in Jewish exegesis, in both Greek and Hebrew.

Adele Reinhartz's hypothesis that the FG significantly represents a work of Greek rhetoric focused on Gentile mission is, in my opinion therefore, to be called into question. On the contrary, this study of composite allusions suggests that at least a significant portion of the audience was comprised of Johannine believers of Jewish heritage, and that the author himself was Jewish or at least had thorough training in the Jewish scriptures and Jewish scriptural

²⁷ So also Wm. Randolph Bynum, *The Fourth Gospel and the Scriptures: Illuminating the Form and Meaning of Scriptural Citation in John 19:37*, NovTSup 144 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 1–6, who observes the same phenomenon at work in the citation of Zechariah in John 19:37.

exegesis. This is not to deny the notion that Hellenistic ideas had influenced the text and its author, nor that the early church's Gentile mission is an unimportant one for John and his envisaged community (we know that they clearly did, and that it clearly was). It is, rather, to assert that, *despite* Hellenistic influence, and *despite* missionary activity to Gentiles and the likely presence of a significant presence of Gentiles in the community for which this text is written, the Gospel is best understood, compositionally speaking at least, as written from a fundamentally Jewish perspective for a fundamentally Jewish-oriented audience.

I offer a final word about the Jewish nature of the Gospel's composition and the idea of authorial intentionality. Although it has generally been assumed in this study that the literary employment of composite allusions is both conscious and intentional, this assertion in and of itself is not unassailable. As I have argued above, metonymic referencing is an integral component for the process whereby linkages are made between scriptural traditions. Admittedly, the process itself does not presume intentionality on the part of the author(s) or the conveyors of those traditions. It is conceivable that traditions become linked together subconsciously and unreflectively, solely on the basis of linguistic and synonymous triggers and irrespective of any contextual and thematic connections, and that they are then incorporated into subsequent literary formulations. Although this unreflective process may have been one of the principles at work in the formulation of composite allusions, as a whole this seems unlikely—especially given how the composite allusions studied in this dissertation are so well-suited and closely dovetailed to their Johannine contexts. Nevertheless, I do concede this possibility. However, even in such a case, the strength of the *Jewish* connection to the Gospel of John is not weakened. For even if some of these composite allusions were made unreflectively and subconsciously, their presence still betrays a subconscious *Jewish* mind(s) at work in the process of their association. In some ways, such a scenario would demand an even stronger Jewish connection since these intricate scriptural associations are springing subconsciously into that author's mind; it would be highly unlikely, if not impossible, for an author to *unintentionally* give the impression of being Jewish at a

subconscious level if that were in fact not the case! So, consciously or not, whether intentionally or not, the presence of composite allusions both in the FG and in wider Jewish literature argues strongly in favor of a fundamentally Jewish component to the author and his intended audience.

The results of our study thus resonate with those of an important essay by Wendy E. S. North, “‘The Jews’ in John’s Gospel: Observations and Inferences.”²⁸ In that essay North argues soundly that a most plausible explanation for the absence of any Johannine narratological explanatory notes²⁹ regarding the precise identity of “the Jews” in his Gospel presupposes a certain shared knowledge between the author and his audience about their identity—information “that is contemporary with the writing of the Gospel.”³⁰ She then asserts, correctly in my view, that any explication of John’s usage of the term must first take into account its variegated usage in the Gospel, from positive to neutral to negative valuations. Thus, although the term can refer to Jews and the Jewish nation as a whole, depending on the specific Johannine context, it can also refer to more specific social or political groups within the larger group that are opposed to Jesus, such as the Pharisees or the chief priests. The strong rhetoric with which the evangelist describes these groups, then, is a reflection not of anti-Judaism as a whole but of the intra-familial debate that was ongoing at that time between Christian Jews in the Johannine community and non-believing Jews in the opposing camp. Such strong language was employed not to vilify but to “wean Christian Jews away” from the opposing group.³¹ North concludes her essay by reasonably suggesting that the term *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* is adopted not to describe these groups with anti-Judaistic intent, but because it was likely common parlance to speak of Diaspora Jews in the Roman Empire in this way in the first

²⁸ Wendy E. S. North, “‘The Jews’ in John’s Gospel: Observations and Inferences,” in *A Journey Round John: Tradition, Interpretation and Context in the Fourth Gospel*, LNTS 534 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 148–67.

²⁹ Such Johannine elliptical, explanatory notes are pervasive in the Gospel, accounting for some forty percent of the text, see further North, “‘The Jews,’” 148, n.1.

³⁰ North, “‘The Jews,’” 149–50.

³¹ North, “‘The Jews,’” 165.

century CE.³² Indeed, rather than attempting to denigrate Judaism as a whole, the evangelist was promoting his own group as “an alternative and authentic form of Judaism.”³³ In my opinion, North’s perspective makes eminent sense of the data, and her theory largely corroborates my own findings about the Jewishness of the Gospel.

Having posited a series of arguments in support of the Jewish character of John’s composite allusions, a counterpoint needs to be made in order not to neglect the distinctiveness of the Gospel vis-à-vis other Second Temple Jewish literature. While it has been observed in this study that the FG is rather unremarkable in its compositional and exegetical techniques, at least from a Jewish perspective, this is absolutely not the case in terms of its theological content. As already noted, the composite allusions, much like other scriptural usage in John, are formulated above all for the advancement of Johannine christology. While the *form* of the message may be conventionally Jewish, its *content* is decidedly Jesus-centred. To put it another way, precisely where John’s Gospel is most Jewish, there it is also specifically “unjewish,” or better, Jewish in a *Jesus-oriented fashion*. Although John employs rather typical Jewish exegetical techniques in the formulation of his composite allusions, it is for nothing less than a re-imagination of the entire Jewish story so that its pinnacle and consummation are found in the person of Jesus. This is why particular emphasis is placed on Isaiah and the exilic prophets, as well as the Psalms—all christocentrically interpreted—to point towards their fulfilment in Jesus. Even key Pentateuchal narrative stories are read through the prophetic lens by juxtaposing these texts and themes alongside prophetic texts and themes in the composite allusions. The evangelist understands that Israel’s scriptures are not simply a diverse collection of unconnected writings; rather, they have a direction, a progression, a dénouement. And that dénouement is found exclusively, ultimately, and unapologetically in Jesus. By so doing, the author of the FG and his audience are placed at odds with the community of *non-Jesus-believing* Jews around them. Quite evidently, this

³² North, “The Jews, ”167. Here, North leans on other studies, e.g., John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996). See also Glenn M. Balfour, “Is John’s Gospel Anti-Semitic,” *TynBul* 48, no. 2 (1997): 369–72.

³³ North, “The Jews, ”167.

historical situation is reflected on the literary level in the tensions and conflict between Jesus and the *Ioudaioi* in John 5–12, as well as, in all likelihood, in the language of persecution from the world in John 15. Does this language and tension reflect a purely internal debate, most analogous to one Jewish sect claiming superiority over another, as for example applies to the authors of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls?³⁴ While from a purely socio-religious standpoint this may be true, theologically this perspective may not convey the radicality of the Johannine position. The posture to be adopted by the Johannine community was not simply that theirs was one more sect *within* Judaism—but that their community was the result of the fulfillment of scriptural promises in Jesus the Christ that included an invitation to *all nations* to join it, whether Jewish, Samaritan, or Gentile. This is evident in, among other passages, the episode in John 4 in the interaction of Jesus with the Samaritan woman and her community, the gathering of the “sheep not of this fold” in John 10, and in Jesus’ interaction with “Greeks” in John 12, as well as from John’s universal *κόσμος* language (e.g., 1:29; 3:16; 6:51; 8:12). There is, thus, a genuine tension between, on the one hand, the world of Judaism, and, on the other, John’s anticipated audience, that a position that speaks of the Gospel only in Jewish terms fails to capture. I return to the notion of the Gentile mission mentioned earlier.³⁵ The relationships between the Gospel, its author, and its community with the Judaisms of its day, although embedded deeply in and characteristic of Jewish modes of thought and culture, was also such that they cannot be thought of purely in intra-Jewish terms. If we fail to observe that the *message* of the Fourth Gospel includes a vision of religious expression far beyond other Judaisms of its day, one that turns ultimately on the question of the identity of Jesus, we risk failing to hear a crucial element of the Johannine message. This fact alone may account for the observed reticence of John in including Jesus’ followers within the group *Ἰουδαῖοι*. They were Jews, to be sure, but they were now *Christian* Jews. To put it another way, although they

³⁴ See further Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 18–19.

³⁵ Cf. Martin Hengel who spoke of the Gentile mission that “burst the bounds” of Judaism. See Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question* (London: SCM Press, 1989), 119–24. While I consider such language ultimately unhelpful since I believe that John and at least a part of his envisaged audience evidently continued to consider themselves Jewish, what is helpful here in this phrase of Hengel’s is the fashion in which it captures the radicality of the Gentile mission.

would not have considered themselves anything less than Jewish, their fundamental communal identity now was no longer to be found in the *ἔθνη* of Judaism but was now to be grounded in being followers of Jesus the Messiah. Exactly how that tension was navigated in the particularities in John's envisaged audience is now lost to us, but if the powerful rhetoric of John in speaking against those who opposed Jesus is any indication of the evangelists' situation, we can be certain that that tension existed.

I return, then, to the four questions at the center of this debate in Johannine studies and offer my own responses. 1) Is the Gospel of John anti-Jewish? Much depends, of course, on how one defines "Jewish," but in short, no, it is not, since its author and at least some of its audience likely considered *themselves* Jewish. Whether other, non-Johannine Jews considered *them* to be truly Jewish is another question, and we can expect that at least some of them did not. However, from the perspective of the author and at least a significant part of his community, it is unlikely that they considered themselves anything less than Jewish. 2) Who are the *Ἰουδαῖοι* in the Gospel? Although I did not investigate this question at length, I find compelling North's tentative assertion that "the Jews" likely both represented the common parlance of the first century in referring to the Jewish Diaspora community, as well as represented historical groups in John's day that opposed the Christian Jewish community. In the same way, I resonate with Cirafesi who posits that negative references to 'the Jews' are in all likelihood linked to a literary representation of historical groups that nevertheless reflected particular ideologies and interests, probably those associated especially with priestly concerns and the Temple.³⁶ 3) How do we best understand the presumed conflict between the Johannine community and the so-called *Ἰουδαῖοι*? Again, the question is beyond the specific purview of this investigation of composite allusions. Nevertheless, if we follow our comments regarding christological interests and the universality of the Johannine message to their logical conclusion, the most plausible explanation for the presumed conflict at the root of the perceived tensions in the text between the *Ἰουδαῖοι* and Jesus is between non-believing Jews

³⁶ Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 116–19.

and the Johannine, Jesus-believing community or, to put it more simply, between Jews surrounding John's community who did not believe in Jesus, and Johannine Jews who did believe in Jesus. Finally, 4) Is the Fourth Gospel supersessionist? Again, nuanced definitions here are paramount. However, without the luxury of being able to offer these definitions, I respond with a *qualified* "no." The conversation around supersessionism today often implies a narrative that is controlled by a "hermeneutic of replacement."³⁷ Without subscribing to this, I affirm that the Gospel espouses a theology and narrative of christological fulfillment, through to its very core, and thus some kind of "supersessionism"—if we must use that language—is implicit. It cannot be overlooked, however, that many religious expressions—including, for instance, ancient forms of non-Jesus-believing Judaism, as Cirafesi notes—offered exclusivist positions.³⁸ The critical question, in my mind, is not whether Johannine Jewish Christianity is "supersessionist," but rather, how, given the propensity of various religious expressions—both ancient and modern—towards exclusivist claims, religious adherents ought to relate to those who differ from them in their particular religious beliefs and practices. This is a most pressing question, but obviously beyond the scope of the research question at the heart of this particular investigation.

In sum, then, our study is able to make a concrete contribution to this debate. It examines at a "micro-" level what others have observed at a "macro-" level. In particular, our investigations have demonstrated that there exists a significant kinship between Johannine scriptural exegesis and other Jewish exegesis of the late Second Temple era, operating at the highly nuanced and exegetically complex level of composite allusions. Given such a detailed interaction with the Jewish scriptures, it most naturally leads one to believe that the author and at least some of his intended audience were themselves Jewish. However, this is not to deny the distinctiveness of John's christology, which clearly sets it apart from other Jewish works, not in form but certainly in content.

³⁷ Here, again, I align myself closely with Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 15–20.

³⁸ Cirafesi, *John within Judaism*, 18–20.

VII.5.0 Postscript: Future Research and Final Comments

In the course of this investigation, several avenues of potential future research have presented themselves. First, there is the opportunity to examine composite allusions in other ancient Jewish literature. Further studies, for example, in the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, and *Sirach* are all warranted and will provide valuable information about how each of these documents utilized the Jewish scriptures. This dissertation represents only preliminary forays into these documents. Likewise, other Jewish material not covered here, such as the Jewish apocalypses and testaments, are a rich resource to be mined, as are the Hellenistic Jewish works of Josephus and Philo. These last two authors, of course, also bring to mind the broader cultural world in which all of late Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity are to be situated: the classical worlds of Greece and Rome and the ancient literatures of their cultures. As mentioned above, it is anticipated that composite allusions will be less frequent in non-Jewish and non-Christian works, but nevertheless still present. This hypothesis requires testing.

The search for further composite allusions and catchword links in the Septuagint also promises to be a productive field of research³⁹—especially, perhaps, in the Minor Prophets, which have already proven to possess multiple intratextual links.⁴⁰ The resurgence in the last few decades of translation studies in the Septuagint especially bolsters the kind of study that has been undertaken in this final chapter of my study. Yet another area for further examination of composite literary features is the related field of inner-biblical exegesis of the Hebrew

³⁹ See further Johann Cook, “Intertextuality in the Septuagint,” in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Latagan*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach, Johan C. Thom, and Jeremy Punt, NovTSup 24 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007); and idem, “Intertextual Relationships Between the Septuagint of Psalms and Proverbs,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert and Albert Pietersma (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9-14*, JSOTSup 370 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003); as well as Mark J. Boda, *Exploring Zechariah Vol. 1: The Development of Zechariah and Its Role within the Twelve*, 2 vols., ANEM 16 (Atlanta, Ga.: SBL Press, 2017); and M. D. Terblanche, “An Abundance of Living Waters: The Intertextual Relationship between Zechariah 14:8 and Ezekiel 47:1-12,” *Old Testament Essays* 17, no. 1 (2004): 120–29; cf. Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995), 230.

Bible, which was touched upon in Chapter II above. Much work has already been done in this area, but the specific application of ancient media-sensitive tools may provide new insights into already-recognized and studied connections between and among texts. The interface between Hebrew poetry, orality, and metonymy also promises to be a fruitful area for research.

Obviously, the scope of the study could be expanded, both in the Gospel of John as well as in other New Testament documents. With regard to John, for example, one thinks of the possible allusion in John 1:51 to the story of Jacob's dream in Genesis 28, juxtaposed to the phrase "Son of Man," a likely reference to Daniel 7. There are also several possible inter-layered scriptural motifs in John 3:5–31 comprising creation and the Spirit of God (3:5–8), the exodus story, and once again, God's revelation to Jacob in Genesis 28 (3:13–15). Other possibilities for further investigation include John 4 with its possible allusions to the scriptural narratives of "well encounters," the language and motif of living water, and the language of messiahship. And then there is the complex interplay of scriptural themes and narratives in John 6 related to the feeding of the crowds, Jesus' discourse on "bread from heaven" and the recognized exodus typology in that chapter. This is obviously not an exhaustive list and other passages for further investigation readily avail themselves to the thoughtful and careful reader of the Gospel. And, with respect to the rest of the New Testament, one thinks especially of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of John, both of which are especially scripturally allusive and promise to be fertile grounds for the study of composite allusions.

Finally, another potential area for future research is to reflect on the specific pedagogical milieux and mechanisms in which and through which composite allusions in the ancient world could have been passed on and eventually became inscripturated into texts. This kind of project would involve a broader, more interdisciplinary approach that involves examination of socio-cultural factors and the possible educational institutions or organizations in antiquity, whether formal or informal.

In conclusion, this study formulates a novel, triply nuanced methodology for the study of composite scriptural allusions in ancient Jewish texts; this method was then applied to the Gospel of John through the careful analysis of four discrete passages: one double citation and three composite allusions. As a result, it is proposed that new insights have been gained into the ways in which the evangelist uses these complex references in order to develop and communicate his own theological and literary purposes. By shedding light on this subtle but powerful oral-literary technique, this study has sought to deepen our appreciation of the Gospel of John and its many layers of meaning, both for ancient audiences as well as for modern ones. Moreover, this research has highlighted the Jewishness of the Gospel of John and the deep engagement of the author with the Jewish scriptures, contributing to the current debate on John's relationship to the Judaism of its day. In sum, this thesis advances our understanding of the Gospel of John through a number of incremental—yet concrete and impactful—measures.

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