

Jesus Caesar:
A Roman Reading of John 18:28—19:22

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In memory of my father, James Rhen Vance

duo corda habuit, quod duo linguas percalluit, Americam Belgicamque

(adapted from Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 17.17.1)

Thesis Abstract

Latin use in inscriptions shows evidence of intersections between Roman and Greek languages and culture during the first century CE. Although the provenance for the Gospel of John is not definitively determined, this evidence is present in each proposed location as well as in the text of the Gospel itself (e.g., *πραιτώριον* in 18:28, 33 and 19:9). This suggests, based on Umberto Eco's semiotics, that the Roman cultural encyclopaedia could shed light on the Gospel of John, particularly in the Roman trial narrative for a Roman-aware audience. Some words in particular intersect with important Roman concepts: *πραιτώριον*, *βασιλεύς*, *υἱὸς θεοῦ* and *ἐξουσία*. The phrase *Ἴδού ὁ ἄνθρωπος* in John 19:5, when analysed from a Roman perspective, seems sufficiently close to *hic vir, hic est* from Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.791) to mark it as a literary allusion. An exegetical analysis of John 18:28—19:22, the passages most imprinted with Latin words and Roman concepts, reveals a Roman Pilate who tests the loyalty of both Jesus and 'the Jews' to Caesar. This exegesis, furthermore, provides the data for a social-scientific reading of the passage which constructs a superordinate identity for Romans (and, although outside the main focus of this thesis, for Jews as well). It also conveys a hidden transcript that creates honour for the marginalized Jesus-believers and calls those with power to become vulnerable for the sake of God's empire. Although others have looked at empire in the Gospel of John, and some have made connections between specific verses and the Roman cultural encyclopaedia (e.g., 19:2), no one has noted the literary allusion in 19:5 nor offered an in-depth and sustained Roman reading of the trial narrative.

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Abbreviations

All abbreviations in this work follow *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, edited by Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko, 2nd edition (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014). They are reproduced, with some additions and corrections:

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity)
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnBoll	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ANRW	<i>Austieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. De Gruyter: Berlin, 1972–
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDAG	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. 3 rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	<i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert Walter Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
BDR	<i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Friedrich Rehkopf. 15 th edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . 9 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895-1937.
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
ChLA	<i>Chartae latinae antiquiores</i> . Edited by Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal et al. 49 Vols. Dietikon-Zurich: Graf, 1954-98.
CII	See CIJ
CIJ	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>

CLA	<i>Codices latini antiquiores</i>
CLSCC	Cognitive Linguistic Studies in Cultural Contexts
CIQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
C.P.	<i>Collected Papers</i> . Charles Sanders Peirce.
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
C. Pap. Jud.	<i>Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum</i>
CPL	<i>Corpus papyrorum latinarum</i>
CPR	<i>Corpus papyrorum Raineri</i>
DELG	<i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots</i> . Pierre Chantraine. 4 vols. Paris: Klincksieck, 1968-77.
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
DLNT	<i>Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments</i> . Edited by R. P. Martin and P. H. Davids. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997.
DNTB	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i> . Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
EAGLL	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics</i> . Edited by Georgios K. Giannakis. 2013. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
EAH	<i>The Encyclopedia of Ancient History</i> . Edited by Roger S Bagnall et al. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2013.
ELL	<i>Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics</i> . Edited by Keith Brown. 2 nd ed. Oxford: Elsevier, 2006. Online. Access provided by the University of Michigan.
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ExAud	<i>Ex auditu</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
Historia	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HvTSt	<i>Hervormde teologiese studies</i>
I Aph2007	<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> . Edited by Joyce Reynolds, Charlotte Roueché, and Gabriel Bodard. 2007. Online: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEph	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i>
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i>
IMagnMai	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>

<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</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>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KTAH</i>	Key Themes in Ancient History
<i>L&N</i>	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> . Edited by Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida. 2 nd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1989.
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LD</i>	<i>A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary</i> . Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879. Online. Perseus Digital Library.
<i>LDAB</i>	'Leuven Database of Ancient Books'. Edited by Willy Clarysse et al. http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php .
<i>LNTS</i>	Library of New Testament Studies
<i>LS</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MP³</i>	'Le fichier Mertens-Pack3'. Edited by Marie-Hélène Marganne and David Linotte. This database is a continuation of previous editions of <i>The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt</i> . Roger Ambrose Pack. 2 nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965). The numbering system used in this second edition has been taken over and expanded for the online database, but the numbers from the first edition (1952) are different. These last are not referenced in this thesis. http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopalMP3/indexanglaisMP3.aspx .
<i>NA²⁸</i>	<i>Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece Greek-English New Testament</i> . Edited by Barbara Aland et al. 28 th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
<i>NCB</i>	New Century Bible
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . Edited by Greg H. R. Horsley and Stephen Llewelyn. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981-
<i>NICNT</i>	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> . Edited by Colin Brown. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975-1978.
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NTTSD</i>	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
<i>O. Bodl.</i>	<i>Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections</i>

OCCL	<i>The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature</i> . Edited by M. C. Howatson. 3 rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. 4 th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . Edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan. Oxford University Press, 2005. Online. Access provided by Spring Arbor University.
ODCC	<i>The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church</i> . Edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
ODE	<i>Oxford Dictionary of English</i> . Edited by Stevenson, Angus. 3 rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
ODLT	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms</i> . Chris Baldick. 3 rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
OEAGR	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome</i> . Edited by Michael Gagarin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Online. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> . Edited by P. G. W. Glare. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
O. Wilck. PC	<i>Griechische ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien</i> <i>Brill's New Pauly: Antiquity Volumes</i> . Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill Online, 2006. Access provided by University of Wales Trinity Saint David.
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
P. Masada	<i>Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965</i>
P. Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
P. Ross. Georg.	<i>Papyri russischer und georgischer</i>
P. Lond.	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i>
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini: Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto</i>
P. Théad	<i>Papyrus de Théadelphie</i>
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
P. Wisc.	<i>The Wisconsin Papyri</i>
R&T	<i>Religion and Theology</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire / Belgisch tijdschrift voor filologie en geschiedenis</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RSR	<i>Revue de science religieuse</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>

SEP	<i>The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i> . Edward N. Zalta. Stanford: Stanford University, 2011. http://plato.stanford.edu/
SJ	Studia Judaica
SNTA	Studiorum novi testamenti auxilia
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
THEMAM	Textes, histoire et monuments de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TLG	'Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library'. Edited by Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. http://www.tlg.uci.edu
TM	'Trismegistos'. Edited by Mark Depauw. http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html .
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
UBS ⁵	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> . Edited by Barbara Aland et al. 5 th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014.
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	<i>Word & World</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Translations of Aristides are from Aristides, P. Aelius. *The Complete Works: Volume II. Orations XVII-LIII*. Translated by Charles A. Behr. Leiden: Brill, 1981.

Translations of John Malalas are from *The Chronicle of John Malalas*. Translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott. Byzantina Australiensia 4. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.

Translations of Philo are from *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*. Translated by C. D. Yonge. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.

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1. The Romans, Their Language, and the Gospel of John

‘Die Rezeption der Äußerung eines anderen ist nicht nur ein hermeneutisches, sondern grundlegend immer auch ein ethisches Problem. Wie verhalte ich mich zu einem Anderen?’¹

Alkier proposes that Umberto Eco’s semiotic theory addresses this issue by positing an interpretation of the text that, on the one hand, always points back to an outside world that prompted the creation of the text, but that, on the other hand, continues to correct itself through an interpreting community.²

The social presence of the Roman empire in the world outside the Gospel of John has been emphasized, for example in Warren Carter’s work.³ However, the Roman presence in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first century CE also affected language use. On the one hand, Latin words and some Latin grammatical constructions entered the vocabulary and impacted the syntax of Koine Greek. Additionally, the presence of Romans in administration, law, the army and commerce made knowledge of the Roman cultural encyclopaedia important for provincial retainers. These cultural and linguistic resources, therefore, may have been available to the composer(s) of the Gospel of John. The text itself, in John 18:28—19:22, references a Roman setting and raises Roman concerns, such as rebellion (John 18:36, 40) and the legitimation of authority (19:11-12). Thus, more work is needed to hear not what the text says *about* Roman power, but what it says *to* those embedded in Roman culture.

In New Testament scholarship, however, Roman culture is often eclipsed by Greek. When Wayne Meeks wrote *The Prophet-King* in 1967, he proposed that surveys of Johannine sources should include ‘geographically, the whole Mediterranean world’ and

¹ Stefan Alkier, ‘Ethik der Interpretation’, in *Der eine Gott und die Welt der Religionen: Beiträge zu einer Theologie der Religionen und zum interreligiösen Dialog*, ed. Markus Witte (Würzburg: Religion & Kultur, 2003), 21-41 (23).

² Alkier, ‘Ethik’, 26-32. The word ‘community’ will be used in this thesis to designate such an interpretive community (see Section 1.2.2, especially n. 48), without taking a position on its cohesiveness, either geographical or ideological (Section 7.1.4).

³ Warren Carter, *John and Empire: Initial Explorations* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), x.

‘chronologically ... the *Roman-Hellenistic* period’.⁴ He then listed the possibilities for ‘dominant influences’ as “‘Jewish” or “Hellenistic”, “Palestinian” or “Diaspora” traditions’.⁵ Thus, although ‘Roman’ is not only referenced but prioritized in his terminology, it is almost absent from his discussion.⁶ He only mentions Roman traditions with reference to the question of who is sitting at the βῆμα in the trial scene (John 19:3), and he does so only *à propos* historical ‘verisimilitude’.⁷ Meeks’s work is highlighted in this discussion only as a representative example of this phenomenon.⁸ Indeed, despite the ostensible presence of the Roman empire in the term ‘Greco-Roman’, when it is used the ‘Greco’ often eclipses the ‘Roman’.

Some scholars, rather than omitting attention to the Roman empire, have specifically focused on it. The present thesis agrees with these ‘empire studies’ (see Section 1.1) in so far as they recognize the Roman empire as an inescapable presence in the first and second century CE Mediterranean world. It argues that Roman culture and the Latin language must be added among the traceable influences on the text of the Gospel of John. This chapter will start by situating this assertion within current discussions, first within the category of empire studies. These have raised important questions about John’s engagement *vis à vis* the Roman

⁴ Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, ed. W. C. van Unnik, NovTSup 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 30, emphasis mine.

⁵ Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 30.

⁶ See, similarly, Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Gospel of John*, ed. Ben Witherington, III, The New Cambridge Bible Commentary (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 30.

⁷ Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 74. The authorship of John is beyond the scope of this study, and the use of ‘John’ throughout the thesis should not be construed as implying that authorship is singular or known.

⁸ See also, for example, Christopher Stanley’s chapter on ‘citation technique in Greco-Roman literature’ that only looks at Strabo, ‘Longinus’, Heraclitus and Plutarch [*Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 267-91]. They are called ‘the Greco-Roman writers examined here’, despite being exclusively Greeks writing in Greek (273). For an example of an author who addresses both Greek and Roman elements in his study, see David Aune, ‘Religion, Greco-Roman’, *DNTB* 917. Others who use the adjective ‘Greco-Roman’ without obscuring the Roman include Alan Culpepper who uses the term in his discussion of John 6:1 and calls Τιβερίδας a ‘Greco-Roman’ name. Given that the name is Roman and the language is Greek this seems to be a perfect designation [*Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 217]. See also Craig Koester who, for example, includes both ‘Greek classics’ and Vergil in his examination of ‘Greco-Roman’ influences on the meaning of ποιμήν [*Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 16-17]. Jo-Ann Brant also uses the term to cover both Roman and Greek cultures and includes examples from each [*John*, ed. Mikeal C. Parsons and Charles H. Talbert, Paideia: Commentaries on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), e.g., 6-9].

empire, typically focusing on issues of power.⁹ This thesis enters this conversation, however, *via* the Romans' language and argues that Greek contact with Latin in the Eastern Mediterranean amounts to an intersection of language and culture that provides important data for understanding the text of the Fourth Gospel, especially John 18:28—19:22. Thus, recent studies on language in John will be addressed and the proposal that the Fourth Gospel is written in an antilanguage will be critiqued. This chapter will suggest that the concept of a hidden transcript is more relevant to the Fourth Gospel, and discuss a connection between hidden transcripts and social identity theory, before giving an overview of the rest of the thesis.

1.1. Empire Studies

Some contributions to empire studies explicitly use the anti-imperialism they find in ancient texts to combat imperialism today. For example, the Union Theological Seminary conference held in 2004 was 'convened at a time where empire had re-emerged as one of the most dangerous and frightening phenomena of our time' and 'addressed directly the ways the New Testament today can help shape ways of resisting and negotiating the realities of arrogant American power'.¹⁰ Interpreters who offer anti-imperial readings are often similarly explicit about the applications of their results to the modern world. Warren Carter, for example, suggests that his work, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament*, 'provid[es] something of ... an agenda for ecclesial communities to pursue in forming alternative

⁹ For the earliest manuscript evidence connecting the name of John with this Gospel, see the discussion of Udo Schnelle. Note, however, that he rightly emphasizes that 'es handelt sich um das *eine* Evangelium, so wie es Johannes erzählt' [*Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ed. Jens Herzer and Udo Schnelle, THKNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 346]. It is his function as a re-teller of the story that will be emphasized in this thesis, and the name John will be retained for convenience.

¹⁰ Hal Taussig, 'Prologue: A Door Thrown Open', *USQR* 59.3-4 (2005): 1-5 (1). Others that take this perspective (with at least one representative example of their work) include Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark's Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001); see also his specific explanations in Richard A. Horsley, 'Jesus and Empire', *USQR* 59.3-4 (2005): 44-74; Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007); John Dominic Crossan, *God and Empire: Jesus against Rome, Then and Now* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2007). Crossan sees the move away from non-violence occurring as early as the first successors of Paul.

worldviews and communities that embody alternative, anti-imperial practices'.¹¹ This passion for changing oppressive systems in today's world is valuable and necessary. However, in reading these authors, one often feels that one is reading exegesis written with one eye in each world.¹² My methodology, grounded in Peirce's semiotics and detailed in the next chapter, is designed to keep both eyes as much as possible in binoculars that point backwards.¹³

Scholars such as those mentioned above, that is, those explicitly critical of modern imperialism, have sometimes been accused of having overt contemporary biases.¹⁴ Yet all analyses can lead to this-century applications.¹⁵ Christopher Bryan, for example, does not find in the biblical text any interest in critiquing specific 'power structures' by proposing their replacement.¹⁶ He does not see Jesus as apolitical, yet he asserts that 'Jesus does not question authority', neither that of 'Rome's client Herod', nor that of 'Rome's collaborators the Sadducean high-priests', nor that of 'the scribes', nor that of 'pagan Caesar within the spheres that God has allotted to him'.¹⁷ His conclusions are extended to the present day in his 'unscientific postscript'.

[T]he biblical tradition subverts human order not by attempting to dismantle it or replace it with other structures but by consistently confronting its representatives with the truth about its origin and its purpose. Its origin is that God wills it, and its purpose is to serve God's glory by promoting God's

¹¹ Carter, *Roman*, 143. For further descriptions and analyses of these approaches, see Stephen D. Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum, Jorunn Økland, and Stephen D. Moore, *The Bible in the Modern World 12* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 3-23.

¹² This is not necessarily a criticism. Such an analysis is sometime purposeful, such as with new historicist approaches [Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), loc 3145].

¹³ This does not negate the impossibility of doing this completely; see further below.

¹⁴ McKnight and Modica, for example, note that 'at times empire criticism *sounds too much like one's personal progressive, left-wing, neo-Marxist, or whatever, politics*' ['Introduction', in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 15-21 (19)].

¹⁵ In discussion, Brian Walsh pointed out, for example, that all analyses have political implications ['Research Group: Ancient Historiography and the New Testament' (review panel of McKnight and Modica, *Jesus*, presented at the annual meeting of the Institute for Biblical Research, Baltimore, MD, 22 November, 2013)].

¹⁶ Christopher Bryan, *Render to Caesar: Jesus, the Early Church, and the Roman Superpower* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 9.

¹⁷ Bryan, *Render*, 50-51.

peace and God's justice for all. Powers and superpowers are allowed to exist, and may even be approved, but they are always on notice.¹⁸

Thus, although he claims that political power structures are not threatened with replacement, he offers standards by which they are judged and an implicit threat for their downfall.

My purpose is to steer carefully between this Scylla and Charybdis, to offer a reading of the Johannine trial narrative that takes into account the ubiquity of the Roman empire but allows it to inform that reading only in so far as it is warranted by the text. However, the texts that biblical scholars analyse continue to have constitutive effects on the identity of many communities. Furthermore, as much as I may attempt to keep my eyes on the binoculars reaching back across the centuries, there is no way to see without using my own contemporary eyes. Thus, the challenge for me is to limit the degree to which desired present-day applications *map* my interpretations, while at the same time recognizing that they inevitably *undergird* them. Furthermore, I have a responsibility to think soberly about the ways that the discussions and conclusions from within the guild might affect the practices of future Christian communities and those who interact with them. Therefore, in Chapter 7, I shall allow some of those concerns to come into dialogue with my interpretation of John 18:28—19:22.

The chronological tension between current empire studies and the ancient texts that they address can perhaps be illustrated by the encounter in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* between King Arthur and two peasants from an 'Anarcho-Syndicalist Commune'.¹⁹ When the king announces that he is 'King of the Britons', the woman responds, 'Who are the Britons?', a question familiar to anyone who has asked about ethnicity in antiquity.²⁰ On the

¹⁸ His first-century conclusions are similar: 'the general biblical understanding of pagan empire ... sees empire as having the potential either to be supportive of God's people or else to be self-absolutizing and therefore the enemy of God's people' (Bryan, *Render*, 110-11, 125). For the divorce between the 'religious' and the 'political', see Section 1.2.1.

¹⁹ Terry Gilliam, and Terry Jones, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (Burbank, CA: Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2001). See also Darl Larsen, *A Book About the Film Monty Python and the Holy Grail: All the References from African Swallows to Zoot* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 112-49.

²⁰ See Section 7.1.

topic of the right to rule, King Arthur (quite reasonably within the movie world) explains with an angelic choral accompaniment that he is king because ‘the Lady of the Lake, her arm clad in the purest shimmering samite held aloft Excalibur from the bosom of the water’. The peasant Dennis, in the role of postcolonial analyst, passionately argues that ‘strange women lyin’ in ponds distributin’ swords is no basis for a system of government’. And finally, when Arthur grabs Dennis and yells at him to shut up, Dennis victoriously exclaims, ‘Ah ha! Now we see the violence inherent in the system!’²¹

The humour in the skit stems, of course, from mapping the standards of evaluation from one era onto those of another. Although contemporary categories may help to better *describe* the first-century world, conclusions about *meaning* have to be set in categories closer to those that the first century would recognize. In this thesis, I shall attempt as much as possible to understand the language of the text in the ways that it could have been understood in the first and second century CE. However, since I am neither a Roman soldier nor a Jewish proselyte living in the Mediterranean region in those years, but a twenty-first century interpreter looking back at the past, my analysis is inevitably apprehended through different eyes.²²

1.2. Three Questions Raised by Empire Studies

Although empire studies have received some criticism, the questions they raise have certainly led to fruitful discussion. Three topics are particularly relevant for this study. First, empire studies have demonstrated that the separation of politics and religion is a modern construct unhelpful for first-century analyses. Secondly, the various contemporary uses of empire studies raise questions about where interpretation is located. And thirdly, they have

²¹ See Section 7.2.2.

²² This is by no means a novel remark. See, for example, James Aageson who wrote, ‘biblical hermeneutics is carried out between the twin poles of biblical context on the one hand and interpretive context on the other’ [*Written Also for Our Sake: Paul and the Art of Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 7]. For more on the role of the author in the creation of interpretation as well as the power that interpretations exert in the world, see Mary Ann Tolbert, ‘Writing History, Writing Culture, Writing Ourselves’, in *Soundings in Cultural Criticism: Perspectives and Methods in Culture, Power, and Identity in the New Testament*, ed. Francisco Lozada, Jr. and Greg Carey (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 17-30.

drawn scholars' attention to the pervasiveness of the Roman empire in the Mediterranean world of the early centuries of our era.

1.2.1. Politics and religion

Empire studies have critiqued the modern dichotomy between politics and religion, between the 'spiritual' and what might be called the 'economic', especially as they are used to analyse the past.²³ An ancient practice such as sacrificing for good harvests, which today one might want to categorize as a 'Hail Mary' (an expression that in itself reveals today's conception of the place of the religious), would have fit into the same category as tilling the soil in ancient times.²⁴ The problem can be illustrated by various authors' conclusions on John 18:36 ('My rule is not from this world', author translation).²⁵ When Raymond Brown concludes that this 'statement allows Pilate to relax: Jesus' kingship presents no danger to the genuine political interests of Rome', a dichotomy between the political and the religious is presumed that does not reflect first-century conceptions.²⁶ Lance Richey both recognizes

²³ For an overview of recent work on the Fourth Gospel that recognizes this dichotomy and addresses 'the geopolitical', see Fernando F. Segovia, 'Johannine Studies and the Geopolitical: Reflections Upon Absence and Irruption', in *What We Have Heard from the Beginning: The Past, Present, and Future of Johannine Studies*, ed. Tom Thatcher (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 281-306. See, similarly, Carter, *John*, 20-22. A related issue, the categorization of the 'human' and the 'divine', is elucidated in Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, ed. R. Van den Broek, H. J. W. Drijvers, and H. S. Versnel, RGRW 116 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 146-52. The complex relationship of the discourse of John 18:28—19:22 to the Roman empire and to empire in general will be more particularly discussed in Sections 7.1.2 and 7.2.1.

²⁴ Philip Harland discusses the way the rejection of a political-religious dichotomy affects discussions of the cults of the emperor ['Honours and Worship: Emperors, Imperial Cults and Associations at Ephesus (First to Third Centuries C.E.)', *SR* 25.3 (1996): 319-334 (322-23)].

²⁵ I am translating βασιλεία as 'rule' for now ('βασιλεία', BDAG 168, 1a), although in Section 4.2 I will argue for 'empire' as a suitable translation in this context.

²⁶ Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, ed. William Albright and David Noel Freedman, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966; 1970), 2.869. Others who also support this dichotomy include R. H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary*, ed. C. F. Evans (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), e.g., 311; C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), e.g., 115; Heinrich Schlier, *The Relevance of the New Testament*, trans. W. J. O'Hara (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 216-17; C. F. Evans, *Explorations in Theology* 2 (London: SCM, 1977), 60; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St John*, trans. Cecily Hastings et al., vol. 2: Commentary on Chapters 5—12 (New York: Seabury, 1980), e.g., 374-76.

While this thesis will interact with a variety of commentaries on issues of relevance, I have found the following to be the most useful on issues of language in general and of Roman language and culture specifically: Brown, *John*; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978); Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003); Andrew T. Lincoln, *The Gospel According to Saint John*, ed. Morna D. Hooker, BNTC (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005); Brant, *John*.

that the two belong together in the ancient world and yet often separates them in his analysis.²⁷ A better approach is exemplified by Horsley's assertion that 'defining religion as *sui generis* may simply stand in the way of recognizing the various ways in which what may appear as "religious" expressions are inseparably related to other aspects of life'.²⁸

Particularly is this true of the origins and basis for rule, yet on this topic as well interpreters are not always clear.²⁹ Per Jarle Bekken, for example, argues that the presence of the large contingent of Roman soldiers at Jesus' arrest (18:3) demonstrates that they may have seen him as 'a nationalistic warrior king'.³⁰ He states, however, that 'Jesus' kingship' is not 'an ordinary earthly, military, and political one', and that Peter (18:11) 'is commissioned for a higher cause than a military battle of a worldly order', one where Jesus conducts "messianic" and peaceful "warfare" in the framework of Jewish apocalyptic ideas'.³¹ This statement is quite clear as to what this kingdom is not, but vague as to what it is. However, rule in the Mediterranean, particularly Roman *imperium*, was connected with authority given by the gods. Augustus' *Res gestae divi Augusti* can even be called the 'Evangelium des Augustus'.³² Thus, there seems to be no warrant for consigning the βασιλεία constructed for Jesus to a realm separate from the authorities in existence at the

²⁷ He notes the ambiguity of those terms for emperor worship on the top of p. 37, 39 and joins them together on p. 57 ('not as a private decision but as a public and political act of rebellion') and p. 67 ('religious and political life'). Yet he draws conclusions based on their separation, such as on p. 78 where he contrasts scribes with 'a political figure'. See also a similar assumption of the separation of meaning because of the separation of political/secular and religious spheres on pp. 79-80. See, further, p. 85 where he suggests that 'the scarcity of this term [σωτήρ] in the NT is not very surprising. An examination of its range of meanings in the first century reveals that it did not have a singularly religious, much less messianic, sense'. And on p. 157, he concludes that '[t]he setting of this saying is manifestly political' [Lance Byron Richey, *Roman Imperial Ideology and the Gospel of John* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2007)].

²⁸ Richard A. Horsley, *Religion and Empire: People, Power, and the Life of the Spirit* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 129.

²⁹ On John 19:11, see Section 6.2.2.2.

³⁰ Per Jarle Bekken, *The Lawsuit Motif in John's Gospel from New Perspectives: Jesus Christ, Crucified Criminal and Emperor of the World*, ed. M. M. Mitchell and D. P. Moessner, NovTSup 158 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 248.

³¹ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 248-49. Bekken offers some further precision in his subsequent discussion, which will be addressed in Section 2.1.3.

³² Dieter Georgi, 'Aeneas und Abraham: Paulus unter dem Aspekt der Latinität?', *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 10 (2002): 37-43 (38).

time. The fact that other rulers besides Jesus were authorized from above will provide a basis for discussing Roman authority throughout this thesis.³³

Andrew Lincoln's work suggests a further answer: 'Religious and political dimensions of the kingdom are inextricably interwoven, since, for both "the Jews" and Pilate, acknowledgement of Jesus' kingship is shown to clash with loyalty to Caesar's rule'.³⁴ This thesis proposes to answer in what sense this is and is not the case. There is clearly some sort of comparison being made between Jesus and Caesar in John's depiction of Jesus' trial before Pilate (e.g., 19:2-5, 12, 15).³⁵ Yet it is equally clear that Jesus' disciples are not encouraged to rebel against Caesar's rule (18:10-11, 36). The solution to this dilemma proposed in this thesis is a recategorization of loyalties that orders loyalty to Jesus above loyalty to Caesar.³⁶ Thus, although 'the issue of power is subordinated to that of truth', Roman conceptions of power are nevertheless addressed.³⁷

1.2.2. Interpretation

Besides questions of conceptual categories, empire studies have also questioned how one can know where meaning is situated. Where should interpretation happen? Richard Horsley draws his analysis of 'the historical Jesus in a fuller and more adequate historical context' than he believes is usually done.³⁸ In contrast Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza highlights the importance of interpreting 'by carefully analysing and reframing the workings of power, in the imperial discourses of the past and those of the present, as well as by constructing an imaginative space for articulating an alternative radical egalitarian

³³ Religious and political authority also cannot be separated in the case of the Jewish élite [Helen K. Bond, 'Political Authorities: The Herods, Caiaphas, and Pontius Pilate', in *Jesus among Friends and Enemies: A Historical and Literary Introduction to Jesus in the Gospels*, ed. Chris Keith and Larry W. Hurtado (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 219-47 (226)].

³⁴ Andrew T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 127.

³⁵ This will be a main focus of the discussion in Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

³⁶ See Section 7.1.

³⁷ See Sections 6.1 and 7.2; Lincoln, *Truth*, 128. On 'truth', see the discussion of hidden transcripts in Sections 1.3.2 and 5.1.4.

³⁸ Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 13.

discourse’.³⁹ I shall be focusing the binoculars on the space between these two, not attempting to push through the text to a historical Jesus but neither looking at current practices stemming from contemporary interpretations of the texts. I am interested, instead, in the way the matrix of languages in the first century (see below and in Chapter 3) affected communication, and the way an awareness of these intersections—especially with Latin—might illuminate the Gospel of John. For this reason, the locations usually associated with its composition and redaction (specifically Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria) will figure more prominently in this thesis than Galilee and Judaea.⁴⁰

In order to pursue the question just raised, I shall use methodology developed by Umberto Eco and Stefan Alkier. Based on Charles Sanders Peirce’s categorical semiotics, it describes the process of meaning-production and analyses both the context of production and the context of interpretation (past *and* present), recognizing the inherent limitations of each individual analysis.⁴¹ The three elements in Peirce’s semiotic triad are Sign, interpretant, object where a Sign is ‘something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity’.⁴² The thing it stands for (the ‘something’) is the object, and the

³⁹ Schüssler Fiorenza, *Power*, 28. For other studies that highlight the Roman empire but that focus primarily on the historical Jesus, see Richard A. Horsley, and Tom Thatcher, *John, Jesus, and the Renewal of Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013); Bryan, *Render*. The definition of ‘discourse’ used in this thesis is provided by Chandler: ‘A discourse is a system of representation consisting of a set of representational codes (including a distinctive interpretive repertoire of concepts, tropes and myths) for constructing and maintaining particular forms of reality within the ontological domain (or topic) defined as relevant to its concerns. Representational codes thus reflect relational principles underlying the symbolic order of the “discursive field”’ [*Semiotics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2007), 249]. (For a definition of ‘code’, see Section 2.1.2.) ‘Discourse’ is often used in literary studies to distinguish words spoken by characters from narration [e.g., David A. Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine Community: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Johannine Writings* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 146]. This thesis will use ‘speech’ for those instead.

⁴⁰ For an argument for these locations in particular, see Section 3.1.

⁴¹ The following discussion is based on Stefan Alkier, ‘New Testament Studies on the Basis of Categorical Semiotics’, in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy Andrew Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 223-48; as well as Chandler, *Semiotics*, 29-33. For a similar approach without an explicitly semiotic foundation, see Manfred Lang, ‘The Christian and the Roman Self: The Lukan Paul and a Roman Reading’, in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, WUNT 1.284 (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 152-73. Although this thesis will occasionally reference Peirce, it primarily depends on Eco’s work as it interprets and applies the theories of Peirce. For a clear and concise description of the semiotic triad in Peirce, see James Jakób Liszka, *A General Introduction to the Semeiotic of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 18-34.

⁴² Charles Sanders Peirce, ‘Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs’, in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1955), 98-119 (99). Umberto Eco, similarly, defines a Sign to be ‘everything that on the grounds of a previously established social convention, can be taken as standing for

interpretant is the image or concept created in the mind of someone (the ‘somebody’).⁴³ Although Signs are often conceived of broadly, this thesis will only focus on Signs in the form of written texts.⁴⁴ Peirce is used in preference to Saussure because the inclusion of an interpretant, the primacy of the Sign, and the extensive elaboration of their connections with culture allow me to interpret a text that emerged from cultural intersections.⁴⁵ Eco and

something else’ [*A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 16]. The words ‘Sign’, ‘interpretant’, and ‘object’ are variously capitalized or not in the literature. In this thesis I have chosen only to capitalize the word ‘Sign’ in order to distinguish its use in semiotics (Sign) from its use in Johannine studies (sign). See, too, the recent explanation of these elements in Leroy A. Huizenga, ‘The Old Testament in the New, Intertextuality and Allegory’, *JSNT* 38.1 (2015): 17-35 (10). I am aware that some analyses have taken the Gospel of John as a sign in the Johannine sense. That is not the claim being made in this thesis. See for example Tom Thatcher’s description of Dodd’s approach in ‘The Semeiotics of History: C. H. Dodd on the Origins and Character of the Fourth Gospel’, in *Engaging with C.H. Dodd on the Gospel of John: Sixty Years of Tradition and Interpretation*, ed. Tom Thatcher and Catrin H. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-28 (10-12). Thatcher says, ‘In Dodd’s paradigm, then, the word “sign” describes the function of the Fourth Gospel’s total narrative rather than the specific form of any individual episode within it’. Certainly, Dodd says this of the ‘arrest, trial and crucifixion of Jesus Christ’ [C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 438-39]. Note that an error in Thatcher mistakenly places this passage in Dodd, *Tradition* (Thatcher, ‘Semeiotics’, 12).

⁴³ The interpretant, although sometimes described as the idea that arises in the mind of the addressee, must, in Eco’s determination, be a public understanding separated from mere ‘mental experience’ [*Kant and the Platypus: Essays on Language and Cognition*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Secker & Warburg, 1999), 137; see also Peirce cited in Umberto Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, *Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 1990), 28; Eco, *Theory*, 68-72]. It is ‘either a sign or an expression or a sequence of expressions which translate a previous expression’ (Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 43). David Savan suggests that Peirce might have more properly called it a ‘translatant’ [*An Introduction to C.S. Peirce’s Full System of Semeiotic*, Monograph Series of the TSC 1 (Toronto: Toronto Semiotic Circle, 1988), 41]. Neither Peirce nor his interpreters are always clear on this: ‘the interpretant is the image or concept created in the mind of the somebody’ (Peirce, ‘Logic’, 99). Albert Atkin clearly identifies the way the interpretant is determined by the Sign-object relation but may somewhat muddy the waters by referring to one’s ‘understanding’ [‘Peirce’s Theory of Signs’, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford, CA: The Metaphysics Research Lab: Center for the Study of Language and Information: Stanford University, 2013), 3, 5, 6, 14-15, 18, 21-25]. However, the repeated use of the first person plural in these passages connects this ‘understanding’ clearly to a consensus that exists outside of individual appropriation and therefore can be expressed. Furthermore, Eco detaches the concept of interpretant from individual mental experiences by reminding that ‘[t]he interpretant is not the interpreter (even if a confusion of this type occasionally arises in Peirce)’; Eco, *Theory*, 68; *pace* Leroy A. Huizenga, *New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew*, ed. M. M. Mitchell and D. P. Moessner, NovTSup 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 32.

⁴⁴ Texts, like Signs, can be defined more broadly and thus can ‘refer to anything which can be “read” for meaning; to some theorists, the world is “social text”’. Although the term appears to privilege written texts (it seems *graphocentric* and *logocentric*), to most semioticians a text is a systems of signs (in the form of words, images, sounds and/or gestures). The term is often used to refer to *recorded* (e.g., written) texts which are independent of their users (used in this sense the term excludes unrecorded speech)’ (Chandler, *Semiotics*, 263). It is in this last sense that the word ‘text’ will be used in this thesis, to refer to written systems of Signs, with particular reference to their role in conveying meaning.

⁴⁵ Dermot Nestor, *Cognitive Perspectives on Israelite Identity* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 112-25. The object, in Peirce, relates to the condition of secondness. It is not existence nor even simple perception. It is the effect of perception on one’s conceptions. Peirce discusses the change in the pitch of a train whistle as it goes by an observer (*C.P.* 1.335). One *perceives* first one note, then another. Experience, though, which is secondness, consists in the recognition that the note changes; it therefore pushes back against the firstness of one’s mind.

Farzad Sharifian is not clear on this. He emphasizes ‘conceptualisation’ as primary, but then grounds conceptualization in experience [*Cultural Conceptualisations and Language: Theoretical Framework and*

Alkier's elaborations of Peirce are used in preference to Bourdieu, because Bourdieu's focus on *habitus*, the regulative system of habitual actions and responses of individuals in their social worlds, takes analysis beyond the text into discussions of behaviour.⁴⁶ While I touch briefly on ethics and ethos in Chapter 7, my main focus will be on language and culture, topics which Eco and Alkier helpfully discuss.

As an example of Peirce's triad of Sign, object and interpretant, this thesis can be described, in the language of Peirce, as follows:

The Gospel of John is a Sign that arose on the basis of the needs and experiences of its creator(s). It is not a clear and transparent window into that reality (the dynamic object), but a Sign determined by the immediate object, or John's particular view of the life of Jesus.⁴⁷ The Sign-object relation produces an interpretant, which may be immediate (initial and unformed, like my first reading of the Gospel), dynamic (a scholar's *magnum opus*), or final (a comprehensive interpretant that hopefully mirrors the immediate object, produced by a community over time).⁴⁸ However, in writing this thesis, I have taken my interpretant

Applications, ed. Ning Yu and Farzad Sharifian, CLSCC (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 3, 19-20, 25-26]. On the one hand, he says, 'people view various aspects of the environment as *cognitive anchors* for their conceptualisations', which seems to put experience first, but he immediately goes on to say that 'Aboriginal Australians have conceptually associated their totemic and cultural stories with aspects of their environment. This has often acted as a basis for considering various aspects of the environment, such as a rock, as "sacred"'. Then, '[w]e tend to categorise every single entity around us' (*Cultural*, 38-39). So whether Sharifian agrees or disagrees with Peirce is unclear.

⁴⁶ Nestor, *Cognitive*, 114.

⁴⁷ An example of a dynamic object would be a //dog// as it exists, in all of its aspects including the chemical composition of its saliva. An example of an immediate object is the idea of a dog that only includes certain aspects (such as its loyalty, bark, furriness) that British culture emphasizes as the salient elements of dog-ness, and that English speakers represent with the Sign /dog/. (For the conventions used for representing Signs and their contents, see Eco, *Theory*, xi). Note that from the point of view of the object, 'the sign is passive', determined by the object. From the point of view of 'sign *production*', on the other hand, '[t]he production of a sign is the causal result of the interaction between a dynamic object and the sign medium of some sign-interpreting agency' (Liszka, *General*, 23).

⁴⁸ Another word frequently used to describe the final interpretant is 'habit' [e.g., Eco, *Theory*, 70; Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981), 192]. Note as well that the interpretant is intentionally separated from any empirical interpreter: 'The interpretant is that which guarantees the validity of the sign, even in the absence of the interpreter' (Eco, *Theory*, 68). For the forms that interpretants can take, see Eco, *Theory*, 69-71. The word community will be used throughout this study to describe people who share at least one encyclopaedia. Cf. Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 1994), 85-96. When discussing a Johannine community, I would add to this cognitive component the evaluative and emotional components that together define a 'group' for social identity theorists [Philip F. Esler, 'An Outline of Social Identity Theory', in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London:

of the Sign produced by John (my understanding of the text of the Gospel) and turned it into an object.⁴⁹ This object, pared down according to certain grounds (primarily Roman culture in the East), has prompted the creation of this new text, a new Sign that requires an interpretant—from each and all of my readers.

The previous paragraph describes this thesis using the Peircian triad to demonstrate the theoretical basis for an analysis that allows for multiple approaches to the Gospel without excluding authorial intent.⁵⁰ Alkier explains:

Peirce is revealed here as a representative of a version of the correspondence theory of truth. The semiotic point of Peirce's theory is to learn to think about the plurality of interpretations as stations on the way to truth, without favoring an absolute arbitrariness. *In the short run*, however, no interpretation can claim to be the absolute interpretation. It cannot show itself to be suitable for the dynamic object. Only *in the long run* can an interpretive community achieve an approach to the final interpretant.⁵¹

This helps with concerns raised by Stanley Porter.⁵² When Richard Hays discusses the creation of meaning, he notes that what he calls 'the hermeneutical event' could happen either 'in Paul's mind', 'in the original readers of the letter', 'in the text itself', 'in my act of reading', or 'in a community of interpretation'.⁵³ And Hays determines that since he is 'neither prepared to embrace the doctrines of any of the hermeneutical schools represented ... nor inclined to jettison any of the elements of interpretation to which they draw attention', he planned his work as 'an attempt to hold them all together in creative tension'.⁵⁴ Stanley Porter responds by pointing out that 'it is not at all apparent how one can hold all five of

Bloomsbury, 2014), 13-39 (17)]. Also, see, Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov, 'Ethnicity as Cognition', *Theory and Society* 33 (2004): 31-64.

⁴⁹ This wording recognizes my activity and contributions in the process. 'I have tried to underscore the crucial active, creative nature of interpretation by referring to *writers* of interpretations instead of the more passive-sounding *readers* of texts. The process of interpreting the Bible (or actually any other script) is an [*sic*] dynamic process of writing a new "text" into existence, whether oral (for example, a sermon) or physically written' (Tolbert, 'Writing', 21). On this see further Section 2.1.2.

⁵⁰ The triad is presented in this section and elaborated further in Section 2.1, as well as applied in the rest of the thesis. Alkier's approach is summarized by Huizenga in 'Old', 9-14.

⁵¹ Alkier, 'Studies', 229. One might think that 2000 years is enough of a long run, and yet interpretation goes on! For more on Alkier's concerns for ethical interpretation, see 'Ethik'.

⁵² These concerns are raised in the context of intertextuality which will be discussed in Section 2.3.

⁵³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 26.

⁵⁴ Hays, *Echoes*, 27.

these positions together in tension, unless the rules of contradiction and exclusion are suspended'.⁵⁵ Porter specifically points out the impossibility of conducting an analysis that grounds meaning in what the author intended to say, what early readers understood, what today's readers think early readers understood, what the text implies the author meant and the readers were supposed to understand, what I think the text means, and what scholars together (if there is such a thing) think the text means, all at the same time.⁵⁶

A semiotic analysis divides and conquers the problem. Peirce's semiosis grounds communication in a three-fold process, thus legitimizing analyses of each of its three parts. One studies the Sign in its relationship to the culture that produced it; one studies the historical realities that impacted Sign production, and one studies the way the text has been and is now understood.⁵⁷ Furthermore, semiotics recognizes that an interpretation, too, is a new object that prompts the interpreter to create a new Sign to communicate it—an article, a thesis or a commentary. This new Sign then requires interpretation, the immediate interpretant developing into a dynamic interpretant and, ultimately, into a final interpretant of the thesis of the student of the Gospel of John—which, then, may become an object that prompts your response.

What is important for this project is the way this three-fold process of semiosis provides a theoretical basis for examining the text of the Gospel itself as well as interpreters and interpretations, ancient and contemporary. Even experimental intertextuality, which opens up study to an infinite variety of initially implausible connections between written

⁵⁵ Stanley E. Porter, 'Allusions and Echoes', in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, SBL Symposium Series 50 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 29-40 (37). Thomas Hatina raises similar concerns; see 'Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is There a Relationship?', *BibInt* 7.1 (1999): 28-43.

⁵⁶ Porter, 'Allusions', 37-38.

⁵⁷ Alkier's full proposal will not be detailed in this thesis. Briefly, it includes three aspects, what he calls 'intratextuality', 'intertextuality' and 'extratextuality'. Intratextuality covers syntax, semantics, and pragmatics; intertextuality covers production-oriented intertextuality (using intertextuality in the limited sense as a search for sources), reception-oriented intertextuality (either limited with real, historically verified readers or unlimited with historically plausible readers), and experimental intertextuality (with unlimited connections to other texts). Finally, extratextuality looks at the construction and reconstruction of the text itself, at the information that the text gives about the world in which it was created, and at the way the text can be understood and can provide understanding for archaeological research (Alkier, 'Studies', 240-47).

works, may prove illuminating. The question becomes not ‘where is meaning located?’ but ‘which part of the meaning-making process do I want to investigate in order to offer more precision for the dynamic interpretant of the Gospel of John current in scholarship today?’ Most importantly, Alkier offers this model not as a ‘plea for arbitrariness but rather [as] the sign-theoretical motivation for collaboration on the basis of an intersubjectively defensible and qualified pluralism’.⁵⁸ Beethoven’s fifth symphony, Steve Moyise rightly notes, can be played with infinite variety, but it will never become Beethoven’s sixth.⁵⁹

Semiotic theory, then, provides a methodological underpinning for proposing to study the Gospel of John from a Latin and Roman perspective despite its undoubtedly Jewish background.⁶⁰ This theory will be further discussed and defined in the next chapter. This study also recognizes that this is only one view of the Gospel and must be integrated into, rather than set against, other interpretations. (There will likely be areas of incompatibility, but the expectation is that these can be resolved through nuancing and only occasionally by the complete abandonment of one position or another.) More specifically, this methodology provides a structure that connects Sign, object, and interpretant. Thus, this thesis will discuss the text of John 18:28—19:22 and its connections with a Roman cultural encyclopaedia.⁶¹ It will also include examinations of possible objects—historical events, literary texts, and material culture that contributed to the realities that prompted the creation of the Gospel of John.⁶² And on the basis of the extension of the Latin language and Roman culture into certain social strata and geographical areas of the eastern Mediterranean of the first two

⁵⁸ Alkier, ‘Studies’, 228.

⁵⁹ Steve Moyise, *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 138-39.

⁶⁰ Some who note the connections between the Fourth Gospel and the Hebrew or Greek Bible include Lincoln, *Truth*, e.g., 37; Manfred Lang, ‘Johanneische Abschiedsreden und Senecas Konsolationsliteratur: Wie konnte ein Römer Joh 13,31-17,26 zu lesen?’, in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgehistorischer Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Frey and Udo Schnelle, WUNT 175 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 365-412 (366); Peter M. Phillips, *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 225. Lang and Phillips in particular note the Jewish influences on the text despite the broader (Phillips) or other (Lang) primary focus of their own work.

⁶¹ Chapters 4-6.

⁶² Especially Chapter 3, but also throughout.

centuries CE, it suggests that some of John's first auditors lived in close enough proximity to Romans to have access to their cultural encyclopaedia, and that John crafted at least part of his narrative, the trial before Pilate, in a way that utilized those communicative resources.⁶³

1.2.3. Intersectionality in the Roman empire

The third question to be addressed then is: to what extent did the Roman empire influence the creation of the text under consideration? Was it in 'the foreground, not the background, of late first-century daily life' or was it 'lurking in the background of the narrative'?⁶⁴ This thesis will answer with a firm *neither*.

Romans and their Latin language were present to some extent throughout the Roman empire.⁶⁵ Some scholars, however, have tried to delineate an exact border between the Greek Eastern half of the empire and the Latin Western half.⁶⁶ However, to divide the territories into such constructed divisions is to impose a heuristic device that ignores the points of contact between the ruled and their rulers, locals and foreigners, merchants and buyers, scribes, slaves, and stonecutters with their masters, patrons or employers. Halvor Moxnes notes the problems with such constructions, especially those of race, culture, tribe, ethnicity and religion. He argues 'that identity, what it is to be human, is not based on pre-given social categories but on processes of interaction between people living in complex and diversified situations'.⁶⁷ Thus, it is illegitimate to conceptualize identities in the first century that rely

⁶³ Chapter 3. Note that the use of the word 'trial' for John 18:28—19:22 has recently come under fire. For a discussion of my continued use of the word, see Section 2.1.3.

⁶⁴ Carter, *John*, x; Christopher W. Skinner, 'John's Gospel and the Roman Imperial Context: An Evaluation of Recent Proposals', in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 116-29 (122).

⁶⁵ For some examples of Roman influence in the East, see Chapter 3 as well as Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50-250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 418-21.

⁶⁶ See, for example, the map showing areas of language influence in Bruno Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec: Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain* (Brussels: Latomus, 1997), 390-91.

⁶⁷ Halvor Moxnes, 'Identity in Jesus' Galilee—from Ethnicity to Locative Intersectionality', *BibInt* 18.4-5 (2010): 390-416 (416). The construction of identity will also be important to the analysis proposed in this thesis. See Sections 1.3.3 and 7.1. Kathy Ehrensperger has also critiqued the concept of hybridity,

exclusively on religion, or to construct a Jewish/Christian binary that was not present at the time but that helps to define the scholar in the present. This kind of constructed identity subsumes all particularity under the all-defining element of religion and flattens out the wide variety of religious expressions that are present based on, for example, gender.⁶⁸ However, this same critique can be raised against attempts to create maps of first-century linguistic territories that reflect the constructed monolingualism of the United States or the national territories that, in theory, separate the languages of the European Union and obscure actual language use.

Moxnes proposes instead ‘an intersectionalist approach’ that ‘raises the question of whose interests are legitimized, whose needs are served and what power relations are supported’.⁶⁹ Power relations will be brought into this study primarily in Chapter 7. His approach, however, allows for the creation of a matrix in which each individual exists not only within his or her intersection of gender, health, place, and status but also *next to* someone at a different intersection—her husbands (John 4:16-18), his brother (1:40), her servants (2:5), his disciples (2:11).⁷⁰ This coheres with Siân Jones who ‘suggests that an analysis of a society must consider different kinds of identities; at the very least it must include ethnicity, class and gender. And most significantly, these should be analysed not as separate entities, but in their *intersections*, i.e. when they come together and are interrelated’.⁷¹

especially notions of cultural fusion in the use of the term ‘Hellenism’. That term, along with the term ‘Greco-Roman’ (see Chapter 1), has been avoided in this thesis in favour of Moxnes’ ‘intersectionality’ [*Paul at the Crossroads of Cultures: Theologizing in the Space-Between*, ed. Mark Goodacre, LNTS 456 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 35-36].

⁶⁸ Moxnes, ‘Identity’, 398.

⁶⁹ Moxnes, ‘Identity’, 391.

⁷⁰ Moxnes, ‘Identity’, 403, 406.

⁷¹ Moxnes, ‘Identity’, 399; Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997). See, similarly, Zeba A. Crook, ‘Fictive-Friendship and the Fourth Gospel’, *HvTSt* 67.3 (2011) 2/7.

Yet language, too, intersects with other factors of identity.⁷² Evidence of language as another dimension of intersectionality can be found in inscriptions and papyri, and will be extensively presented in Chapter 3. Travel, commerce, the army and Roman law brought Latin into the East; it existed in all Latin-speakers' cells but also, as a result, next to any other individual with whom Latin-speakers came into contact.⁷³ Other languages also extended through certain locations and strata of society. Aramaic, Latin and Greek, at least, left their impact on John's text (19:20). Their traces must not be mistaken for clearly Jewish, pagan and/or Hellenistic influences, because ethnic and cultural practices did not clearly separate, but intersected with language use.⁷⁴ Each person functioned in her own cell in the matrix at a specific intersection of language knowledge, language use, and language need.⁷⁵

The languages in an area (either geographical or situational, such as a *forum* or an *acclamatio*) compete with each other, and speakers fill in the gaps between ideas and available expressions either by adding to their language (with new language knowledge, expanded word meanings, borrowing or inventing), by changing the mode of use (with skills such as rhetoric, imagery, poetry or style) or by using methods of communication besides oral (such as epistolary or epigraphical).⁷⁶ Thus each person stands at a crossroad of these possibilities; his own personal language pattern—his *idiolect* in linguistic terms—is located in the cell where his competencies in each of these areas intersect. These competencies, then, may extend to several languages or simply a variety of the possible uses of just one.

⁷² My own background as a third culture kid (TCK) makes identification with the intersectionality of language particularly vivid. For more on this see, e.g., David C. Pollock, and Ruth E. Van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: Growing up among Worlds*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Nicholas Brealey, 2009).

⁷³ The traces of these contacts are detailed in Section 3.1.

⁷⁴ This has not always been clearly understood. See, for example, C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism*, trans. D. M. Smith (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 22, 30, 31.

⁷⁵ Einar Haugen, 'Language Fragmentation in Scandinavia: Revolt of the Minorities', in *Minority Languages Today: A Selection from the Papers Read at the First international Conference on Minority Languages Held at Glasgow University from 8 to 13 September 1980*, ed. Einar Ingvald Haugen, J. Derrick McClure, and Derick S. Thomson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 100-19 (114).

⁷⁶ For the definition of language used in this thesis, see Section 2.2.1. For more on gaps in the text, see Section 2.1.2, and Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula: Le rôle du lecteur ou la coopération interprétative dans les textes narratifs*, trans. Myriem Bouzaher, ed. Jean-Paul Enthoven, Livre de Poche (Paris: Grasset, 1985), 63-64.

Furthermore, competencies do not simply cover language use—to learn a language, particularly by interacting with its native speakers, is to learn cultural competence as well.⁷⁷

It is in these intersections that texts are created, and both authors and (intended) audience(s) affect their composition. The present analysis, then, accepts the challenge of empire studies to recognize the effects of the Roman empire, but it asks a different question. I agree with Richard Horsley when he argues that to separate religion and politics is anachronistic and that Gospel narratives should be read within their historical and cultural contexts.⁷⁸ This thesis will focus only secondarily on how the authors and/or audiences of the New Testament negotiated the presence of imperial power.⁷⁹ My primary question focuses on the intersection of Latin as the language of the conquerors with the people in the Greek East, and the way the resulting cultural contact affected the composition and reception of the Gospel of John. If that influence is taken into consideration, how might the text be understood?

Such cultural questions about language, however, are not new to Johannine scholars. So proposals about Johannine antilanguage and hidden transcripts, as well as social identity theory as it connects with language and issues of intersectionality, must be addressed next.

⁷⁷ Kate A. Walters, and Faith P. Auton-Cuff, 'A Story to Tell: The Identity Development of Women Growing up as Third Culture Kids', *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 12.7 (2009): 755-72 (756); Raquel C. Hoersting, and Sharon Rae Jenkins, 'No Place to Call Home: Cultural Homelessness, Self-Esteem and Cross-Cultural Identities', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35 (2011): 17-30 (18). Carol Eastman argues against this connection between culture and language, but her conclusions only apply to artificial language learning such as in a classroom, away from contact with native speakers ['Language, Ethnic Identity and Change', in *Language, Society, and Identity*, ed. John Edwards (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 259-76 (260)]. Her discussion is problematic also because of her assumptions about primordality (264). Against primordality, see comments in Moxnes, 'Identity', 395-96; Ehrensperger, *Crossroads*, 40-41.

⁷⁸ Horsley, 'Jesus', 45-49, 49-62.

⁷⁹ Section 7.2.

1.3. The Cultural Effects of Language Contact on the Gospel of John

Older studies have theorized about the influence of another language (usually Aramaic) on the Greek of the Fourth Gospel.⁸⁰ The Hebrew Bible (for Lincoln) and Philo (for Bekken) have provided data for analyzing the Gospel of John from a Jewish encyclopaedia.⁸¹ In contrast, the next two chapters will argue that the Johannine trial narrative guides its auditors to the cultural units of the Roman encyclopaedia.⁸² These will be defined in Chapter 2 as the various contextual meanings available to a Sign within the cultural encyclopaedia (the gathered possibilities for all Signs) in which it is used.⁸³ References to a certain encyclopaedia, what Alkier calls *Haftpunkte*, are particularly concentrated in John 18:28—19:22 which constitute the bounds of the exegetical analysis in Chapter 6. Thus, while recognizing the importance of the Jewish encyclopaedia, this thesis seeks to explore the insights gleaned from a Roman interpretation.

Recent sociolinguistic studies have also focused more on rhetoric than lexicon, specifically using the models of antilanguage and hidden transcripts in their analyses. I shall

⁸⁰ For an overview of older scholarship on Aramaic in John, see Schuyler Brown, 'From Burney to Black: The Fourth Gospel and the Aramaic Question', *CBQ* 26.3 (1964): 323-39; as well as a summary of these findings in Barrett, *Judaism*, 24-31. Maurice Casey updates this critical review and concludes, 'At first sight the argument for an Aramaic underlay to John's Gospel looks like a massive argument of cumulative weight. On being critically examined, however, all the work prior to that of R.A. Martin turns out to consist of 10,000 leaky buckets, which, in the long run, hold no more water than one. All that has been shown is that some of the traditions used by the fourth evangelist go back ultimately to Aramaic sources' [*Is John's Gospel True?* (London: Routledge, 1996), 91]. He is also appreciative but skeptical of Martin's conclusions, demonstrating by a reverse translation process the difficulties of the Gospel as a Greek translation of an Aramaic original [Casey, *True?*, 97; Raymond A. Martin, *Syntax Criticism of Johannine Literature, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel Passion Accounts* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1989)]. See also the overviews in Ernst Haenchen, *John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapters 1-6*, ed. Robert Walter Funk and Ulrich Busse, trans. Robert Walter Funk, ed. Helmut Koester, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 52-66; Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. Francis J. Moloney, ed. David Noel Freedman, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 279-81; D. Moody Smith, *Johannine Christianity* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 15 n. 29; Peter G. Bolt, 'Aramaic and the *ipsissima verba Jesu*', in *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Craig A. Evans (New York: Routledge, 2008), 26-32; Stanley E. Porter, 'Language Criticism', in *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Craig A. Evans (New York: Routledge, 2008), 361-65. For a more detailed overview of methodologies, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'An Approach to the New Testament through Aramaic Sources: The Recent Methodological Debate', *JSP* 8 (1991): 3-29.

⁸¹ Lincoln, *Truth*, e.g., 69; Bekken, *Lawsuit*, e.g., 118-47.

⁸² References to auditors and to hearing the Gospel (rather than seeing and reading) will be used throughout this thesis in recognition that most of the people encountering its words would have heard it read rather than reading it themselves (Lucian *Ind.* 2, 4; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 30-31).

⁸³ Section 2.1.

discuss these in turn, noting the problems with applying the model of antilanguage to the Gospel of John, the usefulness of the model of hidden transcripts, as well as some responses to its detractors. Language, besides being used to negotiate power (as with antilanguages and hidden transcripts) is also a marker of identity. Although this thesis is not primarily a social identity study of the Gospel, enough data will have been gathered by the last chapter to permit some suggestive conclusions that might provide a basis for future studies using the tools of social identity theory.

1.3.1. Antilanguage

The oft-quoted label of ‘spiritual Gospel’ that Clement of Alexandria gave to the Fourth Gospel is one of the earliest attempts to explain its differences from the Synoptics.⁸⁴ More recently, arguments that these differences constitute an ‘antilanguage’ have been proposed.⁸⁵

An antilanguage differs from a dialect. Whereas a dialect is recognizable as such in part because it contains elements that do not follow, in some way, the standard grammatical patterns of the dominant language, an antilanguage follows the standard patterns but replaces some of the vocabulary, especially in domains of importance to the community that uses it.⁸⁶ In his article introducing this phenomenon, M. A. K. Halliday describes the relationship between language and community as follows: ‘The anti-language arises when the alternative

⁸⁴ Eusebius, *Church History* 6.14. An earlier explanation is hinted at by the Muratorian Fragment which claims that the Fourth Gospel was written collaboratively by John and other disciples and bishops (*condiscipuli et episcopi*) with John editing the text. On the dating of the Muratorian Fragment, see Charles E. Hill, ‘The Debate over the Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon’, *WTJ* 57.2 (1995): 437-52.

⁸⁵ N. R. Petersen, *The Gospel of John and the Sociology of Light: Language and Characterization in the Fourth Gospel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1993), 89-109; Bruce Malina, and Richard Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 7-9, 46-48; Neyrey, *John*, 13-14, 293; Carter, *John*, 74-75. For an example of a commentary that recognizes the arguments but does not adopt this perspective, see Brant, *John*, 10, 96. For the history of the use of the term ‘antilanguage’, see Lamb, *Text*, 116 n. 58.

⁸⁶ M. A. K. Halliday, ‘Anti-Languages’, *American Anthropologist* 78.3 (1976): 570-584 (571). Following developing practice, I do not hyphenate the word in this thesis except in quoted material (Lamb, *Text*, 115 n. 57).

reality is a *counter*-reality, set up *in opposition* to some established norm'.⁸⁷ The creation of this counter-reality includes the development of a language that only functions within that reality.

The 'relexicalization' that occurs in such circumstances, the substitution of 'new words for old', foregrounds the use of the language as a 'display', although at the same time it serves to establish and perpetuate the structure of the antisociety.⁸⁸ An antilanguage can be spoken in the presence of outsiders because it remains closed and secret from the dominant group(s).⁸⁹ It thus creates a space for discourse among those subordinated even in the presence of the élite.⁹⁰

This space, by its very existence, poses a threat to those who hold power in that society. James Scott describes 'the official description of feudalism, slavery, serfdom, the caste system, and the ubiquitous patron-client structures of leadership ... [that] purport to be based on a network of dyadic (two-person) reciprocities always articulated vertically'.⁹¹ These 'assume that ... there are no horizontal links among subordinates'.⁹² An antilanguage resists oppression by enacting a demonstration that the vertical relationships controlled by the élite do not exhaust all the connections in existence; horizontal relationships exist as well. In this sense an antilanguage participates in the response to power. Yet it is as an *action* that it participates, not as communication per se.⁹³

If one accepts the evidence of the persecution of early Jesus-believers as relevant to the Fourth Gospel, and also posits the existence of a sectarian Johannine community, then

⁸⁷ Halliday, 'Anti-Languages', 576, emphasis original.

⁸⁸ Halliday, 'Anti-Languages', 571.

⁸⁹ Halliday, 'Anti-Languages', 572.

⁹⁰ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 108-135. For more on Scott's theories, see below.

⁹¹ Scott, *Domination*, 61.

⁹² Scott, *Domination*, 62.

⁹³ Roman Jakobson called these the poetic and conative functions of language, i.e. the choices in formulation that are specifically attuned to the construction of the language itself (display) and those that focus particularly on the addressee(s) (the construction of the antisociety) ['Linguistics and Poetics', in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), 350-377].

the development of an antilanguage seems plausible.⁹⁴ The proposal that the Fourth Gospel is, itself, an example of an antilanguage, however, presents some serious difficulties.

To begin with, it is difficult to imagine how such a demonstration could be successful. An antilanguage is, by definition, not understandable to those outside the community.⁹⁵ Yet the Greek language known to scholars is the common *κοινή* which is reconstructed from the many first- and second-century CE documents written by people outside of any Johannine community. Thus, it does not seem that the Gospel of John could be understood at all if it were written in an antilanguage.

Warren Carter's analysis demonstrates two further problematic elements. First, he suggests that John's 'distinctive and dualistic way of speaking ... is an example of ... antilanguage'.⁹⁶ And secondly, contrary to analyses that understand such language 'to reflect and maintain ... an antisociety in some tension with and counter to dominant values', he states that for John, 'the force and starkness of John's antilanguage would function not to reinforce and explain the alienation of an existing antisociety but to create an antisociety'.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ On the persecution of Jesus-believers, see Section 7.2.3. The position of this thesis with regards to a Johannine community will be discussed briefly in Section 7.1.4. The term 'Jesus-believers' will be used in this thesis to refer to those who belonged to the first and second-century communities who would have identified themselves as intended recipients of the works that later became the canonical New Testament. (I am not alone in this use; see, e.g., Carter, *John*, ix). The term seems especially appropriate for the recipients of the Gospel of John given its emphasis on believing (e.g., John 20:31). This usage is designed to (1) heighten awareness of the differences between those early followers of Jesus and those who identify themselves as Christians today; and (2) include all of those who joined this movement and brought with them various cultural assumptions, behaviours and, especially, languages and cultural encyclopaedias (see Chapter 2). The earliest published use of the term 'Jesus-believers' in English that I can find is precisely in a multilingual context, among Western missionaries to East Asia, especially, in women's writing. See Edith Blair, 'Letters', *Woman's Work for Woman* 19.8 (1904): 183-86 (185); Daniel Clarence Holtom, 'Influence of Example', *Missions: American Baptist International Magazine* 3 (1912): 153 (reported by a Miss Kidder); Kate W. McBurney, 'Star Notes—Tak Hing, West River, South China', *Christian Nation: "righteousness exalteth a nation"*, (December 4, 1912): 7.

⁹⁵ Lamb makes this point as well in his critiques of Petersen and Neyrey: 'Either there is no way into the enclosed world of the JComm for its words, like those of Humpty Dumpty, mean whatever they choose them to mean, or else the author of the GJ provides a way for the intended reader to enter into this world, so that the metaphorical language becomes a reality' [Lamb, *Text*, 125-27, 132, 143-44; Petersen, *Light*; Jerome H. Neyrey, *An Ideology of Revolt: John's Christology in Social-Science Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); Jerome H. Neyrey, *The Gospel of John in Cultural and Rhetorical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009); Neyrey, *John*]. The 'Humpty Dumpty' language that Lamb refers to comes from a Lewis Carroll quote: "'When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less"' [Lamb, *Text*, 103; Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, through the Looking-Glass, and Other Writings* (London: Collins, 1954), 209].

⁹⁶ Carter, *John*, 75.

⁹⁷ Carter, *John*, 75.

Carter calls this John's 'rhetoric of distance'.⁹⁸ However, both the characterization of John's language as an antilanguage and the postulation of its use to create an antisociety must be questioned.

First, dualistic language is not itself evidence of antilanguage. Neyrey has suggested, for example, that *δόξα* is part of John's antilanguage, where 'Jesus' death (i.e., being lifted up) is also his being lifted from this world to that of the Father (3:14; 8:28; 12:32). Outsiders ... cannot imagine that glory awaits Jesus'.⁹⁹ However, Peter Phillips demonstrates the way that John's vocabulary exhibits not relexicalization but semantic shift, and while he curiously retains the term 'antilanguage' (see below), he suggests that John uses *δόξα* in a way that makes clear to all 'the honour or reputation of Jesus' and provides 'resonances of the "glory" of God' for those familiar with the Septuagint.¹⁰⁰ David Lamb argues against the designation of the Fourth Gospel as antilanguage but also concludes that John opens his Gospel to those from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. This intentional clarity is not indicative of an antilanguage.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, according to Halliday, an antilanguage, as a secret language, works to maintain distance between an antisociety and the larger society with which it is in tension; it emerges in order to provide a way for those within the antisociety to establish and regulate the alternative hierarchies *within* the antisociety itself.¹⁰² It arises among a group of people who live in resistance to the dominant culture—it is their very resistance that gives the impetus for the new form of communication to establish social hierarchies among

⁹⁸ Carter, *John*, 75.

⁹⁹ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 25. See, similarly, Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 47.

¹⁰⁰ Other examples include terms such as *φῶς* and *σκοτία* (John 1:5), *ἐκ τῶν κάτω* and *ἐκ τῶν ἄνω* (8:23) whose ambiguities are addressed within the Gospel text (Phillips, *Prologue*, 59-65, 201-203, 167-70).

¹⁰¹ Lamb, *Text*, 141-43. For a critique of some of Lamb's other proposals, see Hughson T. Ong, *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Jesús Peláez, and Jonathan M. Watt, *Linguistic Biblical Studies* 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 88-90. I shall not interact further with Ong's study because he focuses primarily on the linguistic situation in Palestine and the text of the Gospel of Matthew.

¹⁰² Halliday, 'Anti-Languages', 572. Note that Lamb cautions about the early stage of the research into antilanguages and the tentativeness of analyses and conclusions based on little evidence, both sociolinguistic and biblical (*Text*, 118, 138-40).

themselves.¹⁰³ A leader seeking to create resistance to the dominant society would not achieve his aims using vocabulary that followers would have no interest in learning. An antilanguage would not arise among a people accommodated to the dominant culture, focused on establishing and maintaining their social status within that world. Furthermore, Lamb has looked beyond Halliday to find evidence that antilanguages are used by dominant groups as well as oppressed ones.¹⁰⁴ If a marginalized group were becoming overaccommodated, they might adopt the antilanguage of the dominant group as easily as they might relinquish the antilanguage of their previous identity.

In fact, the author of John frequently takes care to let his auditors in on the meanings of words they might not understand, such as *ῥαββί* (John 1:38).¹⁰⁵ Rather than a language that challenges and hides, John's language includes and initiates. Jo-Ann Brant, for example, in contrast to Norman Petersen who posits an antilanguage used by an antisociety, looks at the way 'Jesus as light' language works not to relegate those outside of a community to darkness but rather to describe emphatically the light that shines out to all.¹⁰⁶

Thus, John does not use an antilanguage nor does it seem possible that an antilanguage could be used to draw into an alternative community those who are overaccommodated to the synagogue and the Roman empire.¹⁰⁷ Yet this assertion highlights a familiar difficulty: How does one distinguish between texts that reflect identity and texts that

¹⁰³ Scott, *Domination*, 26-27. See, similarly, Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 46.

¹⁰⁴ Lamb, *Text*, 140-41. This evidence, it seems, might be especially apprehended by scholars.

¹⁰⁵ See Gilbert Van Belle, *Les parenthèses dans l'évangile de Jean. Aperçu historique et classification: Texte grec de Jean*, ed. Frans Neirynck, SNTA 11 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985). Others have also assembled lists, such as Esther Kobel, *Dining with John: Communal Meals and Identity Formation in the Fourth Gospel and Its Historical and Cultural Context*, *BibInt* 109 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 24 n. 67; Lamb, *Text*, 151-59.

¹⁰⁶ Brant, *John*, 39-41. See Petersen, *Light*, 20-36, 89-109.

¹⁰⁷ This is not to say that language cannot function in this way. For a discussion of the differences between identity construction and construal, as well as six criteria proposed to discern identity formation in texts, see J. Brian Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 33-61, especially 51-57. For other approaches to identity formation in John, see, e.g., Ruth Sheridan, 'Identity, Alterity, and the Gospel of John', *BibInt* 22 (2014): 188-209; Tat-siong Benny Liew, 'Ambiguous Admittance: Consent and Descent in John's Community of "Upward" Mobility', in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 7 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 191-224.

seek to form it?¹⁰⁸ An answer to this question from the field of social identity will be discussed in Chapter 7.¹⁰⁹ In this chapter, I simply note the unlikelihood that an antilanguage would be used to remedy overaccommodation. Furthermore, the language of the Gospel, although dualistic and often ironic, with layers of meaning that sometimes make it opaque, does not lack signals for interpretation.

1.3.2. Hidden transcripts

Rather than an antilanguage, other proposals have suggested that John's Gospel is a 'little tradition' formed from within a 'hidden transcript', concepts introduced in James Scott's work.¹¹⁰ Tom Thatcher provides a helpful distinction between the two terms: 'If the *form* of collective responses to domination may be called a "hidden transcript", the *content* of these responses may be called a "little tradition" or a "countermemory"'.¹¹¹ With the aid of such communication, the oppressed community creates 'off-stage' discourses that challenge the right of the élite both to receive material wealth and honour, and to create the metanarratives that justify their domination.¹¹² As was noted for antilanguages, hidden transcripts are also used by the élite.¹¹³ When used by marginalized groups, however, they offer alternative explanations for the current state of affairs in terms that privilege the

¹⁰⁸ Edward W. Klink, III, *The Sheep of the Fold: The Audience and Origin of the Gospel of John*, SNTSMS 141 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 78.

¹⁰⁹ See Section 7.1.4 and Tucker, *Remain*, 51-57.

¹¹⁰ Scott, *Domination*; James C. Scott, 'Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition, Part I', *Theory and Society* 4.1 (1977): 1-38; James C. Scott, 'Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition, Part II', *Theory and Society* 4.2 (1977): 211-246. For the use of these concepts with reference to John, see Tom Thatcher, *Greater Than Caesar: Christology and Empire in the Fourth Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), and below.

¹¹¹ Thatcher, *Greater*, 33, emphasis original. For the term 'little tradition', see Scott, 'Protest I', 4.

¹¹² Scott, *Domination*, 111.

¹¹³ 'Every subordinate group creates, out of its ordeal, a "hidden transcript" that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant. The powerful, for their part, also develop a hidden transcript representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly avowed. A comparison of the hidden transcript of the weak with that of the powerful and of *both* hidden transcripts to the public transcript of power relations offers a substantially new way of understanding resistance to domination' (Scott, *Domination*, xii). For a specific example of the way this can occur, see Carol Myers-Scotton, 'How Codeswitching as an Available Option Empowers Bilinguals', in *'Along the Routes to Power': Explorations of Empowerment through Language*, ed. Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman, and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer, Contributions to the Sociology of Language 92 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 73-84 (74).

subordinated and that counter the ‘great tradition’, the élite metanarrative just described.¹¹⁴ This thesis will argue that John 18:28—19:22 does precisely that.¹¹⁵ I am hesitant, however, to use the term ‘little tradition’ because it seems to imply a more consistent, coherent and influential Johannine community than is agreed upon among Johannine scholars.¹¹⁶ I shall therefore use the term ‘hidden transcript’ in order to focus more particularly on the communication that I argue emerges from the text without positing how widely it was accepted.

Unlike antilanguage, these hidden transcripts, when spoken within a subordinated community, are not expressed in a language different from that of the élite.¹¹⁷ Scott specifies: ‘The hidden transcript, however, never becomes a language apart. The mere fact that it is in constant dialogue—more accurately, in argument—with dominant values ensures that the hidden and public transcripts remain mutually intelligible’.¹¹⁸ Thus, although an antilanguage creates space for offstage discourse, it does not take the place of a hidden transcript that, expressed in mutually intelligible language, continually exerts pressure against the great tradition propagated by the élite.

This pressure finds further expression in ‘the manifold strategies by which subordinate groups manage to insinuate their resistance, in disguised forms, into the public

¹¹⁴ Scott, ‘Protest I’, 4. However, marginalized groups may also use élite language to surround themselves with an aura of power (Myers-Scotton, ‘How’, 73, 75-78).

¹¹⁵ Section 7.2.4.

¹¹⁶ This issue will be discussed briefly in Section 7.1.4.

¹¹⁷ Scott, *Domination*, 14. Note that Carter sometimes uses the terms ‘antilanguage’ and ‘hidden transcript’ or ‘hidden discourse’ side by side, without distinguishing between the two; see, e.g., *John*, 77, 80.

¹¹⁸ Scott, *Domination*, 135. Scott contradicts himself, however, when he says, ‘The creation of a secure site for the hidden transcript might, however, not require any physical distance from the dominant so long as linguistic codes, dialects, and gestures—opaque to the masters and mistresses—were deployed’ (*Domination*, 121). This kind of contradiction in Scott’s work is, unfortunately, not rare; see Susan Gal, review of *Cultural Anthropology, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* 10 (1995): 407-424 (413). One way of resolving this contradiction is to identify an antilanguage as an offstage site for performing acts of resistance, that does not, however, obviate the need for a hidden transcript in a language that can respond to that of the élite. The definition of ‘public’, as mentioned in the rest of this section, must recognize the presence of ‘others’ in many different types of encounters. It is therefore a space where some insiders are in the presence of outsiders, but since social groups overlap and intersect, these places occur in a wide variety of ways, and space might be private to one social category while at the same time public to another.

transcript'.¹¹⁹ These disguises, which will be elucidated at the end of this section, 'condition ... its public expression'; the hidden transcript, when produced in the presence of the élite, must 'be sufficiently indirect and garbled that it is capable of two readings, one of which is innocuous'.¹²⁰ It is this dual reading that an antilanguage cannot provide. The fact of its existence does communicate that the subordinated have things to say that the élite cannot understand, but it cannot, even ambiguously, communicate any content to them. Thus, the basic difference between an antilanguage and a hidden transcript is the intelligibility of the first only to the subordinated and the constant pressure of the second *towards* intelligibility by the élite.

Scott's theory has not been unanimously received.¹²¹ The critiques can be grouped into three broad concerns. The first comes from his analysis of transcripts as a conceptual space that seems to be divorced from the material realm.¹²² Mitchell, in particular, points out that the distinction between mental coercion/assent and physical force used by Scott is itself part of the hegemonic discourse in which the scholar is embroiled.¹²³ He goes on to show that to use the term 'transcript' is to compare a practice to a text in a way that invents 'a distinct metaphysical realm of structure or meaning that stands apart from what we call material reality'.¹²⁴ Mitchell offers several examples of practices of power that Scott sets to one side but that should be included in any analysis of power relations. Kinship across social strata, to name one, certainly affects both 'behavior and belief'.¹²⁵ Physical repression, too,

¹¹⁹ Scott, *Domination*, 136.

¹²⁰ Scott, *Domination*, 139, 157.

¹²¹ Timothy Mitchell, 'Everyday Metaphors of Power', *Theory and Society* 19.5 (1990): 545-577; Matthew C. Gutmann, 'Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance', *Latin American Perspectives* 20.2 (1993): 74-92; Gal, 'Language'; Anatheia E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 31-43.

¹²² While a full discussion of the implications of Scott's critique of Marxist understandings cannot be discussed at this juncture, a helpful overview of past conversation on these issues can be found in John Chalcraft, and Yaseen Noorani, 'Introduction', in *Counterhegemony in the Colony and Postcolony*, ed. John Chalcraft and Yaseen Noorani (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-19. See also J. Blommaert, 'Language Ideology', *ELL* 510.

¹²³ Mitchell, 'Everyday', 545-46, 548, 560. These concerns are echoed in Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 35, 42; Gal, 'Language', 407.

¹²⁴ Mitchell, 'Everyday', 560-61.

¹²⁵ Mitchell, 'Everyday', 558.

bridges any physical/mental dichotomy since it carries with it strong elements of mental coercion specifically in the form of memories and future potentiality.¹²⁶

Wayne Meeks proposes the term ‘correlations’ to indicate that connections between the material and the ideational are present but less directly causal than Marxist approaches would posit.¹²⁷ In the use of Scott’s term ‘hidden transcripts’, this thesis neither denies that these may have arisen at least in part from material needs and physical experiences nor does it, however, neglect to recognize that the beliefs that guide people as individuals and as groups function to influence action.¹²⁸

Closely connected to a critique of a mind/body separation, the second question raised with regard to Scott is the position from which a hidden discourse might emerge. Susan Gal has noted that Scott seems to imagine subordinated people who can critique the hegemonic discourse of the élite from some ideological position that is outside of that discursively created world—perhaps even a position that is somehow more true, real or free.¹²⁹ This idea of ‘truth’ will be important for understanding Jesus’ words in the trial before Pilate (John 18:37-38) and will be connected using this model of a hidden transcript to the truth of a subordinated people as opposed to the truth of the élite.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Mitchell, ‘Everyday’, 559. See Section 7.2.3.

¹²⁷ Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 164. The critique of a separation of *ideas* of oppression and resistance from *actions*, mind from body, transcripts from acts, could also be brought to bear on Umberto Eco’s concept of encyclopaedia, discussed in Section 2.1.2, and the response would be similar. See also Dale B. Martin, ‘Patterns of Belief and Patterns of Life: Correlations in *the First Urban Christians* and Since’, in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later*, ed. Todd D. Still and David G. Horrell (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 116-33 (116).

¹²⁸ Chapter 3 discusses material culture, but cultural experiences will be brought into the interpretation of John 18:28—19:22 throughout the thesis (see, e.g., Sections 4.1, 4.3.1, 6.1).

¹²⁹ This problem is especially found in Scott’s earlier work, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, he specifically explains that ‘[n]o real social site can be thought of as a realm of entirely “true” and “free” discourse unless, perhaps, it is the private imagination to which, by definition, we can have no access. Disclosure to anyone else immediately brings power relations into play, and psychoanalysis, which aims at the disclosure of repressed truth in a tolerant, encouraging atmosphere, is, at the same time, a highly asymmetrical power relationship’ (Scott, *Domination*, 26 n. 11). The relevance of psychoanalysis is not immediately apparent. For critiques, see Mitchell, ‘Everyday’, 561-64; Gal, ‘Language’, 411-14, 419; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 36.

¹³⁰ Section 5.1.4.

As for the source of such a critique, in settings where multiple cultures come into contact, such as the first- and second-century CE Mediterranean area, influences on identity (discussed in Section 1.3.3) will be varied. Anatheia Portier-Young, for example, describes the way ‘experiences of intensive cultural contact and crisis’ provide the resources ‘for naming what was previously unnamed and thinking beyond the previously thinkable in order to answer hegemony with a new, resistant counter-discourse that articulates new parameters for thought and action’.¹³¹ These various cultural transcripts enacted in multiple languages, as well as the contact that occurred at the intersections of identity proposed by Moxnes discussed in Section 1.2.3, provide sources for critiques of hegemonic discourses for John.

This variety of cultural influences highlights the third criticism of Scott’s work, that he oversimplifies social relations and social discourse. He opens his work with his intention to base his analysis specifically on ‘the most severe conditions of powerlessness and dependency’ where he presumes that ‘the relationship of discourse to power would be most sharply etched’.¹³² Yet, as Field notes, ‘When the spirit moves him ... he invokes the experience of industrial workers, subjects of authoritarian regimes, students, women, and, from time to time, Tamil laborers in the Caribbean, Lollards, Norwegian prisoners, and the participants in the celebrated carnival at Romans’.¹³³ Thus, it is not surprising that his description of social discourse is oversimplified. Groups and transcripts are reduced to two, elite and subordinate. Furthermore, the definition of what is ‘public’ and what is ‘hidden’ is more complicated than a simple dichotomy might suggest: ‘[a]s Scott acknowledges, power relations, after all, occur inside subordinate groups too, when leaders exert power over followers or group pressure coerces members’.¹³⁴ This study recognizes for example the

¹³¹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 12.

¹³² Scott, *Domination*, x.

¹³³ Daniel Field, review of James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 195-96.

¹³⁴ Gal, ‘Language’, 417.

power that Caesar exerts as a motivator of the Johannine Pilate's behaviour as well as the multiple subgroup identities at play in John 18:28—19:22.¹³⁵

The various intersections of power and identity thus described help to extend Thatcher's description of an 'image of Christ [that] is always a photographic negative, a mosaic built up from thousands of tiny words, symbols, and ideas that [John] found on the cognitive trash heap of ancient Mediterranean culture'.¹³⁶ This 'trash heap' provides Thatcher with a source for a hidden transcript that can speak back to the great tradition, thus avoiding the pitfall of supposing a neutral ideological position, the critique of Scott described above. However, Thatcher goes on to analyse the impact of Roman conceptions exclusively on John's Christology.

'Cognitive trash heap' is a helpful metaphor. John takes language and concepts from Rome as from other cultural encyclopaedias and uses them to entice auditors into the unfamiliar territory of the Johannine world, describing not only Jesus (Chapters 4-6), but defining Jesus' empire and its ethos (Chapter 7).¹³⁷ In Peter Phillips' analysis, Stoics, Jews and Gnostics alike are invited 'to understand within their own cognitive categories, but also to question these categories'.¹³⁸ This important insight, however, is marred, not only by the anachronistic reference to Gnosticism, but also by Phillips' belief that this is not incompatible with antilanguage despite the opposition between the sub-group and the élites that an antilanguage maintains.¹³⁹ In order for Johannine language to qualify as an antilanguage, Phillips needs 'to alter Halliday's definition from "same grammar, different vocabulary", to "(usually) same grammar, (usually) same vocabulary, (often) specialized

¹³⁵ See Sections 6.1.3 and 7.1.

¹³⁶ Thatcher, *Greater*, 6.

¹³⁷ Alexander Jensen refers to a similar concept with his phrase '*Struggle for Language*' [*John's Gospel as Witness: The Development of the Early Christian Language of Faith*, Ashgate New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology and Biblical Studies (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 13, 48].

¹³⁸ Phillips, *Prologue*, 140.

¹³⁹ Phillips, *Prologue*, 61. For the dating of Gnosticism, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel of St. John and the Johannine Epistles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1952), 9. For a more detailed discussion of the Fourth Gospel and Gnosticism, see Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 205-293.

semantics”. The problem with Johannine language is not the novelty value of its vocabulary, but rather the interplay of meaning within an accepted mainstream vocabulary’.¹⁴⁰

Yet this ‘interplay of meaning’ is just what one would expect not from an antilanguage but from a hidden transcript that speaks back to the élite metanarrative in the same language, changed slightly to preserve defensible ambiguity. A hidden transcript is not hidden with changes in vocabulary that make it unintelligible to outsiders; it is hidden, rather, in whispers, quiet corners, private meetings or, for the most daring, in *double entendres* communicated openly.¹⁴¹ It is hidden exactly because it would be perfectly intelligible to the élite if it were spoken in their presence.¹⁴² Thus, because a hidden transcript does not depend on a specifically altered lexicon, its message can be delivered using the whole variety of linguistic expressions available to its creator(s). This study focuses specifically on the Roman encyclopaedia of terms, but recognizes that this is only one of several encyclopaedias that John uses.¹⁴³

John’s Gospel can thus function to communicate the message of Jesus-believers to those from a variety of ethnicities and their intersections. Although Warren Carter argues that hidden transcripts work in conjunction with antilanguage to call people to less accommodation with rulers, this discussion has shown that they do the opposite.¹⁴⁴ They provide a way for subordinated people to enact the very *behaviours* expected by the rulers, thus living in accommodation to them, while still maintaining a sense of group identity distinct from the one that the rulers assign to them. It is unclear, therefore, how either

¹⁴⁰ Phillips, *Prologue*, 64.

¹⁴¹ On this, see the ‘zone of constant struggle’ (Scott, *Domination*, 14-15).

¹⁴² Thus, when spoken unambiguously, the message is often anonymous (Scott, *Domination*, 152).

¹⁴³ See Section 2.1.3.

¹⁴⁴ Carter, *John*, 75-77. Connections between hidden transcripts and rebellions are problematic in Scott’s work. Portier-Young points out that for Scott, ‘anonymity and such devices of ambiguation as double-speak, metaphor, and allusion function precisely to *prevent* open rebellion; a hidden transcript as Scott conceives of it, ‘is continually pressing against the limit of what is permitted on stage, much as a body of water might press against a dam.... Behind the pressure is the desire to give unbridled expression to the sentiments voiced in the hidden transcript directly to the dominant....A small success is likely to encourage others to venture further, and the process can escalate rapidly’ (Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 38; Scott, *Domination*, 196). This is another topic where differences between Scott’s publications complicate discussion. It is this last remark of Scott’s that will be followed in this work.

antilanguage or hidden transcripts could function, in the way Carter suggests, to call an over-accommodated community to resistance. This study will uncover, instead, the ways in which John uses language and concepts familiar to what will be described as Roman-aware auditors and nuances them to produce a transcript about Jesus that is both familiar and strange.¹⁴⁵ Such an interpretation is important to consider, given the likelihood (discussed in Chapter 3) that many of the key cultural units in the Roman encyclopaedia were known from social intersections across the first- and second-century CE Mediterranean world.

1.3.3. Social identity theory

Social intersections where languages and cultures come into contact constitute encounters where identity is affected.¹⁴⁶ John 18:28—19:22 uses the Roman cultural encyclopaedia to raise important Roman identity markers. As chosen by the gods to bring the law to barbarians, Romans categorized themselves with traits that intersect with Jewish identity markers. Social identity theory provides the tools to describe the recategorization of identity in the Johannine trial narrative.

When Jerome Neyrey uses the social sciences, specifically Mary Douglas's models, he postulates that 'the development of the Johannine community entails a progression from ... initial faction formation to a program of reform of the system and finally to a revolt against the system'.¹⁴⁷ One concern with Neyrey's work is that although he predicates a community that seeks the conversion of 'all peoples—Jews, Samaritans, and Gentiles', when he analyses societal norms that exert pressure on the community, he looks at the relationship

¹⁴⁵ For a definition of Roman-aware auditors, see Section 3.1.4.

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of such intersections, see Section 1.2.3.

¹⁴⁷ Neyrey, *Ideology*, 117, 149. Neyrey describes this in Douglas' terms as 'a progression from strong group/low grid (stage one) to strong group/rising grid (stage two) and finally to weak group/low grid (stage three)' In this model, the term 'group' refers to the amount of pressure that the society outside of the community puts on the community itself as far as their expectations for conformity. The term 'grid', on the other hand, refers to the degree to which members of the community acquiesce to societal norms. [Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1996), 57-71]. Douglas' model will not be used in this thesis because there is so much uncertainty about the internal and external pressures John's auditors were experiencing.

of this community only to synagogue Jews.¹⁴⁸ He does not take into account the pressures on both Jewish and gentile Jesus-believers from the wider society. Because of this omission, Neyrey's conclusions are equally problematic. He determines that 'the mood in stage three is more one of revolt against discredited systems than sectarian defense from enemies'.¹⁴⁹ Yet Douglas' model would only lead to this conclusion if the Jews were the dominant societal influence exerting control on the Johannine community, and there is no reason to think that they had this much power.¹⁵⁰

The image of a Johannine community in revolt is intriguing for a reason not mentioned by Neyrey. It rings true, in one sense, because the Gospel engages in such strong polemic (e.g., 8:24; 9:41). This could be expressed by people who had previously worked hard to conform to the expectations of a local synagogue community but were now emerging into a situation where they expressed their distance from that group.¹⁵¹ Yet this does not address the relationship of the Johannine community to the societal pressure of interest to this thesis—those of the Romans. In a situation where Romans did not demand total conformity from their subjects and yet had crucified Jesus and sometimes Jesus-believers, a hidden transcript could allow the Jesus-believers some covert verbal expression.¹⁵²

In presenting his theories, Scott oversimplifies the construction of identity, assuming, for example, that the creation of the self is the same across time and space.¹⁵³ Although identity is a vast topic and cannot be discussed in detail, the view adopted in this thesis is that it is created in hierarchically structured discourses with the social groups within which

¹⁴⁸ Neyrey, *Ideology*, 125-50, quotation on p. 125.

¹⁴⁹ Neyrey, *Ideology*, 205.

¹⁵⁰ Reinhartz, 'Gospel of John', 112.

¹⁵¹ This would be weak group/high grid, *pace* Neyrey, to weak group/low grid. Raymond Brown, for example, posited that the Johannine community might have originated among followers of John the Baptist [*The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 29-30]. On the existence of a Johannine community, see Section 7.1.4.

¹⁵² On the persecution of Jesus-believers, see Section 7.2.3.

¹⁵³ Mitchell, 'Everyday', 558, 564; Gal, 'Language', 409, 417-18, 420-21.

the subject finds herself.¹⁵⁴ The various identification markers in the matrix described above interact with the subject, and each may become salient at different times, in different physical and social locations.¹⁵⁵ Because language is one of those identifiers, the data uncovered in the process of examining the language of the Fourth Gospel will also shed light on identity-forming processes set in motion by the text. Specifically, this thesis will argue that John 18:28—19:22 seeks to recategorize Roman and Jewish ethnic loyalties as subgroups, with ‘Jesus-believer’ as the superordinate identity.¹⁵⁶ In this new identity, obedience to the law is deprioritized while honour under persecution and vulnerability for the sake of the world are prioritized in the Johannine ethos and ethics.¹⁵⁷ These new insights into the Fourth Gospel emerge from an in-depth and sustained Roman reading of the Johannine trial narrative as presented in this thesis.

1.4. Conclusion and Thesis Outline

This chapter has surveyed analyses of the Gospel of John that take into account the Roman empire, and it noted that they often helpfully address the present more than the past. This study will focus instead on the first and second centuries CE, observing, for example, that at the time politics and religion were not separated. It will use semiotics to address Roman influences on the Greek language of John 18:28—19:22. The Romans and the Latin language intersected with life in the Eastern Mediterranean in geographical and social contexts relevant to the Fourth Gospel. Evidence of these intersections, some of which has not been noted in biblical studies before, will be presented in Chapter 3. This paves the way for a study that uses methodology from semiotics and multilingualism to examine the Greek of John’s Gospel in a new way, uncovering evidence of Latin influence and a Roman

¹⁵⁴ Tajfel’s definition of identity is foundational for social identity theories: ‘that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [*sic*] knowledge of his [*sic*] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership’ [*Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel, European Monographs in Social Psychology 14 (London: Academic Press, 1978), 63].

¹⁵⁵ J. E. Joseph, ‘Identity and Language’, *ELL* 489.

¹⁵⁶ Section 7.1.

¹⁵⁷ Section 7.2.

encyclopaedia. This study, then, sees in John's Gospel a hidden transcript into which various peoples from the greater world are invited (specifically, in this thesis, Roman-aware auditors). While Thatcher is interested in 'the effects of empire on the daily lives and thoughts of Johannine Christians, at least to the extent that those thoughts and lifeways can be detected behind this text', I am interested in the effects of the presence of Latin (and by extension the Roman cultural encyclopaedia) in the world behind the text, and the way this would have impacted on John's construction and Roman-aware auditors' interpretant of John 18:28—19:22.¹⁵⁸

Chapter 4 will examine John 18:28—19:22 in detail, showing the way that John changes the encyclopaedia to a Roman one, thus connecting the Fourth Gospel with several Roman cultural scripts not previously brought into the discussion of this narrative. Chapter 5 will argue more specifically for a new referent in John 19:5, a citation from Vergil's *Aeneid* 6.791. Chapter 6 will provide a detailed exegesis of the Johannine trial narrative. Using a Roman cultural encyclopaedia to abduct the interpretant brings to light a Pilate who is neither weak nor strong, as have previously both been argued, but who is weak in the face of Caesar and strong in the face of 'the Jews'. The title of this study comes from the relation it proposes between Jesus and Caesar, one that claims an empire for Jesus and yet does not dispossess Caesar of his.¹⁵⁹ Chapter 7 will conclude that, within a hidden transcript, John provides a discourse that, while not innocent nor non-violent, recategorizes ethnicity to such an extent that followers of Christ are called to choose vulnerability when necessary for the sake of the world, while they evaluate each other according to honourable norms. First, however, Chapter 2 will describe the resources that I shall use: the semiotic theory of Umberto Eco, the use of code-switching for specificity from multilingual studies, the poetics of literary

¹⁵⁸ Thatcher, *Greater*, 4.

¹⁵⁹ Raymond Brown notes the similar 'formality' between 'Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος (19:19) and 'Tiberius Caesar' [*The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, ed. David Noel Freedman, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2.966].

allusions from Ziva Ben-Porat, and a new model that applies semiotics to the poetics of allusions.

2. The Semiotics of Multilingual Communication

In order to approach the Gospel of John with the tools necessary for an analysis that takes into account its multicultural milieu, an understanding of semiotics and especially the way meaning-making relates to culture will be necessary. Charles Peirce's triad of Sign, interpretant, and object has already been introduced.¹ Umberto Eco's work, which is based on these concepts, will help to clarify connections between communication, culture and language.² Then, bilingualism studies will explain specificity as a motive for code-switching and will provide the justification for a closer examination of the Greek of John's Gospel in Chapter 3. Since multiple languages multiply the cultural encyclopaedias available to author and reader (see definition below), they allow for more wide-ranging literary allusions, which is the third topic of this chapter. After that, I shall return to semiotics again, because by applying semiotics to literary allusions, significant questions will emerge that will help guide the analysis in Chapters 5 and 7. This chapter thus lays the foundation for Chapter 3, which will fill in these theories with data from the ancient world, and which I shall then apply to John 18:28—19:22 in Chapters 4—7. So, then, what is the role of culture in semiotic theory?

2.1. An Encyclopaedia of Cultural Units

While most people use language intuitively and suppose that at least some of their words refer to concrete objects in the world, semiotics has demonstrated the complexity of this apparently simple process. In Chapter 1, I described Peirce's triad, where the Sign represented some significant aspect(s) of the object in the process of communication.³ The Sign is not equivalent to the object; rather it conjures up what Eco calls its *cultural unit*, the aspects of the object that a culture has deemed important as well as the discourses habitually

¹ See Section 1.2.2 and Gary P. Radford, *On Eco*, Wadsworth Philosophers Series (Australia: Thomson, 2003), 50-51.

² Farzad Sharifian, from the field of cognitive linguistics, similarly notes that 'discourse is a vehicle for the representation of cultural conceptualisations' (*Cultural*, 12, and similarly 29).

³ Section 1.2.2.

connected to it.⁴ It is thus not concrete reality that is primary, but a culture's construction of it.⁵ Individuals are embedded in social groups that establish the elements of our world considered relevant to their experiences.

2.1.1. Cultural units

Cultural units can also be defined 'as pegs on which the members of a community hang all information that can be inferred from the interpretation of an expression against the backdrop of a shared encyclopedia'.⁶ To envision the importance of culture in communication, one might imagine receiving a letter containing only a blank sheet of paper with the simple typed sentence 'Long live the King!'⁷ The semantic content of each individual word is clear, and the words are correctly arranged according to English grammatical conventions. The receiver might also recognize the phrase as an English idiom, but there are no contextual clues to help answer the questions that this string of words brings up: Is this a fictional king or a real king? Is this is a serious letter or a joke? Previous encounters with this phrase raise possible contexts: fairy tales, historical monarchies, rebellions, comic strips.

Eco uses the example of such a letter to demonstrate the 'criterion [that] draws a sharp line that divides semantic (dictionary) competence and pragmatic and encyclopedic competence. The semantic component represents only those aspects of meaning that an ideal speaker/hearer would know in such an anonymous letter situation'.⁸ Thus, semantic content

⁴ For the definition of 'discourse' used in this thesis, see Section 1.2.2 n. 39.

⁵ See the discussion of firstness in Section 1.2.2.

⁶ Paolo Desogus, 'The Encyclopedia in Umberto Eco's Semiotics', *Semiotica* 2012.192 (2012): 501-521 (506, see further 511-13).

⁷ The example of 'an anonymous letter containing just one sentence' is from Jerrold J. Katz, *Propositional Structure and Illocutionary Force: A Study of the Contribution of Sentence Meaning to Speech Acts* (New York: Crowell, 1977), 14; it is cited in Eco, *Semiotics*, 78.

⁸ Eco, *Semiotics*, 78. See, similarly, Umberto Eco, 'Metaphor, Dictionary, and Encyclopedia', *New Literary History* 15.2 (1984): 255-71 (255). This is also Eco's differentiation between meaning as equivalence and meaning as implication; it is primarily this issue that he is addressing throughout his chapter entitled 'Dictionary vs. Encyclopedia' (*Semiotics*, 46-86). The linguistic argument over the existence of any division between dictionary and encyclopaedic meaning is beyond the scope of this thesis, but Eco's concerns about the arbitrariness of this division can also be found in this chapter. See also Desogus, 'Encyclopedia', 504, 518.

is not the only aspect of word meaning that is important to understanding. Instead, the cultural units associated with a word raise meaning possibilities for the reader, who must rely on context for guidance.⁹

Context guides the reader through these possibilities by *blowing up* or *narcotizing* various parts of the cultural units in a process called *abduction*.¹⁰ The term *abduction* is, like the semiotic triad, borrowed from Peirce.¹¹ Eco defines it as ‘the tentative and hazardous tracing of a system of signification rules which will allow the sign to acquire its meaning’.¹² He likens it to a detective looking for clues to solve a crime.¹³ Thus, if the note arrived with a newspaper clipping announcing the release of a re-digitized collection of Elvis songs, the recipient could interpret ‘Long live the King!’ as a reference to the king of rock-and-roll, especially if the return address was that of a friend who loved American music. In that case, she might detect excitement in the tone of the note. Thus, the political cultural unit connected to the Sign /king/ would be narcotized and the Elvis cultural unit blown up.¹⁴ On the other hand, if the envelope contained a news story announcing the birth of a new heir to the British throne and the friend who sent the letter were English, the recipient might read patriotism into the phrase. He would narcotize fairy tales and blow up the cultural unit of the House of Windsor.¹⁵

Abduction is this process whereby readers navigate the possibilities raised by cultural units with the aid of the clues provided by the text.¹⁶ These clues lead the reader on

⁹ For a discussion of the connections between cultural units and individual experience, see Eco, *Semiotics*, 70-71; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 506-507. Note that the term ‘context’ will be used in this thesis to refer to the text in which a word or phrase is embedded. The historical context of language use will be referenced using the term ‘encyclopaedia’.

¹⁰ Eco, *Semiotics*, 80; see also Radford, *On Eco*, 28.

¹¹ Radford, *On Eco*, 63-64; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 517-519. On abduction in general, see Igor Douven, ‘Abduction’, *SEP*.

¹² Eco, *Semiotics*, 40.

¹³ Eco, *Semiotics*, 43.

¹⁴ For the use of slashes to designate Signs, see footnote 54 below.

¹⁵ For a summary of Eco’s process of abduction in reading, see Phillips, *Prologue*, 29-31, esp. 30. Any description of abduction presupposes that the reader seeks to read the text as a ‘Model Reader’, one who agrees to play the game according to the rules that the author has laid out (Radford, *On Eco*, 5-6, 41-43).

¹⁶ ‘A Sign ... needs at least two correlations in order to function: it must belong to a presently perceptible sign complex and at the same time to a culture as the totality of its virtual sign complexes’ [Stefan

‘inferential walks’ where the topic of the passage ‘is an abductive schema that helps the reader to decide which semantic properties have to be actualized’.¹⁷ Eco uses the term ‘isotopy’, borrowed from Greimas, to specify the ‘actual textual verification’ of the ‘tentative hypothesis’ offered by the topic of the passage.¹⁸ In the process of isotopy, Eco suggests, a text may repeat ‘a series of sememes belonging to the same semantic field (*key words*)’.¹⁹ These may either be ‘obsessively reiterated throughout the text’ or ‘rather than being abundantly distributed, they are *strategically located*’.²⁰ Thus, they form a bridge from the interpretation of single Signs to an analysis of the text as a whole.

2.1.2. Encyclopaedias and universes of discourse

In a larger segment of communication, there exist ‘text-immanent’ as well as ‘text-external’ sign relations.²¹ Alkier provides definitions: ‘I call [the] world of the text, in dependence upon Charles Sanders Peirce’s concept, the *universe of discourse* of the text. I call the external relationships of the text, in dependence upon Umberto Eco, its encyclopedic relationships. The *encyclopedia* is the cultural framework in which the text is situated and from which the gaps of the text are filled’.²² The content of a cultural unit thus depends on the culture that creates it and, for an individual, on his history within that culture.²³ Although not dependent on Eco or Alkier, James H. Charlesworth describes the possibilities for such a history. He notes that an ‘idea’ can be communicated from one author to another via texts,

Alkier, *The Reality of the Resurrection: The New Testament Witness*, trans. Leroy A. Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), 206. Similarly, Sharifian notes connections between ‘speech acts, idioms, metaphors, discourse markers, etc.’ and cultural schemas (*Cultural*, 12, 25, 27).

¹⁷ Eco, *Role*, 24-25, 31-32. See also ‘sequential disclosure’ in Phillips, *Prologue*, 7-8.

¹⁸ Eco, *Role*, 27. See Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Du Sens* (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 88; cited in Umberto Eco, ‘Overinterpreting Texts’, in *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45-66 (62). For more on isotopy, see Eco, *Semiotics*, 189-201; Eco, *Lector*, 117-29.

¹⁹ Eco, *Role*, 26.

²⁰ Eco, *Role*, 26.

²¹ Stefan Alkier, ‘Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts’, in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy Andrew Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 3-21 (8).

²² Alkier, ‘Intertextuality’, 8; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 513, 520. See also Radford, *On Eco*, 10-13; Eco, *Semiotics*, 85-86.

²³ A reader brings to the text competencies, ‘an encyclopedia of cultural knowledge and conventions’, and past texts she has interpreted. This is the ‘reader’s *encyclopedia*’ (Radford, *On Eco*, 5, emphasis original).

personal encounters, or simply by ‘liv[ing] in an environment (sociological or spiritual) in which the tradition was alive or known’.²⁴ The next chapter will present evidence for these kinds of encounters across the ancient eastern Mediterranean. By means of these encounters, Roman cultural units spread.

Knowledge of cultural units is especially important for the interpretation of ancient texts where ‘there is *less* direct characterization and one has to resort to the device of inference or gap-filling *more* than in modern fiction’.²⁵ This being the case, Cor Bennema notes that ‘we must fill the gaps from our knowledge of the socio-historical context of the first-century Mediterranean world (rather than our imagination)’.²⁶ Furthermore, there is not only one such context. Rather the first-century Mediterranean world was a network of roads and shipping routes by means of which people from a variety of backgrounds met each other and interacted.²⁷ And it is the concatenation of all cultural units from each such culture that Eco calls the *encyclopaedia*, a ‘*network of interpretants*’ that includes conceptually all the various interpretants of a Sign that have ever existed.²⁸

It is thus *an* encyclopaedia—a smaller subset of the entire set of possible cultural units—that provides the codes that guide communication, both Sign production and interpretation, ‘a system of prior and taken-for-granted knowledge’.²⁹ This use of the word ‘code’ extends its meaning beyond ‘the rigid paradigm of the equivalence $p \equiv q$ ’ of

²⁴ James H. Charlesworth, ‘Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) between Two Texts’, in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Sänger and Matthias Konradt, *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments* 57 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 41-54 (43-47). Charlesworth’s descriptions are useful despite some confusion about whether or not all texts have implied authors and whether it is among implied authors or real authors that ideas spread (43-45).

²⁵ Cornelis Bennema, ‘A Comprehensive Approach to Understanding Character in the Gospel of John’, in *Characters and Characterization in the Gospel of John*, ed. Christopher W. Skinner, *Library of New Testament Studies* 461 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 36-58 (39, emphasis original).

²⁶ Bennema, ‘Comprehensive’, 43.

²⁷ See Chapter 3.

²⁸ Eco, *Semiotics*, 83-84. See also Alkier, ‘Studies’, 233-37. In practice, no one person has access to such an encyclopaedia. This will be elaborated in Section 2.1.3.

²⁹ Radford, *On Eco*, 10.

structuralism to include the inferential activity of abduction described above.³⁰ However, authors are free to arrange Signs in new and creative ways to adjust those codes.³¹ Authors and speakers in this way create a universe of discourse that writes these new codes back into the encyclopaedia and affects all subsequent communication: all communication both depends on the pre-existence of an encyclopaedia but also reshapes it.³²

Thus, the encyclopaedia is both a guide *to* the text and affected *by* the text. Alkier explains:

Die konventionalisierte Enzyklopädie ist eine regulative Hypothese, die erklären soll, was wir tun, wenn wir schreiben oder lesen. Sie geht davon aus, daß jeder Mensch als Teilnehmer einer bestimmten Kultur über kulturelles Wissen verfügt und daß Texte wie alle anderen semiotischen Erzeugnisse dieser Enzyklopädie weitgehend verpflichtet sind. Auch wenn Texte dem kulturellen Wissen widersprechen oder es erweitern, bleibt es—auch wenn es nicht genannt wird—als Bezugspunkt des Neuen von konstitutiver Bedeutung für den gesamten Signifikationsprozeß.³³

The cultural encyclopaedia provides the cultural units for interpretation but is also constituted by ‘des textes antérieurs. ... Cette circularité ne doit pas décourager une recherche rigoureuse: le seul problème est d’établir des procédures précises pour rendre compte de cette circularité’.³⁴ In places where the universe of discourse contradicts the encyclopaedia, the text must be seen as a critique of the latter. This critique is always,

³⁰ Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 518; citing Eco, *Semiotics*, 43. For more on Eco and codes, see Radford, *On Eco*, 62-64; Eco, *Semiotics*, 184, 187-88; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 502, 504-505, 513, 517.

³¹ On the fluidity of *topoi*, see, for example, Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, ed. Denis Feeney and Stephen Hinds, Roman Literature and Its Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 34-47.

³² Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 519-20. On this see further Eco, *Lector*, 55; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 514, 517. For a similar discussion using different terminology, see Sharifian, *Cultural*, 5, and also 24, 37. Justin Langford, too, discusses circularity [*Defending Hope: Semiotics and Intertextuality in 1 Peter* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 97 and 97 n. 1].

³³ Stefan Alkier, *Wunder und Wirklichkeit in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus: ein Beitrag zu einem Wunderverständnis jenseits von Entmythologisierung und Rehistorisierung*, ed. Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius, WUNT 1.134 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 72. Similarly, Sharifian notes, ‘Cultural groups are formed not just by the physical proximity of individuals but also by relative participation of individuals in each other’s conceptual world’ (*Cultural*, 4, similarly 26).

³⁴ Eco, *Lector*, 26; cited in German translation in Alkier, *Wunder*, 74. This particular work of Eco’s was only available to me in French. See further, on the circularity of analysis, Eco, *Role*, 126. This *compte rendu* had been proposed by Eco earlier in his discussion: he notes that the usual use of /lion/ happens in contexts related to the jungle, the zoo, and the circus; ‘[t]outes les autres possibilités sont fortement idiosyncrasiques et se mettent donc hors la norme: quand elles se réalisent, elles lancent un défi à l’encyclopédie et produisent des textes qui fonctionnent comme une critique métalinguistique du code’ (*Lector*, 17-18).

however, local and targeted to a specific topic of an encyclopaedia.³⁵ In chapter 7, I shall argue that John 18:28—19:22 critiques ethnicity, law, honour, and the use of power.

Because of this circularity, the universe of discourse and the encyclopaedia can be confused. Since the universe of discourse of first-century texts is often our window *into* first-century encyclopaedias, *entries in* and *expressions of* an encyclopaedia may be difficult to distinguish. Thus Justin Langford in his 2012 doctoral study of Isaiah quotations in 1 Peter refers to ‘the Petrine encyclopedia’, and it is unclear whether he means the universe of discourse of 1 and 2 Peter or the encyclopaedia that Peter uses.³⁶ Since he reads the latter from his letters, the distinction is blurred. Thus, Langford is frequently unclear in his discussions of encyclopaedias.³⁷ Furthermore, he states that ‘[t]he encyclopedia of first-century Christianity is the encyclopedia chosen for this analysis of the intertextual references’, but he never explains how he has access to this except through the text.³⁸ In any case, it is uncertain in what sense there *was* such a thing as first-century Christianity.

Langford’s study opens with an historical account of the history of Signs leading up to Peirce. He describes intertextuality, separating what he calls ‘secular’ intertextuality (where he discusses Kristeva, Barthes, Bakhtin, Riffaterre and Culler) from ‘biblical’ intertextuality (Dodd, Hays, Hatina, Moyise and Porter), and then he introduces Alkier’s methodology by way of others who have applied semiotic theory to the biblical text. Problematic among these is the work of Gordon Whitney, relevant to this thesis because it approaches signs in the Gospel of John using semiotic theory.³⁹ In his 1988 paper, however, Whitney never discusses in what way John’s *σημεῖα* and Peirce’s Signs might map (or fail

³⁵ Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 520.

³⁶ Justin Langford, “‘Signs’ of Hope in the Midst of Suffering: A Semiotic Investigation in the Use of Isaiah in 1 Peter” (PhD thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012), 123-24.

³⁷ Langford, *Defending*, 49, 87, 123-24.

³⁸ Langford, *Defending*, 135.

³⁹ Langford, *Defending*, 18-19, 21.

to map) onto each other. He uses /sign/ for both.⁴⁰ Also, although Langford asserts that ‘Whitney’s definition of interpretant coheres with Peirce’s description of an interpretant’, this is not at all clear.⁴¹ Whitney’s definitions of ‘interpretant’ include ‘both a general theory of interpretation and within this theory a specific interpretive concept belonging uniquely to the triad’ but further ‘the concept requiring a novel extension of prior insights about thought and communication’ as well as ‘a specific application in a given triad of some more general theory, interpretive principle, or controlling paradigm’.⁴² Thus, he ultimately lists in his table under the heading of ‘interpretant’ the ‘leading questions’ that he uses to arrive at his interpretations.⁴³ This is not Peircian analysis. (I am especially concerned that Whitney offers no methodology for arriving at these ‘leading questions’ other than ‘the subjective control of the interpreter’.⁴⁴ Perhaps Eco’s encyclopaedia would have been of help.) Finally, in Whitney’s work the object as Peirce’s second element of the triad drops out of the picture.⁴⁵ While there may be aspects of Whitney’s analysis of interest to those studying Old Testament citations and *sensus plenior*, his paper does not advance discussion on Peircian semiotic methodologies nor on semiotic analyses of the Gospel of John.

The analysis undertaken in this thesis, however, will focus especially on the effect present in texts where the universe of discourse leaves silences that must be filled.⁴⁶ In such a text, the encyclopaedia provides the cultural units that the text either narcotizes or blows up to bring the reader to understanding. Yet the encyclopaedia is also constrained by the world in which a culture functions—that which impinges on its members. The world ‘serves

⁴⁰ Gordon E. Whitney, ‘A Semiotic Approach to Old Testament Fulfillment Citations in the Fourth Gospel’ (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Wheaton, IL, 1988), e.g., the ambiguous reference to ‘a single sign’ on p. 6.

⁴¹ Langford, *Defending*, 19.

⁴² Whitney, ‘Semiotic Approach’, 1, 2, 6.

⁴³ Whitney, ‘Semiotic Approach’, 12.

⁴⁴ Whitney, ‘Semiotic Approach’, 2.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the analysis of the ‘seven signs’ and the column headed ‘Object-Event (Referent)’ where the entries are not objects for the Signs listed, at least in a Peircian sense (Whitney, ‘Semiotic Approach’, 6, 11).

⁴⁶ Eco, *Lector*, 63-64.

to offer resistance for a process of interpretation for the process of semiosis which represents it'.⁴⁷

Words are not receptacles, neither of simple (lexical) nor of complex (encyclopaedic) contents. Instead, words connect to a variety of possible semantic contents that must be chosen based on the reader's abductive process through the dictionary entries suggested by the cultural units of the encyclopaedia, as constrained by the context.⁴⁸ Semiotic theory that connects words, cultural units, and the universe of discourse of a text will help to structure the approach to the Johannine trial narrative taken in this thesis. The first and second century CE, however, add multiple cultural encyclopaedias to the task of abduction.

2.1.3. Multiple cultures, multiple cultural units

An encyclopaedia inevitably becomes more complex when cultures come into contact with each other, and such is the case for the Mediterranean Basin of the first and second century CE. Thus, what has so far been called *the* encyclopaedia, composed of every possible cultural unit, can be divided into smaller volumes, each related to a specific social group.⁴⁹ Although they are technically smaller sections of the one comprehensive encyclopaedia, /encyclopaedia/ will be used in this thesis for these smaller units as well. These cultural encyclopaedias, like languages, are not completely discreet units but participate in the same intersectionality described with regard to other factors of identity.⁵⁰ Differences in encyclopaedias comprise one of the main difficulties in interpreting ancient

⁴⁷ Radford, *On Eco*, 16, 75. This same effect is described by others. Peirce defines an object as a 'single known existing thing or thing believed formerly to have existed or expected to exist, or a collection of such things, or a known quality or relation or fact, which single object may be a collection, or a whole of parts, or it may have some other mode of being, such as an act permitted whose being does not prevent its negation from being equally permitted, or something of a general nature desired, required, or invariably found under certain general circumstances'. Liszka explains that 'it serves to offer resistance, to provide a constraint, or, in general, to act as a determinant for the process of semeiosis which represents it'. It is this resistance that connects the object with Peirce's concept of secondness (*General*, 21, citing *C.P.* 2.232).

⁴⁸ Radford, *On Eco*, 63.

⁴⁹ Alkier, 'Studies', 233. On the virtual nature of the encyclopaedia, see Umberto Eco, *From the Tree to the Labyrinth: Historical Studies on the Sign and Interpretation*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 88-89; for a similar description from the field of cognitive linguistics, see Sharifian, *Cultural*, 21-22.

⁵⁰ See below and Section 2.2.

texts. Alkier points out ‘die enorme Differenz zwischen der Enzyklopädie des paulinischen Christentums und der gegenwärtigen deutschen Enzyklopädie’.⁵¹ While any attempt to reconstruct a discrete encyclopaedia of Pauline Christianity must be questioned, the encyclopaedias at the disposal of the auditors of the early biblical texts are significantly different from present-day encyclopaedias.

In places where different cultures come into contact, some people become conversant in, or at least familiar with, more than one encyclopaedia, which are then available to the Model Reader for activation.⁵² The cultural units (CU in Figure 1) for “king” and “world” available in John’s first- or second-century CE context are different depending on the cultural encyclopaedia in which they are heard.⁵³

⁵¹ Alkier, *Wunder*, 291. For an excellent example of an analysis that takes into account the availability of multiple encyclopaedias, see Ben-Porat’s work on the cultural unit “autumn” [‘Two-Way Pragmatics: From World to Text and Back’, in *Literary Pragmatics*, ed. Roger D. Sell (London: Routledge, 1991), 142-63 (esp. 156-57). See also Sharifian, *Cultural*, 29-31]. For the use of guillemets, see footnote 54.

⁵² A Model Reader is one who agrees to play the game according to the rules that the author communicates (Radford, *On Eco*, 5-6). Note that Eco’s Model Reader is never empirical but always cultural (Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 511, 513, 519-520). For more on Model Readers, see Section 7.1.4.

⁵³ See n. 55 for an explanation of the double quotes and slashes used in semiotic analyses. Jewish and Greek cultural units for “king” will be discussed only minimally in this thesis. For more on Jewish cultural units for “king”, see Beth M. Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse in the Fourth Gospel: John’s Eternal King*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Linguistic Biblical Studies 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 73-133. For more on Greek cultural units for “king”, see Ulrich Busse, ‘Metaphorik und Rhetorik im Johannesevangelium: Das Bildfeld vom König’, 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 1.200 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 279-317. Busse develops an especially detailed description of the cultural unit of kingship based on the ‘geschichtliche wie politische Wirklichkeit der Diadochen’. His inclusion of the ‘Hirtenbild’ and its connections to John 10 are especially compelling. I appreciate, too, his insight that the Jewish horizon of understanding would be influenced or superimposed by more recent experiences. However, in this thesis I focus on the Roman horizon of understanding because of the *Haftpunkte* in John 18:28—19:22 (‘Metaphorik’, 283, 282, 303).

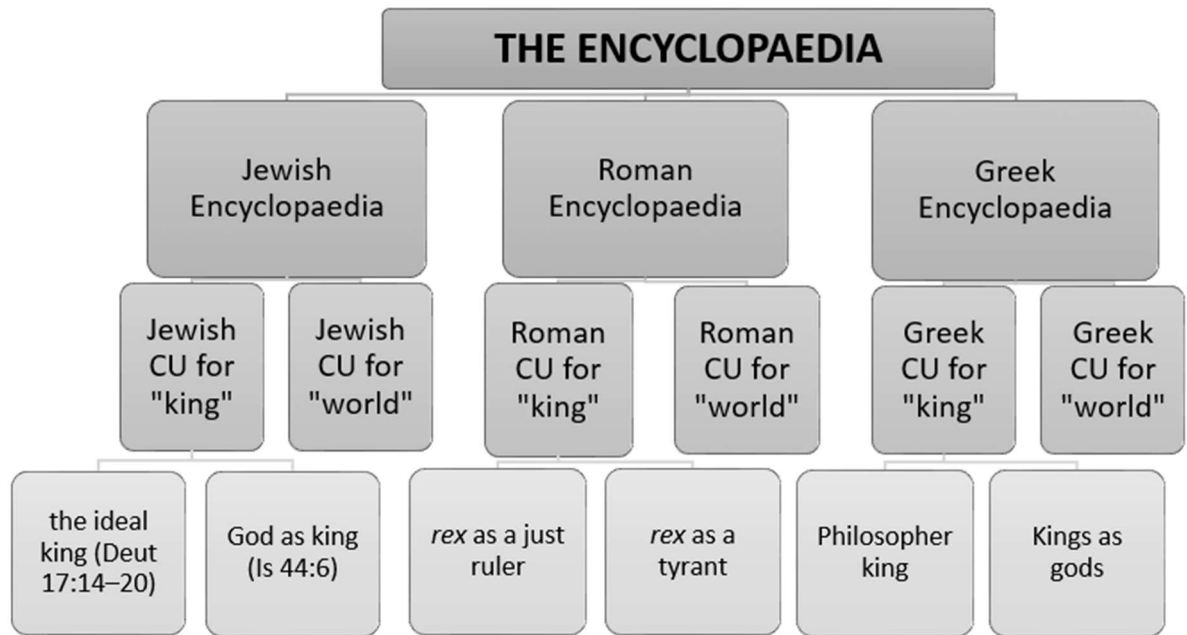


Figure 1. Cultural units for “king” and “world” within some of the cultural encyclopaedias of the first and second century CE

While the cultural unit of “king” in the Roman encyclopaedia, for example, may overlap with its cultural unit in the Greek encyclopaedia (the philosopher king was also a just king), the two will most likely not be identical.⁵⁴ Therefore, a text may not make sense to a reader, not because the author is communicating poorly, but rather because the reader is using a different encyclopaedia than the author expected her to use.⁵⁵

Another layer of complexity arises when communication happens across boundaries not only of culture but also of language.⁵⁶ Each cultural encyclopaedia is connected with the language of the culture in which it arises, and different cultures may or may not use the same language—there is no one-to-one culture-language identity. Thus, ‘translation is always a

⁵⁴ See Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 508, where he makes the same point using the example of colours. For the conventions used for representing Signs and objects: ‘Single slashes indicate something intended as an expression or a sign-vehicle, while guillemets indicate something intended as content. Therefore /xxxx/ means, expresses or refers to “xxxx” ... Therefore, //automobile// is the object corresponding to the verbal expression /automobile/, and both refer to the content unit “automobile” (Eco, *Theory*, xi).

⁵⁵ Radford, *On Eco*, 10-13. The meaning-making provisions in the various cultural encyclopedias overlap with but are not identical to issues such as cultural scripts which encode expectations of language performance. On this see, for example, A. Wierzbicka, ‘Intercultural Pragmatics and Communication’, *ELL* 735-42. Also, note that these theories of communication presuppose that comprehension is the goal of language exchanges, and that therefore a lack of comprehension can be used as an indication that some part of the process has gone awry. See, for example, the assumptions in the discussion of Eco, *Lector*, 15-19.

⁵⁶ See, somewhat similarly, Ehrensperger, *Crossroads*, 41-43, 57-59.

shift, not between two languages, but between two cultures—or two encyclopedias’.⁵⁷ This is not to argue for the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, in which the constructs and constructions of one’s language predetermine one’s ability to think certain things or in certain ways.⁵⁸ The process of determining meaning described so far, however, does suggest the weaker version that is more generally accepted, that ‘language *influences* our *habitual* ways of thinking’.⁵⁹ This coheres with the circularity between encyclopaedia and universe of discourse presented above.

In order for communication to happen, authors use a language and expect their readers to make use of ‘the whole encyclopedia that the performances of that language have implemented, namely the cultural conventions that that language has produced and the very history of the previous interpretations of many texts’.⁶⁰ This is specifically true for texts written ‘not for a single addressee but for a community of readers’.⁶¹ So how does a reader know which encyclopaedia to open? Alkier, speaking of Paul’s letters, references this problem:

Die Alternative, Paulusbriefe ‘jüdisch’ *oder* ‘hellenistisch’ zu lesen, wird vollends brüchig, wenn bedacht wird, daß Texte sich nicht nur der intertextuellen Kompetenz ihrer Verfasser und ihrer Leser, sondern einer allgemeinen, kulturbedingten enzyklopädischen Kompetenz verdanken. Jede Textherstellung und jede Textlektüre muß auf eine Enzyklopädie kulturell konventionalisierten Wissens zurückgreifen. Die kulturellen Zusammengänge, in denen frühchristliche Texte und insbesondere die paulinischen Briefe entstanden sind, lassen sich dabei nicht in eine jüdische und eine griechisch-römische Kultur sezieren.⁶²

One text from a multicultural environment (e.g., the Gospel of John as well as the Pauline epistles) may not depend on only one encyclopaedia.

⁵⁷ Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, trans. Alastair McEwen, ed. Olga Zorzi Pugliese, Toronto Italian Studies: Goggio Publication Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 17.

⁵⁸ John Edwards, *Language and Identity: An Introduction*, ed. Rajend Mesthrie, Key Topics in Sociolinguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 259.

⁵⁹ Edwards, *Language and Identity*, 60-61, 259-60.

⁶⁰ Eco, ‘Between’, 68.

⁶¹ Eco, ‘Between’, 67.

⁶² Alkier, *Wunder*, 72. It is exactly a problem with encyclopaedias that Alkier posits as a problem for the interpretation of 1 Corinthians (180; see also 292).

Furthermore, encyclopaedias, like languages, are not completely impervious to one another. Thus, with multiple encyclopaedias available, texts must provide clues for the abductive process. Eco explains: ‘*un texte est un produit dont le sort interprétatif doit faire partie de son propre mécanisme génératif*; générer un texte signifie mettre en œuvre une stratégie dont font partie les prévisions des mouvements de l’autre’.⁶³ The present study argues that a text may envisage competence in more than one encyclopaedia, and that the Johannine trial narrative provides key words (see above) to indicate that the Roman encyclopaedia ought to be used for interpretation.⁶⁴

Yet what does it mean to open an encyclopaedia? When Langford does allow a cultural encyclopaedia to inform his analysis, he limits it to ‘issues of date and authorship’, ‘audience’, ‘setting’, ‘tendencies in textual tradition when the NT authors cited OT Scripture’ and citation practices (where the overlap with Jewish practices is noted).⁶⁵ It is true, as he says, that to ‘describe the virtual encyclopedia of first-century Christianity in its entirety’ would be impossible since ‘[t]o do so would both go beyond the scope of this [or indeed any] study and require an extensive examination of the other NT documents as well’.⁶⁶ However, for Langford’s study it might have been illuminating to include cultural units of the first-century encyclopaedias that might clarify the meanings of words important to 1 Peter, such as ἐλπίς (e.g., 1 Pet. 1:3) or πάθημα (e.g., 1 Pet. 4:13).

A better example of a study that takes into account the contact between cultural encyclopaedias is the recent work of Per Jarle Bekken.⁶⁷ Although he does not refer to Eco

⁶³ Eco, *Lector*, 65, emphasis original. See further on this Eco, *Role*, 17-23; Eco, *Lector*, 95-106; Eco, ‘Between’, 68.

⁶⁴ ‘Envisage’ takes a step back from any direct apprehension of an *intentio auctoris*. Instead, ‘the ... notion of *intentio operis*, the intention of the work, plays an important role, as a source of meaning which, while not being reducible to the pre-textual *intentio auctoris*, none the less operates as a constraint upon the free play of the *intentio lectoris*’ [Stefan Collini, ‘Introduction: Interpretation Terminable and Interminable’, in *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-21 (9)].

⁶⁵ Langford, *Defending*, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93-95.

⁶⁶ Langford, *Defending*, 87 n. 3. Here Langford also references Alkier, *Wunder*, 285.

⁶⁷ Bekken, *Lawsuit*.

or Alkier, his use of Philo, Roman imperial imagery and Roman legal texts demonstrates the ways in which Roman and Jewish encyclopaedias intersected. Bekken argues, furthermore, that Philo's writings appropriate Roman images in his depiction of a future Messiah.⁶⁸ This thesis approaches Jewish-Roman cultural intersections from a different angle. It notes clues in the Johannine trial narrative that blow up the Roman encyclopaedia available to those (Jew or gentile) whose lives intersected with Roman contexts.

Bekken's work brings up two further points of importance. First, his examination of Roman legal papyri demonstrates that the Johannine description of Jesus' trial coheres with other contemporary trial procedures.⁶⁹ This contradicts Herzog's suggestion that the trial referred to in Gospel narratives ought to be called a 'show trial'.⁷⁰ On the one hand, Herzog is correct to demonstrate that twenty-first century assumptions about trial procedures, particularly the assumption of a preponderant concern for justice, are quite far from first-century CE primary concerns.⁷¹ On the other hand, the choice of the word 'show' to describe Jesus' first century CE trial assumes the following practices, not all of which were a consistent part of Roman judicial proceedings.

In a show trial, the guilt of the person being 'tried' has already been determined. There is no effort to weigh evidence, nor is there a defense of the offender. Show trials are conducted under the firm control of the state; there is no independent judiciary. The procedure does not conform to laws but follows the expedient will of power elites. Some ad hoc body of accusers

⁶⁸ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 230. The details of his analysis of Philo cannot be engaged with in this thesis, although it is to be noted that he depends on the older work of Versnel for his information on Roman triumphs and does not engage with Mary Beard [H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2007)]. Another critique of Bekken's work has come from JoAnn Brant who points out the difficulty of connecting Philo's exegesis with John and his readers [Jo-Ann A. Brant, review of Per Jarle Bekken, *The Lawsuit Motif in John's Gospel from New Perspectives: Jesus Christ, Crucified Criminal and Emperor of the World*, *JTS* 66.2 (2015): 773-76 (775); Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 258].

⁶⁹ This is an important observation, despite some problematic elements in the analysis. In Bekken's chapter on Jewish and Roman legal proceedings, for example, he regularly uses the term 'Greco-Roman' to refer to 'the provincial procedures of the Greco-Roman administration', yet in what way the administration is Greek is not explained (*Lawsuit*, 71, 71-117). Furthermore, he makes no distinction between the judicial procedure for a Roman citizen (such as Paul) and a non-citizen such as Jesus. See, for example, the different wordings of *P.Oxy.* 1 64 and *P.Oxy.* 1 65 as well as the subsequent discussion (104-106). On the problematic use of 'Greco-Roman' see Chapter 1; on intersectionality, see Section 1.2.3.

⁷⁰ William R. Herzog, *Jesus, Justice, and the Reign of God: A Ministry of Liberation* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 240-41.

⁷¹ Herzog, *Jesus*, 240.

stands in place of a jury, and its members belong to the same ruling class as the accusers. A show trial is not a legal process but a political process whose purpose is the public degradation and humiliation of an enemy of the state before his foreordained execution.⁷²

As will be shown in Chapter 6, some of these assumptions about trial procedures are relevant to the Johannine trial narrative.⁷³ However, the sharp dichotomy between eras that Herzog proposes is overstated. Romans did value justice, although it was not necessarily the prime motivation behind a trial.⁷⁴ Cicero, for example, in his discussion of moral goodness (*honestum*) puts ‘the conservation of organized society’ second after ‘the full perception and intelligent development of the true’ (*Off.* 1.5). And for the regulation of society, he considers two virtues to be necessary (1.7): justice (*iustitia*) and charity (*beneficentia*). Herzog is correct that there is no presumption of innocence, but Roman trials often included input from the public and thus there was not necessarily presumption of guilt, either.⁷⁵ Trials *might* be conducted as a method of humiliation, but Herzog gives no examples, and there is no reason to think that public degradation was the purpose of all of them. Furthermore, to qualify ancient trials as not being legal but political is to impose the current cultural units of these words onto ancient encyclopaedias. Thus, it might occasionally be helpful, perhaps, for a scholar to put the word ‘trial’ in quotation marks in order to remind readers that the procedures and assumptions of antiquity differed from those of today. I have, for similar reasons, chosen to use the term /Jesus-believers/ rather than /Christians/, and I use quotation marks (‘Jews’) when referencing John’s use of Ἰουδαῖοι (see below). Yet to characterize first-century CE judicial procedures as ‘show’ trials seems to impose upon them a critique that stems entirely from the values of the twenty-first century. Therefore, I shall continue

⁷² Herzog, *Jesus*, 240–41.

⁷³ Section 6.1.

⁷⁴ See also the differences between citizens and non-citizens in legal proceedings mentioned in Section 6.2.2.2, as well as the distinction between natural and positive law described in Section 7.1.2.

⁷⁵ See discussions in Section 6.2.1.1 and 7.1.2.

throughout this thesis to use the term /trial/, reminding readers of these differences at relevant points.

The second concern raised by Bekken's analysis stems from occasional slippage between historical and narrative referents in Bekken's discussion of Pilate, Jesus and the Jews. For example, when Bekken suggests that 'the Jews perceived that Jesus' kingship stood in opposition to the Emperor' citing John 19:12, I agree to the extent that they use such an opposition to pressure Pilate into crucifying Jesus.⁷⁶ When he goes on to conclude that their response to Pilate in verse 15 (οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα) 'emphasizes how John perceived the tragic irony behind the entire trial: in rejecting Jesus as their "Emperor" ... the Jews at the same time denied their eschatological hopes of being the people of God, who were meant to have the ultimate sovereignty over all nations', I understand that he is describing his understanding of John's communicative purpose, and I shall want to nuance this evaluation.⁷⁷ However, when he concludes that the 'implication of rejecting this eschatological hope' is a loss of status before God and an equal subjection before Caesar, I am concerned about who is making this logical connection (John or Bekken) and which Jews are being discussed, 'the Jews' as John characterizes them or the Jews as a historical group of people.⁷⁸ Thus, I want to make clear that this thesis distinguishes between the characterization of historical people within the universe of discourse of the text, which I am analyzing, and the historical people themselves, which I am not, except as evidence from the past can clarify the cultural units available to John's auditors. For this reason, I shall follow the convention often adopted by Johannine scholars of putting 'the Jews' in quotation marks when it refers to the people John calls Ἰουδαῖοι. This is a more restricted referent than Adele Reinhartz suggests is usual for the quotation marks.

[T]hey convey ... that the Jews as presented in the Gospel of John are a construct of the text itself; that they represent the state of unbelief and

⁷⁶ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 247. See discussion in Section 6.2.2.3.

⁷⁷ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 247. See Section 7.1.

⁷⁸ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 247.

symbolize the unbelieving world as a whole; that they are not to be identified with the historical Jewish nation that lived in the Greco-Roman empire in the first century of the common era, whom the modern-day Jewish people consider their historical and spiritual ancestors. Underlying these points is the conviction that the Gospel as such is not anti-Jewish, since it speaks not of ‘real’ Jews but only about ‘Jews’ as symbol or metaphor.⁷⁹

In this thesis, the quotation marks refer to the use of Ἰουδαῖοι in the Gospel of John as a Sign that represents certain historical Jews on the ground of their participation in the events surrounding the crucifixion of Jesus (see below for the meaning of /ground/ in this semiotic triad).⁸⁰ The Sign does not, however, refer to all Jews, either ancient or contemporary, nor are they, in my view, a symbol or metaphor in the Fourth Gospel for unbelief.⁸¹

Now that semiotic theory has been explained and the cultural unit used in this thesis for “trial” clarified, I turn to studies on bilingualism to provide further information on a phenomenon that occurs when languages come into contact with each other: code-switching.

2.2. Languages in Contact

Many of the terms used to discuss language use, especially *language* and *bilingualism*, seem simple to define and yet are not. It is only once these concepts have been explored that one can go on to look at the code-switching that happens when languages come into contact with each other.

2.2.1. Definitions: language, bilingualism and domain

When I say that I speak English, I think that means something like: Of the English words contained in a standard dictionary, I have some facility with a great many of them, and I can put them together into fairly grammatical and communicative sequences. My

⁷⁹ Adele Reinhartz, “‘Jews’ and Jews in the Fourth Gospel”, in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, Jewish and Cristian Heritage Series 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 213-27 (213).

⁸⁰ For more about this kind of semiotic analysis, see Section 2.3.2. For more on the referent of ‘the Jews’, see Section 7.1.3.

⁸¹ Section 7.1.3. See, also, against the translation ‘Judaicans’, Margaret Williams, *Jews in a Graeco-Roman Environment*, ed. Jörg Frey, WUNT, vol. 1.312 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 24-28.

idiolect, however, is highly influenced by the usages of people I have read and those I have spoken with, as well as by the vocabulary, grammar, and idioms of other languages that I have learned.⁸² Thus, my version of English is not precisely the same language as your version of English, as anyone who has ever tried to communicate from Great Britain to Australia to the US to Canada can attest. Even among various people of the United Kingdom, communication can be fraught with difficulty. No dictionary or grammar can contain all the elements of every idiolect used by all of those considered to be English speakers, and no English speaker uses all of the elements contained in any dictionary or grammar. Language thus proves to be an imaginary construct, influenced as much by the social and political organization of speakers as by its actual use, and no completely satisfactory definition has yet been found.⁸³

Carol Myers-Scotton explains the two different ways of determining what counts as a language: according to ‘structural (linguistic) criteria’ and according to ‘socio-political criteria’.⁸⁴ More detailed discussions could be entertained.⁸⁵ However, I propose, for the purposes of this thesis, to refer to the Greek language, and mean the language resources as they existed in the first century CE (focusing especially on vocabulary and grammar, but also recognizing the presence of other elements, such as accentuation and pronunciation) that spread from Greece (particularly Athens) around the Mediterranean. This language, Koine Greek, is sometimes thought to refer to the language of the common people (as opposed to some higher literary standard), but Koine to first century writers meant the

⁸² *Idiolect* was first mentioned and briefly defined in Section 1.2.3.

⁸³ Dutch and Flemish, for example, are considered by some speakers to be separate languages, while English, whether American or Australian, is considered one.

⁸⁴ Carol Myers-Scotton, *Multiple Voices: An Introduction to Bilingualism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 17-22; see also her discussion of Dutch, 50.

⁸⁵ Dell Hymes recognizes ‘[t]hree criteria’ as important for the organization of speech patterns: ‘the historical provenience of the language resources; presence or absence of mutual intelligibility; and specialization in use’. He proposes the terms ‘[l]anguage and *dialect* . . . for the first; *codes* for the second; and *varieties* and *registers* for the third [‘Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life’, in *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings*, ed. Christina Bratt Paulston and G. Richard Tucker (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 30-47 (44)].

language that all people have in common (as opposed to local languages).⁸⁶ I shall also discuss the Latin language, by which I mean the language resources as they existed in the first century CE (focusing especially on vocabulary and grammar, but also recognizing the presence of other elements, such as accentuation and pronunciation) that spread from the people who ruled the Italic peninsula by the end of the first century BCE into their conquered territories.⁸⁷ The purpose of setting out this rather detailed and somewhat pedantic definition is that, especially in a discussion of languages in contact, it is important to note that the boundaries between languages are not always clear, either to those who use the languages or to those who study them; words and phrases cross those boundaries frequently and often without fanfare. The porousness of languages is inherent in what one might otherwise reify as “Greek” and “Latin”.⁸⁸ As Biville says, ‘[c]e que l’on appelle “le grec” et “le latin” ne

⁸⁶ Kees Versteegh, ‘Dead or Alive? The Status of the Standard Language’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 52-74 (70).

⁸⁷ James Clackson, and Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 84.

⁸⁸ Also, the concept of language must be distinguished from that of a ‘standard language’. This is not a linguistic concept, but rather a sociolinguistic one. In that sense, it is mostly interested in language attitudes [William Bright, ‘Introduction: The Dimensions of Sociolinguistics’ (paper presented at Sociolinguistics : proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964, The Hague, The Netherlands, 1966, 1964) 13; John Edwards, ‘Socio-Educational Issues Concerning Indigenous Minority Languages: Terminology and Status’, in *European Lesser Used Languages in Primary Education: Inventory and Proceedings of the Colloquy*, ed. Jantsje Sikma and D. Gorter (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy/Mercator, 1991), 207-226 (220)]. Einar Haugen, for example, listed ‘[t]he four aspects of language development . . . in taking the step . . . from vernacular to standard’ as ‘(1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community’ [*The Ecology of Language* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), 252]. Richard Hudson’s sharp dichotomy between standardization and ‘normal language development’, however, has to be rejected because language development is too varied to posit one progression as ‘normal’ [*Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 33]. Although Charles Ferguson offers a detailed typology for classifying language standardization, this goes beyond the level of analysis warranted for ancient cultures [‘The Language Factor in National Development’, in *Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, ed. Frank A. Rice and Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington, D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, 1962), 8-14 (9-12)]. For another extensive discussion of the historical process of standardization, see William Downes, *Language and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33-44. Note also Versteegh’s cautions about the second meaning of ‘standard language’ (other than a codified variety). Versteegh also mistakenly lists Haugen’s ‘stages’ as ‘selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration’ (‘Dead or Alive’, 54-56).

Individual speakers may choose not to conform to the perceived standard, thus contributing to the vitality of minority varieties. Such ‘acts of identity’ express solidarity and can in effect raise the language to the implicit position of a standard with selection, elaboration of function and acceptance. See Ellen Bouchard Ryan, and Howard Giles, *Attitudes Towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts* (London: Arnold, 1982); John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 100; Charlotte Hoffman, *An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Longman Linguistics Library (London: Longman, 1991), 202; Halliday, ‘Anti-Languages’; R. B. Le Page, and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity: Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity* (Fernelmont: Intercommunications, 2006). On the use of language standardization as

sont eux aussi que des abstractions, qui se réalisent à travers toutes sortes de variantes diatopiques et diastratiques'.⁸⁹ These abstractions constitute a standard language as 'an idea in the mind rather than a reality—a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent'.⁹⁰ This idea affects language use.

The fact that languages are conceived of in this way means that speakers distinguish between different sets of norms, different languages. Those who have the ability to communicate according to more than one norm are called /bilingual/.⁹¹ Yet this term is not as clear as might be expected. Among those who study it, bilingualism is generally 'used as a cover term for multilingualism, too'.⁹² Furthermore, societal bilingualism can exist without individual bilingualism.⁹³ In addition, Pierre Flobert mentions the distinction between 'active and passive bilingualism' where a person who is actively bilingual can produce utterances in the second language, whereas a person passively bilingual can only understand (some or all) utterances produced by others.⁹⁴ The existence of those who might understand some Latin without being able to speak it will be important for this study.

Bilingual communication can furthermore be productively studied in terms of domains. Joshua Fishman, in 1965, used the term *domain* 'to designate the *major clusters of*

a form of domination, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 46-52.

⁸⁹ Frédérique Biville, 'Situations et documents bilingues dans le monde gréco-romain', in *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie: Actes du colloque organisé à l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée-Jean Pouilloux, UMR 5189 Hisoma et JE 2409 Romanitas, les 17, 18 et 19 mai 2004*, ed. Frédérique Biville, Jean-Claude Decourt, and Georges Rougemont, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 37, Série épigraphique et historique 6 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée-Jean Pouilloux, 2008), 35-53 (36).

⁹⁰ James Milroy, and Lesley Milroy, *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English* (London: Routledge, 1999), 19.

⁹¹ For a broad overview of important concepts from the field of bilingualism, see Jonathan M. Watt, 'Some Implications of Bilingualism for New Testament Exegesis', in *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, Linguistic Biblical Studies 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-27 (11-19).

⁹² Myers-Scotton, *Multiple*, 2; see also discussions of fluency requirements, 38-45. For the development of the term 'bilingual' in academic use, see Watt, 'Implications', 10-11.

⁹³ Li Wei, 'Bilingualism', *ELL* 1.

⁹⁴ Pierre Flobert, 'Latin-Frankish Bilingualism in Sixth-Century Gaul: The Latin of Clovis', in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 419-430 (421 n. 9); Myers-Scotton, *Multiple*, 44.

interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings'.⁹⁵ Language decisions in these situations are based on something more complex than topic. Instead, they tend to group themselves according to human institutions or intersections of activity. Because these groupings are culture-dependent, there is no 'invariant set of domains applicable to all bilingual settings. Thus, domains of analysis cannot be chosen *a priori* but must be extrapolated from the interactions existing in the times and places under investigation.

The twin applications of Fishman's discussion, that the concept of language domain emerges from societal patterns as opposed to individual use, and that specific domains should not be imposed on the evidence but instead should emerge from it, provide a theoretical basis for Chapter 3's examination of Latin and Greek use in the first and second century CE along with the societal patterns in which they are expressed.⁹⁶ Latin use in the Eastern Mediterranean is primarily found in certain domains: the army, the administration, and commerce. Latin intersects in these domains with other, local languages as well as with Greek. Each piece of written evidence is located at an intersection of the matrix of language use.⁹⁷ And from the pressures at these intersections, code-switching emerges.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Joshua A. Fishman, 'The Relationship between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When', in *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*, ed. J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 15-32 (19, emphasis original).

⁹⁶ This discussion of domains is related to Uriel Weinreich's concepts of '*co-ordinate* and *compound* bilingualism'. The first refers to a type of bilingualism where each language occupies its own conceptual space and has its own system of references; the second obtains when both languages are learned simultaneously and both have the same reference world. Thus, these two different types of bilingualism could arise from separate or overlapping language domains respectively, although also, as Edwards points out, from subsequent rather than simultaneous language learning. This distinction is only relevant for individual bilingualism, however, and therefore will not be brought into the flow of the current discussion [*Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953), 9-10; Edwards, *Multilingualism*, 71].

⁹⁷ Moxnes, 'Identity', 391.

⁹⁸ For a more detailed description of the terminology used in bilingual studies in a volume that addresses multilingualism in the ancient world, see Alex Mullen, 'Introduction: Multiple Languages, Multiple Identities', in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-35 (15-21).

2.2.2. Code-switching for specificity

Although the term *code* has its roots in structuralism which posits a rigid, one-to-one correspondence between terms and their meanings, Ronald Wardhaugh specifies that it is a “neutral” term . . . used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication’.⁹⁹ Hymes uses it to emphasize the communicative aspect of language. Code-switching happens when one system of communication is used in the midst of another.¹⁰⁰ These systems can be different languages, different styles of speech, different registers. Edwards defines the term broadly: ‘all ordinary speakers have a range of possibilities in their linguistic repertoire, from which they pick and choose according to their sense of the occasion. This is code-switching’.¹⁰¹ Thus, for example, at a wedding dinner among a group of mainly English speakers, a bilingual diner might turn to her sister, and ask, ‘C’est pas dégueulasse?’ In this example, the code-switch is not only from English to French but also from a formal register to a very informal one. However, when one parent says to another, ‘Shall we take the kids to the Z-O-O?’, this also constitutes a switch from one code (in this case standard English) to another (in this case, spelling).¹⁰² It is important

⁹⁹ Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 6th ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 84. For more on the use of the word ‘code’, see Eco, *Semiotics*, 187-88; Radford, *On Eco*, 62-64; Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 502, 504-505, 517-18.

¹⁰⁰ Eco uses the term ‘code-switch’ in a different sense. For Eco it means ‘to read a given text in the light of “aberrant” codes (where “aberrant” means only different from the ones envisaged by the sender)’ (*Role*, 22). For a history of the research on code-switching, see Rodolfo Jacobson, ‘Conveying a Broader Message through Bilingual Discourse: An Attempt at Contrastive Codeswitching Research’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 106 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 51-76.

¹⁰¹ Edwards, *Multilingualism*, 80-81.

¹⁰² In both of these examples, the code-switch brought two people closer together and excluded everyone else in order to achieve a specific purpose (the exchange of private opinions which in the first case might embarrass the hosts and in the second might prematurely excite the children and lead to their disappointment). Carol Myers-Scotton and William Ury discuss these functions under the rubric of redefining social arenas [‘Bilingual Strategies: The Social Functions of Code- Switching’, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 13 (1977): 5-20]. Note that when Robin Osborne asks ‘among the many who are multilingual, is there anyone who is multilingual?’, she mixes the unity of one person’s idiolect with the awareness of the various languages (possibly reflected in societal bilingualism) that compose it [‘Cultures as Languages and Languages as Cultures’, in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 317-34 (318, 329, 333)].

at the outset to recognize that this phenomenon occurs both among bilinguals and monolinguals, so that bilingualism is not a necessary precondition for its use.¹⁰³

Code-switching exists on a continuum with borrowing, which happens when a resource of one system is appropriated by the users of another and becomes integrated into the new language.¹⁰⁴ Resources can be borrowed and then eventually used by monolinguals without reference to or knowledge of their origins.¹⁰⁵ Code-switching, however, demands at least an implicit awareness of the original context. Penelope Gardner-Chloros points out that ‘loans are *more* likely to be brief ... linguistically integrated into the receiving language [and] filling a semantic gap in the language’.¹⁰⁶ She memorably concludes, ‘a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job’.¹⁰⁷ Yet distinctions between the two are not clear-cut.

The sense of speakers on the status of a word could provide another data point, but Erica McClure has not found consensus on the matter even within a single speech

¹⁰³ As Edwards describes it: ‘all ordinary speakers have a range of possibilities in their linguistic repertoire, from which they pick and choose according to their sense of the occasion. This is *code-switching*, and its ubiquity and frequency are worth noting, not only because they illustrate a powerful and virtually automatic grasp of linguistic and sociolinguistic subtleties, but also because they link monolingual performances to the more apparent juggling of the bilingual’ (*Language and Identity*, 30). Code-switching can be inter- or intra-sentential, but the Fourth Gospel only evidences the second, that within sentences. Furthermore, no distinction will be made between code-switching and code mixing, and the latter term will be avoided since it can have negative connotations (S. Mahootian, ‘Code Switching and Mixing’, *ELL* 512). The word ‘loanword’ is also often used for words that have been borrowed and integrated into a new language, but this will be referred to as ‘borrowing’ in this thesis.

¹⁰⁴ Mahootian, ‘Code Switching’, 513.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Cavenaile provides a superb overview with examples of Latin into Greek code-switching and borrowing in his first three introductory pages. His further description of progressive integration of domains and word forms has been disputed and revised by subsequent research [‘Influence latine sur le vocabulaire grec d’Égypte’, *CdE* 26.51 (1951): 391-404 (393-95)].

¹⁰⁶ Penelope Gardner-Chloros, ‘Code-Switching in Relation to Language Contact and Convergence’, in *Devenir bilingue-parler bilingue: Acts du 2e colloque sur le bilinguisme, Université de Neuchâtel, 20-22 septembre 1984*, ed. Georges Lüdi, *Linguistische Arbeiten* 169 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1987), 99-111 (102); see also Simon Swain, ‘Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 128-67 (esp 157 and 157 n. 90). Whether or not switches of one word can be counted as code-switching has been disputed. See discussion in Erica McClure, ‘The Relationship between Form and Function in Written National Language-English Codeswitching: Evidence from Mexico, Spain, and Bulgaria’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs* 106 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 125-50 (129-30). This study will focus exclusively on such switches, however, using the concept of specificity as justification.

¹⁰⁷ Gardner-Chloros, ‘Code-Switching’, 102.

community.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, since there is, as yet, ‘no independent theoretical framework’ for analyzing code-switching in written texts, caution is required.¹⁰⁹ It is true that in Chapter 3, I shall be assembling ‘information which is not the product of social scientific research in the current sense—i.e., a procedure involving formal data collection, appropriate selection of samples and control groups, theory formation, etc’.¹¹⁰ However, written evidence does emerge from an oral milieu.¹¹¹ Because of this, I shall assume that evidence of language contact in written records reflects language contact in the oral sphere, but that it does not necessarily do so by mirroring it exactly.¹¹²

Both oral and written code-switching can arise from a variety of motivations, but only two are relevant to the present analysis. First, language switches can occur because of a change in topic. As early as 1964, Susan Ervin-Tripp noted that ‘where codeswitching and interpenetration or borrowing are permissible, they become available to mark role and topic shifts within a setting’.¹¹³ This will become relevant for the discussion of *Haftpunkte* in John 18:28—19:22 below.

Even more relevant is Ad Backus’ study proposing the ‘*Specificity Hypothesis: Embedded language elements in codeswitching have a high degree of semantic specificity*’.¹¹⁴ Semantic specificity relates not only to lexical but especially to

¹⁰⁸ McClure, ‘Relationship’, 131; Erica McClure, ‘Oral and Written Assyrian-English Codeswitching’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 126 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 157-91 (161).

¹⁰⁹ Mark Sebba, ‘Researching and Theorising Multilingual Texts’, in *Language Mixing and Code-Switching in Writing: Approaches to Mixed-Language Written Discourse*, ed. Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson, Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism 2 (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1-26 (1); see, similarly, Cecilia Montes-Alcalá, ‘Written Codeswitching: Powerful Bilingual Images’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 126 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 193-219 (194).

¹¹⁰ Edwards, ‘Issues’, 209.

¹¹¹ Watt, ‘Implications’, 22; for a more detailed discussion of written and spoken languages and the ways that they influence each other, see Vít Bubeník, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1989), 23-27.

¹¹² Edwards, ‘Issues’, 209.

¹¹³ Susan Ervin-Tripp, ‘An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic, and Listener’, *American Anthropologist* 66.6 (1964): 86-102 (91).

¹¹⁴ Ad Backus, ‘The Role of Semantic Specificity in Insertional Codeswitching: Evidence from Dutch-Turkish’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 126 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 125-54 (128).

‘encyclopedic’ meaning.¹¹⁵ Specificity is the importation of the language resources from another language to express a very specific concept for which the language in use does not have an exactly equivalent term.¹¹⁶

Backus gives the example of the differences between ‘an American *high school*’ and ‘a Dutch *middelbare school*’ as they are experienced in each country. He suggests that a ‘Dutch immigrant in the United States’ is likely to ‘decide to refer to an American highschool as *high school* in his Dutch’, based on these cultural differences.¹¹⁷ Shana Poplack has described a very similar phenomenon called ‘emblematic’ code-switches. As with code-switches for specificity, emblematic code-switches ‘are often heavily loaded in ethnic content and would be placed low on a scale of translatability’.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, she notes that these occur more frequently in ‘non-fluent bilinguals’—just the population that will be discussed in Chapter 3 as among the auditors of the Gospel of John.¹¹⁹ And in John 18:28, 33 and 19:9, *πραιτώριον* is similarly specific in its relationship to the ‘embedded language world’, that of the Romans.¹²⁰

Furthermore, although the difference between code-switching and borrowing has been noted above, when the switch occurs for specificity it retains its culturally significant connections even when it is eventually conventionalized as a loanword.¹²¹ Thus, a strict delineation between code-switching and borrowing is neither possible nor necessary to discussions of specificity.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Backus, ‘Role’, 131.

¹¹⁶ Backus, ‘Role’, 132.

¹¹⁷ Backus, ‘Role’, 129.

¹¹⁸ Shana Poplack, ‘Sometimes I’ll Start a Sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching’, *Linguistics* 18 (1980): 581-618 (589).

¹¹⁹ Poplack, ‘Sometimes’, 613.

¹²⁰ Backus, ‘Role’, 152-53.

¹²¹ Backus, ‘Role’, 129. See, similarly, Carol Myers-Scotton, ‘The Matrix Language Frame Model: Developments and Responses’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 126 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 23-58 (40); *pace* McClure, ‘Oral’, 162, 186-87.

¹²² See, for example, Miriam Ben-Rafael who includes borrowings within the broader category of code-switching [‘Codeswitching in the Language of Immigrants: The Case of Franbreu’, in *Codeswitching Worldwide II*, ed. Rodolfo Jacobson, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 126 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 251-307 (253)].

Code-switching for specificity occurs in written work as well. Montes-Alcalá studied her own written code-switches and concludes, ‘The underlying reasons for codeswitching are not lack of language proficiency or inability to render a term in the other language’.¹²³ This points to a helpful distinction between user ability and language resources. In her discussion of ‘lexical need’ she points out that ‘there is a lexical need in each and every switch in principle, but this should not be interpreted as inability to translate a word or a sentence, but rather as the lack of an exact equivalent in the other language.’¹²⁴ Code-switching for specificity does not require complete lexical gaps but only the ‘lack of an exact equivalent’ that Montes-Alcalá notes.

Furthermore, it is just specificity that seems to have motivated the borrowing that occurred when Latin and Greek came into contact. From the beginning (first century BCE), Greeks borrowed Latin words to ‘denote objects, titles, and customs that would have been unfamiliar to Greeks’ [e.g., *κεντυρίων* (*centurio*), *λεγέων* (*legio*), *πάτρων* (*patronus*)], and ‘by the fourth century AD Latin words were not infrequently used even in cases where a Greek word already existed’.¹²⁵ Latin words were used, for example, in the Roman army in Egypt, where Greek speakers needed to describe elements of a Roman encyclopaedia.

Nel nostro caso specifico, la diffusa ignoranza della struttura dell’esercito romano impediva in un certo qual modo di servirsi di termini greci che implicassero l’istituzione di un rischioso parallelismo con la realtà delle truppe tolemaiche; d’altra parte, per introdurre ed utilizzare prestiti era sufficiente affidarsi ad un processo di mimesi, per il buon esito del quale non era indispensabile comprendere esattamente che cosa una determinata parola latina significasse.¹²⁶

¹²³ Montes-Alcalá, ‘Written’, 218.

¹²⁴ Montes-Alcalá, ‘Written’, 209-210; Erica McClure, ‘Formal and Functional Aspects of the Code-Switched Discourse of Bilingual Children’, in *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*, ed. Richard Durán (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1981), 69-92 (86).

¹²⁵ Eleanor Dickey, ‘Latin Influence on the Greek of Documentary Papyri: An Analysis of Its Chronological Distribution’, *ZPE* 145 (2003): 249-257 (257).

¹²⁶ E. Ghiretti, ‘Note sul bilinguismo greco-latino dell’Egitto romano’, *Aevum Antiquum* 9 (1996): 275-98 (278-281). See, similarly, Claude Brixhe, ‘The Greek of the Roman Texts’, in *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. Anastassios-Fivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 903-910 (905).

First-century evidence for this kind of code-switching will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Code-switches can be used, as noted above, to shift the topic of communication. Furthermore, the importance of key words to communicate the isotopy of a text and guide the reader in the process of abduction has been discussed.¹²⁷ Alkier calls such key words *Haftpunkte*, adhesive points that attach a text to a particular encyclopaedia:

Bei der Vielfalt möglicher intertextueller Beziehungen sollte aber eine Lektüre, die daran interessiert ist, Texte mit der Arbeitshypothese einer ihnen kulturell und historisch gemäßen Enzyklopädie zu lesen, unterscheiden zwischen intertextuellen Verweisen, die einen signifikanten Haftpunkt im auszulegenden Text aufweisen und solchen intertextuellen Beziehungen, die ohne solche aufweisbaren Haftpunkte vom Leser hergestellt werden.¹²⁸

If an author wished to signal a shift in cultural encyclopaedia, she could do so by means of a series of *Haftpunkte* that connect the text to an encyclopaedia different from that of a previous narrative unit. By blowing up a cultural unit from another encyclopaedia, code-switching may have an effect on the universe of discourse of the whole text, which then affects the encyclopaedia that it references.

This thesis proposes that the word *πραιτώριον* is just such a *Haftpunkt*, and that this word for a specifically Roman location, used as it is strategically and repeatedly in the Johannine trial narrative, blows up its cultural unit in the Roman encyclopaedia and signals hearers of the text by means of further *Haftpunkte*, such as *Καῖσαρ* (John 19:12, 15), to access that encyclopaedia throughout the trial narrative (Figure 2).¹²⁹ In this case, even Greek words such as *βασιλεύς*, *βῆμα*, *ἐξουσία* and the phrase *Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος* could, through the process of abduction, reference Roman cultural units such as “*rex*”, “*tribunal*”, “*imperium*”, and “*hic vir, hic est*” (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.791).

¹²⁷ Section 2.1.1.

¹²⁸ Alkier, *Wunder*, 71; for specific examples, see 301, 304.

¹²⁹ This contrasts with other sections of the Fourth Gospel. John 1:24-25, for example, seems to reference primarily cultural units from a Jewish encyclopaedia.

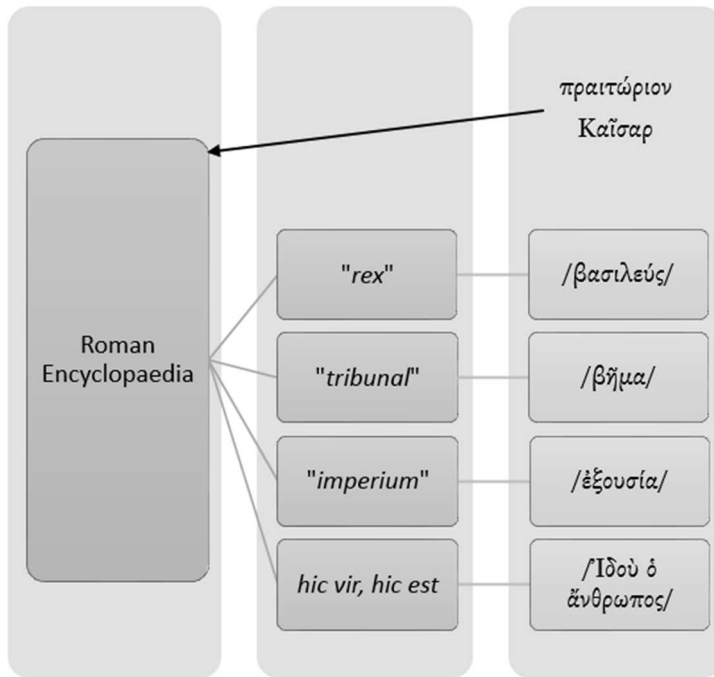


Figure 2. The opening of the Roman encyclopaedia in John 18:28--19:22

I shall argue in Chapter 5 that the cultural encyclopaedia within which Ἴδου ὁ ἄνθρωπος must be understood is a Roman one and that the phrase is a specific literary allusion to *hic vir, hic est* (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.791). So the last topic that needs to be elucidated in this chapter is the method I shall use, Ziva Ben-Porat's poetics of allusion.¹³⁰

2.3. Literary Allusions in Semiotic Analysis¹³¹

The history of scholarly definitions proposed for the term 'intertextuality' has been summarized frequently enough that it does not need to be repeated.¹³² Well-known, probably, to most biblical scholars is the appropriation of the term *intertextuality* (designed

¹³⁰ Ziva Ben-Porat, 'The Poetics of Literary Allusion', *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 105-128.

¹³¹ Much of the material in this section was presented in condensed form in Laura Hunt, 'Ecce homo or hic vir? Translation and Allusion in John 19:5' (paper presented at SBL Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, 22 November, 2014).

¹³² For an excellent review that places theorists within their schools of thought, see Joseph Pucci, *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-26. For more conversation between scholars on the use of intertextuality with or without poststructuralist presuppositions, see William Scott Green, 'Doing the Text's Work for It: Richard Hays on Paul's Use of Scripture', in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 1; JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 58-63; and the response in the same volume: Richard B. Hays, 'On the Rebound: A Response to Critiques of *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*', in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 1; JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 70-96 (particularly 79-84).

to refer to the infinite and irreducible connections between ‘texts’ that go beyond the textual) by authors who use it to mean what it sounds like—examinable relationships between written texts.¹³³ Basic to this discussion, too, are the different definitions for the word /text/. For Kristeva, text ‘is precisely nothing other than a relational mass. It maintains relationships to other texts and to the one “general text”, which Kristeva designates as culture’.¹³⁴ Chandler’s definition, cited in Chapter 1, references this broad definition of texts as a ‘system of signs’, noting the restricted use followed in this thesis: a written system of Signs, with particular reference to their role in conveying meaning.¹³⁵

Joseph Pucci brings out the lack of focus in some previous discussions on the work of the reader. Especially insightful is his suggestion that ‘interpretive control’ is more firmly in the author’s power in ‘nonallusive moments’ as opposed to the allusions themselves which, nevertheless, must fit into the overall work.¹³⁶ This thesis integrates the work of both author and auditor within the semiotic triad. Pucci’s insight, furthermore, highlights the importance of the references to the Roman encyclopaedia located throughout John 18:28—19:22.¹³⁷ These serve to guide the auditor closely through abduction.

Richard B. Hays, in *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, brought the term /intertextuality/ into biblical studies, recognizing that ‘[a] criticism interested in intertextuality ... seeks to explore the intertextual space by taking inventory of the cultural codes within which the text operates and of which it is a manifestation’, but he, himself, ‘propose[d] instead to discuss the phenomenon of intertextuality in Paul’s letters in a more

¹³³ Alkier, ‘Intertextuality’, 4-7; Huizenga, ‘Old’, 24-25. The term ‘intertextualité’, coined by Kristeva, first appeared in Julia Kristeva, ‘Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman’, *Critique* 23.236 (1967): 438-65 (441).

¹³⁴ Alkier, ‘Intertextuality’, 4.

¹³⁵ For Chandler’s full definition, see Section 1.2.2 n. 44 and his *Semiotics*, 263. Alkier also emphasizes text as a ‘sign complex’, which coheres with the second part of Chandler’s definition, that used in this thesis (‘Intertextuality’, 7-8). See further Hatina, ‘Intertextuality’, 33-35.

¹³⁶ Pucci, *Full-Knowing*, 45. For further distinctions between theoretical positions, see the helpful survey in Huizenga, *Isaac*, 21-65.

¹³⁷ See, too, Sternberg’s emphasis on frames discussed in Section 5.2.5.

limited sense, focusing on his actual citations of and allusion to specific texts'.¹³⁸ (Thus much of the subsequent discussion among biblical scholars arose in the context of Hebrew Bible/LXX citations particularly in the Pauline corpus.) The multiple cultural units for /intertextuality/ lead me to follow David Carr's suggestion and avoid the term.¹³⁹ Instead, with Ben-Porat, I shall call specific references to other texts /literary allusions/.¹⁴⁰ Still, I do recognize the validity of arguments for intertextuality as far as they highlight the unrecoverable milieu in which all thought and therefore writing swims. Yet I reject the reduction of all communication to imitative intertextuality, along with the expansion of the notion of text to a concept that seems to me to fit better under Eco's term, /encyclopedia/.¹⁴¹

As was discussed in the last section and will be exemplified in the next chapter, the various cultures in the first-century CE environment brought different encyclopaedia entries into contact with each other. This multicultural milieu expands the possibilities for meaning. If more than one encyclopaedia is opened by a text, this multiplies the cultural units available for each word or phrase, allowing for cross-cultural literary allusions. In order to be able to discuss this phenomenon in John 19:5, the mechanics of literary allusions themselves must

¹³⁸ Hays, *Echoes*, 15. For the reception of Hays' proposals, see David A. Shaw, 'Converted Imaginations? The Reception of Richard Hays's Intertextual Method', *CurBR* 11.2 (2013): 234-45. The circularity with cultural codes that Hays references is discussed, following Eco and Alkier, in Section 2.1.2.

¹³⁹ For an exceptionally clear chart of the different uses of the term, see David M. Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential', in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 505-535 (516).

¹⁴⁰ Ben-Porat, 'Poetics', 107-109. Carr's further suggestion that 'biblical scholars would be well served to be ever more cognizant of ... the way in which biblical texts were shaped in complex (for example, conscious and unconscious, often highly partial) ways by intersecting networks of oral and oral-written discourse, only some of which (for example, the Bible and various non-biblical texts that were preserved) we have any access to' is addressed in this thesis by incorporating Eco's cultural encyclopaedias into my analysis ('Many', 531). For more details on the history of these terms, see Alkier, 'Intertextuality', 4-7.

¹⁴¹ For Jonathan Culler this is 'the discursive space of a culture' [*The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction. An Augmented Edition with a New Preface by the Author*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 103]. This concept of discursive space appears in many discussions of allusions under various names. Craig Evans, for example, refers to 'the interpretive context' of Scriptural allusions ['Listening for Echoes of Interpreted Scripture', in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 1; JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 47-51 (51)]. Although John Barton says that '[f]or non-historical, synchronic, completely non-intentional links between texts ... there is really no other term available', this concept approximates the realm that Eco designates 'encyclopedia' ['*Déjà lu: Intertextuality, Method or Theory?*', in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and William Kynes, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 574 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 1-16 (5)].

be described, first as proposed by Ben-Porat and, secondly, as related to the semiotic elements already introduced.¹⁴²

2.3.1. Literary allusions

Much of the discussion about allusions has focused on criteria for their presence and classification.¹⁴³ Stanley Porter, for example, in his 'way forward', lists and defines the following: 'formulaic quotation', 'direct quotation', 'paraphrase', 'allusion' and 'echo'.¹⁴⁴ Such definitions, however, are implicitly constructed from a pre-determined list of passages that are understood to reference other texts.¹⁴⁵ It is on this basis, for example, that Porter can critique Christopher Stanley's criteria, which, in his opinion, are too restrictive: 'a number of passages that others would consider direct quotations must be excluded'.¹⁴⁶ A pre-defined body of allusions is intuited that must be analysed to develop criteria that are then used to more strictly compile allusions.

This inherent circularity is a major critique by narrative functionalists of the Tel Aviv school, who begin by recognizing the effect of the text: readers notice allusions.¹⁴⁷ This, however, does not solve debates about what is or is not a literary allusion. For that purpose,

¹⁴² Ben-Porat, 'Poetics', 109-114.

¹⁴³ This is not, however, true of Hays who focuses much of his discussion on Paul's dialectical dialogue with Scripture [*Echoes*, e.g., 158; Richard B. Hays, 'Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul: Abstract', in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 1; JSNTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 42-46 (43, 46); Shaw, 'Converted', 235]. Yet his conclusions about interpretation emerge specifically from his analysis of Paul, whereas Ben-Porat's steps provide for a more generally applicable and in-depth analysis.

¹⁴⁴ Stanley E. Porter, 'Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament', in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, ed. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, New Testament Monographs 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 98-110 (106-109). See also Marko Jauhiainen who points out that 'while all the works surveyed ... are focusing on identifying allusions, most of them do not even define the nature of the objects they are trying to investigate' [*The Use of Zechariah in Revelation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 28]. While he then goes on to define allusions (using Ben-Porat) and to propose criteria for detecting and classifying them, he does not discuss the way they function to create meaning in the alluding text (*Zechariah*, 29-36).

¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the task of regulating what does or does not count as an allusion ignores the grades of allusiveness and cultural memes that are part of cultural encyclopaedias (Hinds, *Allusion*, 20).

¹⁴⁶ Stanley E. Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology', in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79-96; Porter cites Stanley, *Paul*, 37.

¹⁴⁷ For the Tel Aviv school of thought, see Brian McHale, and Moshe Ron, 'Tel Aviv School of Narrative Poetics', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, ed. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan (London: Routledge, 2010), 582-84.

perhaps the Peircian triad might suggest dividing proposed allusions according to (a) evidence for authorial intentions, (b) evidence in the text, and (c) evidence from reception (past and present). Various criteria such as Porter's five or Hays' seven (availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation, and satisfaction) could helpfully shed light on these three aspects of the meaning-making process. Recurrence, for example, speaks to author intentionality while satisfaction relates to reception. Ultimately, however, allusions are discerned by relying on something like what Steiner, although referring to translation, called 'not a science, but an exact art'¹⁴⁸

Alkier's suggestion for this 'art' can be subsumed under his discussion of what constitutes an 'ethically grounded interpretation':

(1) *Criterion of Reality*: An interpretation is good when it strives to describe the object of interpretation as a truly given other, an entity different in many ways from the interpreter, and confronts this other with respect. (2) *Criterion of Partnership*: An interpretation is good when it understands itself to be a contribution to a common search for truth and when it respects other interpretations as contributions to this search for truth (motivated by the dynamic object) even if they do not agree in terms of content. (3) *Criterion of Contextuality*: An interpretation is good when it lays open its cultural and therefore also its political orientation and presents itself as a contribution to the communicative comprehension of the world.¹⁴⁹

Any interpretation, including the discernment of allusions, ought to meet these criteria, which Alkier bases in semiotics.¹⁵⁰ My proposals, both for an interpretant rooted in the Roman encyclopaedia for John 18:28—19:22 and for a literary allusion in John 19:5, are offered in this spirit.

¹⁴⁸ George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 311. For a critical yet appreciative review of this work, see Edward Ullendorff, 'George Steiner's "After Babel"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 39.2 (1976): 403-420.

¹⁴⁹ Alkier, 'Studies', 252-53 n. 27; he is citing (and translating) himself from Alkier, 'Ethik', 32.

¹⁵⁰ Alkier, 'Ethik', 26-32. I am constantly reminded in these discussions of the Wesleyan Quadrilateral, where reason, experience, tradition and the text itself serve as boundaries for the theologizing process that results not in certainty nor in strictly formulated propositional truth but in a general area of agreement with room for debate, difference and development [Albert C. Outler, 'The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in Wesley', *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20.1 (1985): 7-18 (especially the paragraph spanning 9-10)].

Rather than categorizing this allusion, this thesis will examine it according to the way allusions work.¹⁵¹ When Ziva Ben-Porat describes her four steps in the ‘process of actualizing a literary allusion’, she is less interested in the forms that mark the allusion than in the process of actualization. Her steps (Figure 3) may be summarized as (1) noticing a ‘marker’ in the alluding text that signals the allusion, (2) remembering the ‘marked element’ and the local interpretation in the ‘evoked text’ that the marker points to, (3) re-interpreting the local interpretation of the marker in the ‘alluding text’ based on the intertextual pattern thus activated, and (4, which is optional) noting further intertextual patterns that prompt the re-interpretation of various new markers in the alluding text based on the effect of new marked elements in the evoked text.¹⁵² The double arrow in the figure below signifies the possibility of both comparisons and contrasts with the evoked text.¹⁵³

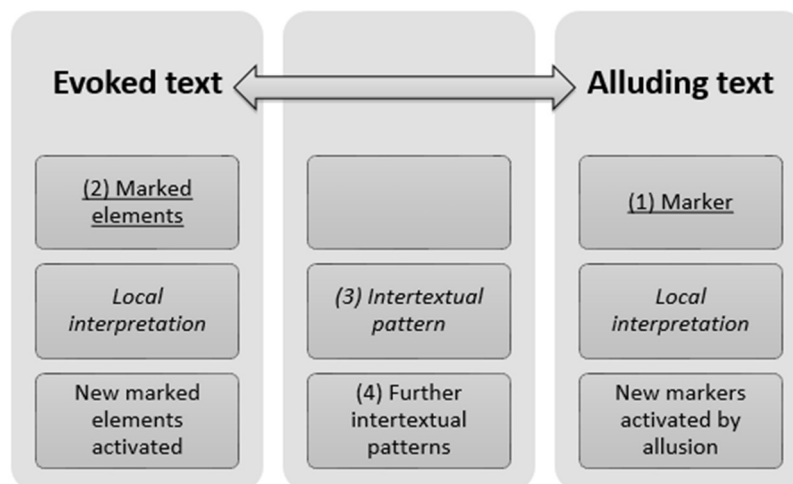


Figure 3. Ben-Porat's 4 steps in activating a literary allusion
Note: For the original diagram, see Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 112.

¹⁵¹ Meir Sternberg, for example, proposed the ‘Proteus principle’, ‘the many-to-many correspondences between linguistic form and representational function’, thus focusing analysis on effects [‘Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse’, *Poetics Today* 3.2 (1982): 107-156 (112, 148, 152)]. For a summary, see Christopher D. Stanley, ‘The Rhetoric of Quotations: An Essay on Method’, in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 44-58 (51-52).

¹⁵² Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 110-115. Note that Ben-Porat carefully distinguishes ‘literary allusions’ from the more general understanding of an allusion as an ‘indirect reference’. It is only in this context of general allusions that she lists possible reasons for using the ‘less transparent ... representation’ of an indirect reference. Thus Roy Ciampa is incorrect, not only when he misgenders her but also when he references her ‘reasons allusion is employed rather than citation’ since the footnote he is citing does not refer to literary allusions at all but to general allusions [*The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 272 n. 1; Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 109 n. 7].

¹⁵³ Although allusions inevitably lead to new interpretations of the evoked text, that aspect of influence will not be covered in this analysis.

Once the allusion is activated, the alluding text can use the evoked text throughout the work. This brings clarity to competing or confusing definitions of allusions and echoes. Benjamin Sommer, for example, defines ‘echo’ as a reference where ‘only the first two stages of Ben-Porat’s scheme are at play’, where ‘the meaning of the marked sign in the source has little effect on the reading of the sign with the marker in the alluding text’.¹⁵⁴ Sommer’s definition, as well as Jauhiainen’s which is quite similar, are very different from Porter’s (see below).¹⁵⁵ They omit knowledge of the original text and thus cohere with general (non-literary) allusions.¹⁵⁶ These may exist simply as ‘cultural memes—minimal units of cultural memory disconnected from their original context’.¹⁵⁷ They are not, however, literary allusions.

In a literary allusion, the two texts are brought into dialogue with each other, enabling various connections to be made beyond the initial marker. The fourth step, the ‘optional activation of independent elements from both AT [the alluding text] and RT [the referent-text, or the evoked text]’, fits well with Stanley Porter’s description of an ‘echo’, ‘the invocation by means of thematically related language of some more general notion or concept’.¹⁵⁸ Porter’s first example of an echo in particular illustrates Ben-Porat’s step 4, since it connects to an evoked text already activated: in Romans 2:24, Paul cites Isaiah 52:5, ‘The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you’, and then in ‘Rom. 3.8 ... Paul echoes the language of Isaiah regarding God being blasphemed’.¹⁵⁹ Ben-Porat and Porter do differ, however, in the relationship to the initial connection that they require

¹⁵⁴ Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, ed. Daniel Boyarin and Chana Kronfeld, *Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 16.

¹⁵⁵ Jauhiainen, *Zechariah*, 32.

¹⁵⁶ Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 105, 108-109. See, also, her application of this distinction in Ziva Ben-Porat, ‘Allusive Inter-Textuality in Computer Games’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 27.3 (2012): 261-71. While I do not extensively engage with orality and memory in this thesis, I do recognize their importance in literacy in the ancient world. See Section 1.3 n. 82, Section 5.2.1, and Jocelyn Penny Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), xiv.

¹⁵⁷ On this see Ben-Porat, ‘Allusive’, 270. For examples from Roman literature, see Hinds, *Allusion*, 33.

¹⁵⁸ Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 112; Porter, ‘Allusions’, 39.

¹⁵⁹ Porter, ‘Further’, 109. The same definition of echo is taken up again in Porter, ‘Allusions’, 39.

for this step 4/echo. Ben-Porat explicitly denies the need for ‘continuum’ between ‘the initial intertextual pattern (which triggered the action) and any of the elements participating in stage 4’, while Porter requires ‘thematically related language’.¹⁶⁰ I shall steer a middle ground in this case. Although I remain open to Ben-Porat’s possibilities for more unlimited marker activation, I shall specifically highlight in this thesis the markers that, while not necessarily directly related to the theme of *imperator* (that of the proposed literary allusion in John 19:5), are nevertheless thematically connected to important rhetorical topics in the Roman encyclopaedia. Ben-Porat, though, provides terminology to discuss the poetics of literary allusions in general, the markers that activate them, and the echoes that emerge once the evoked text is made salient in the hierarchically ordered entries in the hearer’s encyclopaedia.¹⁶¹ This process can be further illuminated by a new application of semiotic theory.

2.3.2. The semiotics of allusions

It will be remembered that the Sign is, in an analysis of John’s Gospel, the word that he has written. That word existed as a part of the author’s vocabulary before he (in this case) used it in his text. Yet at some point, an object—a dynamic object, which is not specifically what one might think of as an object in the real world, but rather is some experience of reality that impinged on the author in a way that invited communication—motivated him to use that particular Sign.¹⁶² However, it is not possible that the Sign could represent the dynamic object completely. And so the author chose grounds on which to represent the object.

Eco describes the ground not as chosen voluntarily but as simply the aspect of the dynamic object initially apprehended. Thus, in a first encounter with an object (in a semiotic

¹⁶⁰ Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 112; Porter, ‘Allusions’, 39.

¹⁶¹ For more on the ‘*provisional hierarchies*’ that ‘certain segments of discourse’ create in an encyclopaedia, see Eco, *Tree*, 50.

¹⁶² See the discussion of the way objects constrain the process of communication in Section 1.2.2 and in the rest of this section.

sense), one is only aware of the immediate object.¹⁶³ Yet earlier, Eco described the ground also in terms of the aspect(s) chosen to be communicated.¹⁶⁴ It seems that both would operate, since one has an immediate apprehension of one's experience, but also chooses to communicate it in a certain, partial way. The ability to communicate is limited by both constraints.

In Figure 4, adapted from Eco, the ground, meaning and interpretant are separated, yet Eco points out that they 'are in fact the same, since it is impossible to define the ground if not as meaning, and it is impossible to define any meaning if not as a series of interpretants'.¹⁶⁵ So why separate them? This is because the process of semiosis begins to get complicated as one tries to separate logically the elements of communication that belong to the author from the elements of communication that belong to the hearer, especially because the author's aim is to produce an interpretant in the hearer that is the same as the immediate object that prompted her act of communication to begin with. The ground, then, is what separates the dynamic object from the immediate object, and the interpretant results from the Sign-immediate object connection.¹⁶⁶

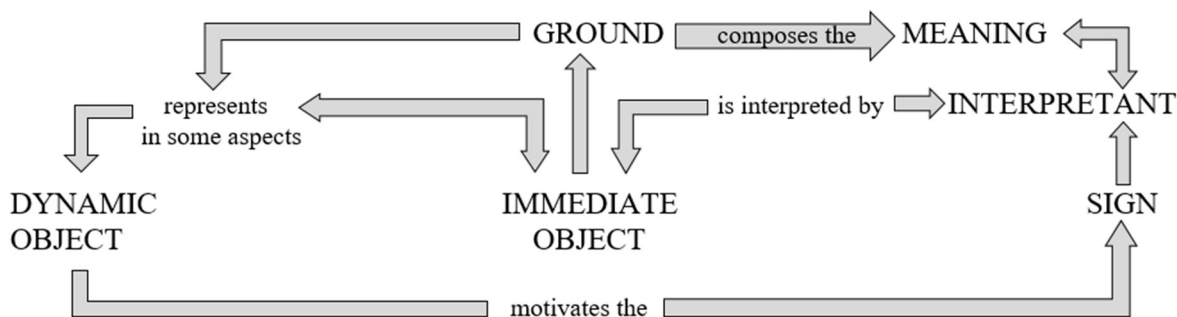


Figure 4. Sign-object-interpretant relationships according to Eco
Note: For the original diagram, see Eco, *Role*, 183.

This thesis will suggest that the dynamic object, for John, was his experience of the trial of Jesus before Pilate, whether this stemmed from personal encounter, reported story, received preaching or community history. It will argue that the ground on which he told this

¹⁶³ Eco, *Kant*, 60; Eco, *Tree*, 511.

¹⁶⁴ Eco, *Limits*, 28, 32; and especially Eco, *Role*, 182. See also Alkier, 'Studies', 227.

¹⁶⁵ Eco, *Role*, 184.

¹⁶⁶ Eco, *Role*, 184.

story, and thus represented an immediate object for his auditors, was its Romanness, conveying not only a Roman trial scene but a particularly Roman Jesus, an *imperator*.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, this thesis will look specifically at John 19:5 and suggest that Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος is a literary allusion to Vergil's *Aeneid*. It will conclude that it is this interpretant that auditors with the resources to access the Roman encyclopaedia would understand from this passage, and that within the broader narrative, this portrayal of Jesus offers a nuanced comparison between him and Caesar that ultimately creates a new identity category for Jesus-believers.

When Justin Langford did his semiotic analysis of the Isaiah allusions in 1 Peter, he determined that the Sign was 'any reference to Isaiah *as it appears in 1 Peter*'; the immediate object was 'the particular portion of the book of Isaiah from which the sign comes', and the dynamic object was 'the book of Isaiah and all its motifs and meanings located therein'.¹⁶⁸ He identifies interpretants for each of the quotations that he examines and concludes that the overall interpretant is 'hope in suffering'.¹⁶⁹ Thus, for him, the passages from Isaiah are chosen on the grounds of hope. It seems to me, however, that this analysis occludes several pieces of the process by focusing only on the writing activity of Peter. It omits attention to possible differences between the interpretant that Peter formed from the Book of Isaiah and the Sign that he produced, 1 Peter. It also omits attention to the semiotic triad in which Langford himself is contributing.

Instead, the first triad (Figure 5) in a literary analysis has to go back to the dynamic object that initially motivated the author of the first text, in this case a vision (Is 1:1).¹⁷⁰ On the grounds of his prophetic impulse, that author chose the aspects to be communicated as the word of the Lord (Is 1:10, 20) and produced a Sign, in this case the Book of Isaiah. The

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion of the term /Romanness/, see Section 7.1.2 n. 53.

¹⁶⁸ Langford, *Defending*, 97-98.

¹⁶⁹ Langford, *Defending*, 125-26.

¹⁷⁰ This does not negate the firstness of the Sign; see Section 1.2.2.

interpretant of Isaiah, at least the interpretant relevant to the literary allusions that Langford is examining, is the meaning Peter gave to this prophecy.

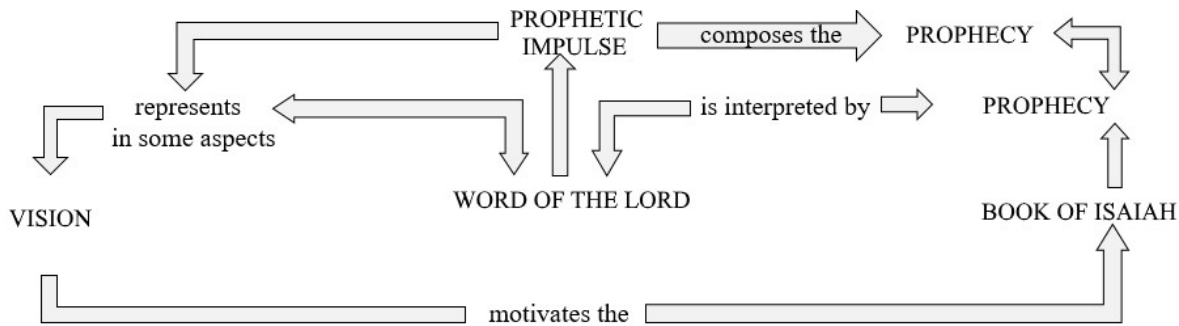


Figure 5. Sign-object-interpretant relationships in the production of Isaiah

This problematizes Langford's several references to Isaiah quotations as the 'immediate object', since in the semiotic act that produced 1 Peter the immediate object is not a portion of the Book of Isaiah but the aspects of Isaiah important to the author of 1 Peter to communicate.¹⁷¹ It seems odd that Langford misidentifies these given his excellent definition of them: 'The immediate object is the particular aspect of the object that is chosen to communicate its qualities, while the dynamic object is the object that motivates the generation of a sign and of which the immediate object represents only some particular aspect'.¹⁷² The meaning of Isaiah important for the literary allusion would be the interpretant produced by Peter upon reading or hearing that text.

What kind of interpretant would that be? In Chapter 1 distinctions were made between the immediate, dynamic and final interpretants, where the immediate interpretant is 'the undetermined, vague connection between two *relata*, which determines these as a sign and an object so that, in general, a process of semiosis is set in motion', the dynamic interpretant is the specific conclusion reached in a specific instance of Sign use, and the final interpretant 'is the regulative idea of a true interpretation in the most comprehensive sense of the word'.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Langford, *Defending*, e.g., 99-100.

¹⁷² Langford, *Defending*, 98.

¹⁷³ Alkier, 'Studies', 228. See Section 1.2.2.

At this point, two important questions must be addressed before moving on to the semiotic diagram of the second phase of the literary allusion: What kind of interpretant did the second author access? And what was its role in the creation of the second text?

In Langford's analysis, for example, although he mentions Huizenga's concern that the allusions in the New Testament are created from the Old Testament *as it was being interpreted at the time* and not as it is interpreted today, he proceeds with his analysis without taking that fact into account.¹⁷⁴ Yet it is exactly that concern over the first interpretant that a semiotic analysis raises. In Langford's analysis, it would have been important to discuss whether Peter had simply an immediate impression of Isaiah, a dynamic interpretant based on a specific use of Isaiah that he had experienced, or something much closer to a final interpretant, provided by the Jewish community of which he was a part. Instead, Langford only provides his own dynamic interpretant of Isaiah, grounded in a final interpretant evolving in twentieth and twenty-first century scholarship.¹⁷⁵ A robust understanding of the two triads in operation explicitly makes room for these issues and distinguishes the first interpretant from the second object.

Furthermore, the relationship between these two is just the question that must next be addressed. There are two possibilities, and in order to make them explicit, I turn to triangular drawings of Sign-object-interpretant relations. In Figure 6, the literary allusion in

¹⁷⁴ After bringing up Huizenga's concerns with the OT as it was understood in the first century rather than as a 'pure ideal' and saying that they 'warrant reflection', Langford then makes them point to the evangelical debate about whether first-century Jewish interpretive methods are normative for Christians or not [*Defending*, 87; citing Leroy A. Huizenga, 'The Matthean Jesus and the Isaac of the Early Jewish Encyclopedia', in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy Andrew Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 63-81 (65)]. This seems to me to sidestep important questions. When NT authors cited the OT they did not have a twenty-first century interpretation of the OT in mind, so this issue must be addressed. If Langford is implying that as inspired writers, they had God's interpretation in mind, one wonders how Langford might have access to that. The NT authors were embedded in their communities, and while some today may take their writings to be prescriptive for them, if a hermeneutical method is to be at all grounded historically, it has to recognize that they understood the OT using the encyclopaedia of their day. Whether that is normative or not seems to be another discussion entirely. If one uses inspiration to avoid the Jewish encyclopaedia (not that Langford does this explicitly, but that seems to be the implication of his remarks on normativity), then one must either come up with a method to distinguish between the ways in which the authors of Scripture wrote as people of their day and ways in which they wrote under inspiration, or give up the historical enterprise altogether.

¹⁷⁵ Langford, *Defending*, e.g., 101-102.

the second text is the author's interpretant of the first. Thus, the interpretant of the first text becomes a new Sign—a condition which Peirce expects; this is the first step of what is often called unlimited semiosis.¹⁷⁶ Each interpretant becomes a new Sign which, in combination with the *same* object, gives rise to a new interpretant: the first author and the interpretant of the second, the second author and the interpretant of his hearers, and then possibly more, as they write or speak their own interpretants/Signs. Tied to the same object (which controls against drift), these interpretants continue to provide more information about the object, and can thus be connected with Eco's cultural unit, offering more possibilities for the Sign-object relation in the same or other encyclopaedias.¹⁷⁷

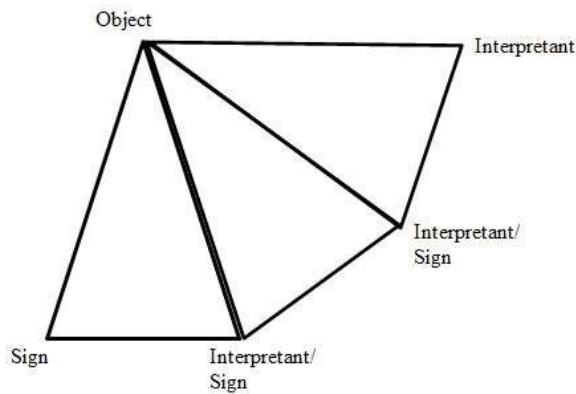


Figure 6. Unlimited semiosis motivated by the same object

However, in written communication, the initial object, that which prompted the first author's act of communication, may not be available in the production of later interpretants (Figure 7). Thus, Langford's thesis, his interpretation of 1 Peter's use of Isaiah might better be diagrammed with dotted lines to represent the lack of direct connection with the initial object, which instead must be remembered or reconstructed.

¹⁷⁶ For Eco's concerns about limiting this process, see *Limits*, especially the section titled 'Unlimited Semiosis and Drift: Pragmatism vs. "Pragmatism"', 23-43; for its Peircean origins, 213-214. See also Alkier, 'Studies', 228; Eco, *Role*, 193-98; Eco, *Theory*, 71-72. Note that semiosis can be unlimited in a very different sense when a dynamic object motivates infinite Signs, as different grounds bring out different aspects, and thus different immediate objects (Alkier, 'Studies', 227; Eco, *Limits*, 32; Eco, *Theory*, 68, 121-25). See also Desogus, 'Encyclopedia', 510.

¹⁷⁷ Alkier, 'Ethik', 30.

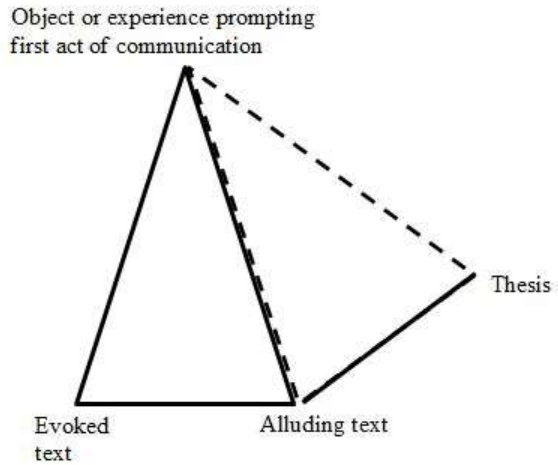


Figure 7. Semiotics of allusion motivated by the same object

As semiosis goes on, the connection with the initial object weakens, and interpreters must build analyses from the combination of the text and one's best reconstruction of that initial event. It is this object that is imagined when readers construct the motives of an implied author who communicates to them in their reading of the text.¹⁷⁸

There is a second possibility, however (Figure 8). The second text may not be simply an interpretant of the first. It may, instead, be a Sign for a new object, of which the initial text is only a part. The new text is not an interpretant, but a new Sign.

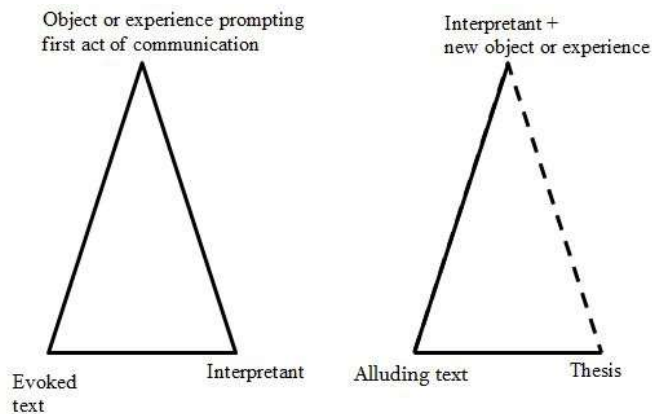


Figure 8. Semiotics of allusion motivated by different objects

In Figure 8, the author of the second text is not simply writing down his interpretant of the first but is instead motivated by a new object, and different relations obtain. The interpretant, whether final (that of the community) or dynamic (that of the second author)

¹⁷⁸ On this see, for example, Hinds, *Allusion*, 49-50; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 2-3.

then enters into the second act of communication, but this time as part of a new object that motivates this new act.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps in hearing or reading the first text, the second author discovered a new way to understand his current experience and was motivated to communicate that to his (or another) community. Perhaps in the midst of her experiences, the second author was reminded of another's words that seemed to provide the best Sign for communicating them. In either case, the interpretant in the second triad, your commentary or my thesis, must arise from the connection of the second text with what one knows (if anything) of the object that motivated *its* production. And that second text, the one that contains the literary allusion, is not exactly the same as the interpretant of the first, evoked text, but is the Sign created by the second author on the basis of the desire to communicate the way that interpretant related to her experience.

How does one determine whether an allusion is part of a completely new act of semiosis? As the diagrams demonstrate, it is the presence or absence of the original object that most obviously distinguishes the two semiotic processes. Figure 8 illustrates why the world of present-day interpreters inevitably impinges on their interpretations of ancient texts. In order to recover as much as possible of that original object, the next chapter will set forth the evidence for the presence of Latin in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first and second centuries CE. However, it will be important to discuss in Chapter 5 the presence or absence of the object of the evoked text, and for Vergil's *Aeneid* 6.791 this would be Augustus Caesar. Although he was no longer alive at the time the Fourth Gospel was finished, the Roman empire was still present and his memory remained. Yet the Roman empire does not seem to be the major motivating force behind the Gospel of John. Instead, the Romanness

¹⁷⁹ Whether or not this happens in the presence of the initial object or not depends on the specific example. In many cases, the first triangle ought to have a dotted line on its right side as well, since the first interpretant comes almost (or completely) without the presence of its object. The lack of connection with that first object is likely to bring variety into the initial and dynamic interpretants that arise, as each person and community makes assumptions about what that might have looked like. The possibilities are important to note, but cannot be explored further.

of Jesus' trial was the grounds (Fig. 4) that allowed the author to use *Aen.* 6.791 in his own Sign creation. The object that motivated communication was John's experience of Jesus. I shall analyse this triad further in Chapter 5, but the differences between the object that motivated Vergil's communicative act and that which motivated John's suggest that the two triads are related as in Figure 8.

2.4. Conclusion

Eco's cultural units become more complex in a multicultural, multilingual environment. Yet despite its complexity, his semiotic theory provides clear conceptual categories for analyzing culture. Furthermore, the topic and key words of the Johannine trial narrative will help to negotiate the process of abduction in this thesis.

Codeswitching, another important term for this thesis, is not yet theoretically well-defined. There are differences among linguists as to how to categorize it, and I am applying it to ancient texts rather than oral performances. However, it illuminates the cultural unit of *πραιτώριον* in a way that has previously been overlooked. It is true that my application of semiotics to literary allusions is my own, and so is open to criticism because it has not been tested, and I am neither a linguist nor a literary critic. Still, it allows me to distinguish carefully between the various steps in operation when one cites another text, and I think is justified on that basis. Therefore, codeswitching and a literary allusion will help establish the encyclopaedia to be used in the abduction of the text on the way to an interpretant. First, however, the specific evidence for the availability of a Roman encyclopaedia for those hearing John 18:28—19:22 must be detailed.

3. Latin Intersections in the Eastern Roman Empire and in the Gospel of John

Chapter 2 explained the process of abduction in which *Haftpunkte* provide clues about the encyclopaedia to use in connecting Signs to cultural units in a multilingual, multicultural environment. This chapter will provide specific data from the first- and second-century CE Eastern Mediterranean world to show that intersections between Greek and Latin speakers (whether fluent or not) occurred in the locations traditionally connected with the production of the Gospel of John: Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria.¹ The second half of this chapter will then discuss the Latinisms that occur in the Fourth Gospel. These, along with references to specific Romans and to Latin (Πιλάτος, Ῥωμαῖος, and Ῥωμαῖστί), are concentrated in John 18:28—19:22. This will constitute the boundaries of the narrative unit which is the focus of this thesis. The concentration of Roman *Haftpunkte* also provides the justification for using the Roman encyclopaedia in the interpretant developed in Chapters 4—7.

3.1. Latin and the Cities Connected with the Composition of John's Gospel

Although the use of Latin was restricted in the East, its presence and influence can nevertheless be found there, and its use was even briefly encouraged under Diocletian and Constantine (late third to early fourth centuries CE).² Thus, although from the twenty-first century CE, it seems obvious that Latin would never eclipse Greek in the Eastern Mediterranean and that, indeed, Latin use would eventually disappear, this would not have

¹ For an overview of Latin in the East that also mentions the contested areas that will be the focus of this chapter, see Clackson, and Horrocks, *Latin*, 87-88. For a more long-range view that goes all the way to Byzantine times, see Vera Binder, *Sprachkontakt und Diglossie: Lateinische Wörter im Griechischen als Quellen für die lateinische Sprachgeschichte und das Vulgärlatein*, ed. Johannes Kramer and Hans-Josef Niederehe, *Romanistik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3 (Hamburg: Buske, 2000), 32-48 with concern mentioned in note 3 below.

² Luca Lorenzetti, 'Greek/Latin Bilingualism', *EAGLL*; Michel Dubuisson, 'Vtraque lingua', *Antiquité classique* 50 (1981): 274-286 (279-80); Rochette, *Latin*, 335, 338; Paolo Radiciotti, 'Virgilio: le fonti di interesse papirologico esaminate da un paleografo', *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 3 (2010): 89-96 (95). For an overview of the increase in Latin use and the associated debates, see Bruno Rochette, 'Language Policies in the Roman Republic and Empire', in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. James Clackson (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 549-63.

been evident in the first and second century CE.³ The intersections of Latin with Greek occurred principally in the domains of army, administration and law, as well as in commerce.⁴ Yet the effect of the Latin used in these domains is often dismissed. For example, Christina Kreinecker, in a brief encyclopaedia article, claims that ‘Latin played a role at official level [*sic*], but was largely irrelevant to everyday life’.⁵ This begs the question: whose life? The evidence assembled in this section will suggest that the use of Latin even in these restricted domains was not without impact.⁶

³ Local languages also remained in use [Agnès Bérenger-Badel, ‘Formation et compétences des gouverneurs de province dans l’Empire romain’, *Dialogues d’histoire ancienne* 30.2 (2004): 35-56 (49-50); Biville, ‘Situations’, 37-39]. Note that Bérenger-Badel’s conclusion that local languages were not used in official transactions may be correct, but is too broad a conclusion to draw from the one example she cites (50). On Aramaic in northern Syria, e.g., see Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.-A.D. 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 503-504; Nigel Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 11; Werner Eck, ‘The Presence, Role and Significance of Latin in the Epigraphy and Culture of the Roman Near East’, in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15-42 (18). For other local languages, see Francisco Rodríguez Adrados, *A History of the Greek Language: From Its Origins to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 176. Although belied by his title, Bubenik, too, provides a historical overview of the languages in contact throughout the Mediterranean (*Hellenistic*, e.g., 54-58 for the spread of Greek under Alexander; 257-59 for Egypt; 264-76 for Greek in contact with Phoenician, Aramaic and Arabic; 270-72 for languages in Palmyra; 273-76 for Palestine, and 276-80 for Asia Minor). Also see Binder, *Sprachkontakt*, 33-34. Note that her reference to Egeria (47.3) does not support her contention that Latin was not widely spoken in late antiquity in Palestine since Egeria goes on in the very next section (47.4): *Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores grecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis* ‘Of course there are also people here who speak neither Greek nor Syriac, but Latin. But there is no need for them to be discouraged, since some of the brothers or sisters who speak Latin as well as Greek will explain things to them’ [*Egeria’s Travels*, trans. John Wilkinson, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 2002), 163]. Local languages and cultures are sometimes involved, even when not immediately evident from the inscription; see, for example, Mullen, ‘Introduction’, 3.

⁴ For more mentions of Latin use in these domains, see Robert E. Gaebel, ‘The Greek Word Lists to Vergil and Cicero’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52.2 (1970): 284-325 (289-96); Jorma Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1979), 35; Rüdiger Schmitt, ‘Die Sprachverhältnisse in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches’, in *ANRW* 29.2: 554-86 (562-63); Adrados, *History*, 187; Bruno Rochette, ‘Greek and Latin Bilingualism’, in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 281-93 (289, 292). Commerce is often left off of these lists, as in Kreinecker, ‘Latin language, Roman Empire (east)’, *EAH* 3919-20; Elizabeth A. Fisher, ‘Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A.D.’, in *Yale Classical Studies*, ed. John J. Winkler and Gordon Williams 27: Later Greek Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 173-215 (175); Biville, ‘Situations’, 41; Benjamin Isaac, ‘Latin in Cities of the Roman Near East’, in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 43-72 (46).

⁵ Christina M. Kreinecker, ‘Latin language, Roman Empire (east)’, *EAH* 3919. See, similarly, David G. K. Taylor, ‘Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 298-331 (317); Watt, ‘Brief’, 238.

⁶ Fergus Millar, ‘Latin in the Epigraphy of the Roman Near East’, in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini: Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, ed. Heikki Solin, Olli Salomies, and Uta-Maria Liertz (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1995), 403-419 (419); Rochette, ‘Bilingualism’, 292-93.

Epigraphical and literary evidence of multiple language use is not transparent evidence for the language of speech: ‘Il est bien évident que la présence d’un document en langue grecque sur le sol de l’Italie antique (ou d’un document latin en pays grec) ne préjuge en rien de la pratique effective de la langue. Cette présence témoigne en tout cas d’échanges économiques et culturels, propices et indispensables à l’émergence d’individus, de situations, et de documents bilingues’.⁷ Such ‘échanges’ occurred in the places that have been connected with the production of the Gospel of John. Although some patristic writers such as Irenaeus name John as the writer of the Gospel and place him in Ephesus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.1.1; 3.3.4); others, such as Ignatius, do not mention John in references to that city.⁸ Furthermore, affinities between the Gospel and some of the early writings from Antioch lead to suppositions that it originated there.⁹ Finally, possible parallels with the works of Philo as well as the location of the earliest Johannine papyri and the use of the Gospel by some Egyptian gnostic groups point towards an Alexandrian origin.¹⁰ Some scholars have taken several of these suggestions into account, positing a Johannine tradition that was carried from Jerusalem, through Syria, to Ephesus.¹¹ This thesis will not attempt to solve this issue: Rome’s army, law, and merchants, and thus the Latin language, were present in all three of these cities.¹²

⁷ Biville, ‘Situations’, 41.

⁸ Barrett, *Gospel*, 100-105.

⁹ Literary connections have been suggested between 1 John and Matthew, and between the Fourth Gospel and Ignatius and/or the Odes of Solomon. Finally, the earliest extant non-gnostic commentary was written by Theophilus of Antioch (Barrett, *Gospel*, 130).

¹⁰ J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church: Its Origin and Influence on Christian Theology up to Irenaeus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), e.g., 86. Other proposals are varied. For some of the suggestions see Brown, *John*, CIII; Barrett, *Gospel*, 129; Keener, *John*, 1.143.

¹¹ Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St John*, trans. Kevin Smyth, ed. Serafin de Ausejo et al., HThKNT, vol. 1: Introduction and Commentary on Chapters 1—4 (London: Burns & Oates, 1968), 152; John A. T. Robinson, *The Priority of John*, ed. J. F. Coakley (London: SCM Press, 1985), 47-48.

¹² As Lincoln concludes: ‘The most likely place of origin remains an urban centre outside Palestine and one in which there was a sizeable Jewish population, and on this basis Ephesus remains one of the possible and more plausible candidates. Yet, as has been noted, wherever it emerged, the Gospel was written with a wide circulation in view’ (*Gospel*, 89). For a discussion of views, see Keener, *John*, 142-49. Note, too, that this thesis assumes that the text of the Gospel would be influenced by the place where it was first or finally written or edited and does not engage with oral culture studies that focus on elements of the setting in Palestine and the degree to which that milieu remained a consistently influential factor. As Helmut Koester notes, ‘the Holy Land of Israel is but a memory of first beginnings; Asia Minor and Greece quickly became the centers of

3.1.1. Ephesus

The relationship between Ephesus and Rome was not a smooth one. In 89-88 BCE, the Ephesians turned against Rome and killed all the local Roman citizens.¹³ Yet in 29 BCE, by the decree of Augustus, an association in Ephesus for Roman citizens was begun, thus welcoming Roman citizens who lived there during the first and second centuries CE.¹⁴ Ephesus re-established its loyalty to Rome in other ways as well. Two bilingual inscriptions (*IEph* 459, 1522) honour Augustus for beneficence towards Artemis in terms that attempt to position him as her patron.¹⁵ This makes sense in the context of the emperor's 'important role of *theos*, of a god' in the province, one that was not static but 'where questions of local, regional, and imperial relationships could be negotiated, shaped, and proclaimed'.¹⁶ *IEph* 2.599 demonstrates this negotiation as well: 'Ρώμη πανβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κράτος οὐποτ' ὀλῆται, which Taeuber translates as 'Rom, du Allesbeherrscherin, möge deine Macht niemals untergehen!'.¹⁷ Furthermore, statues, among which were 'one likeness of Trajan, one of

the new religious movement' [*Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, HTS (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), xviii].

¹³ Peter Scherrer, 'Ephesus', PC.

¹⁴ Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1: A History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 352-53. The authors reference among others *IEph* 3019, an 'honorary inscription in Latin for Claudius by *conventus* of Roman *negotiatores*' from 43/44 CE. On the emperor's presence in Ephesus, see further Sjef van Tilborg, *Reading John in Ephesus*, ed. A. J. Malherbe and D. P. Moessner, NovTSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 174-212; Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 30-37. For some estimates of the numbers of Romans in the East, see Kaímio, *Romans*, 35-40.

¹⁵ Dieter Knibbe, 'Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia', in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, HTS 41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 141-55 (146). These Latin-Greek bilingual inscriptions are listed as 148-50 in Rosalinde Kearsley, ed. *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia: Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the End of AD III*, *Inscriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn: Habelt, 2001), 122-24. See the similar attempt by the Greek cities of Asia Minor to position themselves as benefactors of Ephesus [Steven J. Friesen, 'The Cult of the Roman Emperors in Ephesos: Temple Wardens, City Titles, and the Interpretation of the Revelation of John', in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, HTS 41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 229-50 (234)].

¹⁶ Friesen, 'Cult', 241, 244. See also Rick Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus*, ed. Erich Gräßer, BZNW 80 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 104. Strelan goes on to mention the 'images of the emperor in private homes' and the 'entrance fees ... for sacrifices to Roma and the emperor' of the '[g]uilds' which enacts his status as their patron (104 n. 173).

¹⁷ Hans Taeuber, 'Einblicke in die Privatsphäre: Die Evidenz der Graffiti aus dem Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos', in *Öffentlichkeit-Monument-Text: XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae 27.-31. Augusti MMXII: Akten*, ed. Werner Eck and Peter Funke, CIL n.s. 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 487-89 (289).

Plotina, one of the Roman Senate, one of the equestrian order, one of the people of Rome' were paraded around the city, perhaps as often as every two weeks.¹⁸

The emperor's status, and thus his authority, was also enacted in the city by his representatives. Ephesus, indeed, became 'the governor's point of entry into Asia, his seat for part of the year, an assize centre, a focus of the tax system'.¹⁹ By the second century CE, one legate was appointed *legatus dioeceseos Ephesiaca*e and entrusted with 'the judicial administration of a *conventus* more permanently'.²⁰ He was located in Ephesus with the governor and the 'members of his staff, the quaestor and the legates'.²¹

This information has been preserved mainly in inscriptions.²² Rosalinde Kearsley has studied inscriptions in Asia Minor where Latin and Greek are both represented, in parallel

¹⁸ Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London: Routledge, 1991), 83, 91-95. Note that Mary Walbank points out that, based on Salutaris's name, he was likely to be Italian rather than Ephesian. This brings into question some of Rogers's conclusions [review of Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, *Phoenix* 48 (1994): 89-91 (90)]. However, names provide a poor basis for establishing ethnicity. See, for example, the Syrian father who gave his sons Greek, Latin, and Semitic names respectively [Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, 'Onomastique et histoire de la Syrie gréco-romaine', in *Actes du VIIe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977*, ed. D. M. Pippidi (Constanza, Dominican Republic: Société d'édition 'Les belles lettres', 1977), 171-183 (177)].

¹⁹ Barbara Levick, 'The Latin Inscriptions of Asia Minor', in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini: Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, ed. Heikki Solin, Olli Salomies, and Uta-Maria Liertz (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1995), 393-402 (394).

²⁰ Bengt E. Thomasson, 'The Eastern Roman Provinces Till Diocletian: A Rapid Survey', in *The Greek East in the Roman Context: Proceedings of a Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, ed. Olli Salomies (Helsinki: Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, 2001), 1-9 (5-6). On the tendency, especially in Ephesus, for local cases to be taken before Roman courts, see Julien Fournier, *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique: l'administration judiciaire dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain, 129 av. J.-C.-235 ap. J. C* (Athènes: Ecole française d'Athènes, 2010), 376, 380-82.

²¹ Thomasson, 'Eastern', 2.

²² I recognize the value of analyzing inscriptions in conjunction with their physical character and location. Andrew Wilson, for example, points out that even 'semantically equivalent, idiomatic bi-versions may be visually unequal, and priority or dominance or impact of individual languages in a bilingual inscription may be determined by other means than linguistic treatment' ['Neo-Punic and Latin Inscriptions in Roman North Africa', in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 265-316 (313)]. Such physical characteristics will occasionally be mentioned. However, that kind of analysis is too extensive for the purposes of this thesis, where only evidence of language contact is needed [Olli Salomies, 'Honorific Inscriptions for Roman Senators in the Greek East During the Empire: Some Aspects (with Special Reference to Cursus Inscriptions)', in *The Greek East in the Roman Context: Proceedings of a Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, ed. Olli Salomies, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens (Helsinki: Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, 2001), 141-87 (141)]. For another look at the Ephesian inscriptions that focus particularly on immigrant origins, see L. Michael White, 'Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos', in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, HTS 41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 27-79 (57-79). For further discussion of Latin and Latin-Greek inscriptions in Asia Minor, see Kaimio, *Romans*, 82-86; Cédric Brélaz, 'Le recours au latin dans les documents officiels émis par les cités d'Asie Mineure', in *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie: Actes du colloque organisé à l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Maison de l'Orient et de la*

or in series, or in single words borrowed from one language to the other. She notes that among the places where these inscriptions are found, ‘Ephesos is easily the most frequently represented’.²³ This can be represented visually by a snapshot (Figure 9) from the end of 2014 of the inscriptions entered in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (EDH), which continues to be updated with Latin and Latin-Greek inscriptions.²⁴ The dots represent these inscriptions and their spread shows the extent of Latin evidence throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

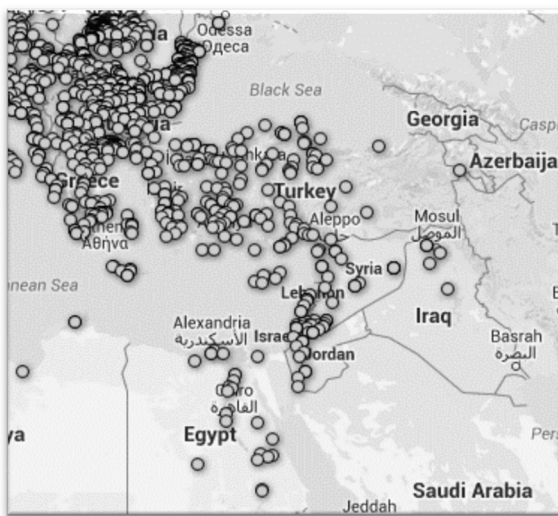


Figure 9: Latin and Latin-Greek Inscriptions in EDH in 2014

Simply within the *IEph* collection, I count almost 100 Latin and Latin-Greek inscriptions of various kinds dated between the late first century BCE and the early second

Méditerranée-Jean Pouilloux, UMR 5189 Hisoma et JE 2409 Romanitas, les 17, 18 et 19 mai 2004, ed. Frédérique Biville, Jean-Claude Decourt, and Georges Rougemont, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 37, série épigraphique et historique 6 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée-Jean Pouilloux, 2008), 169-94. And an excellent look at the monuments that should be read with the texts can be found in Barbara Burrell, ‘Reading, Hearing, and Looking at Ephesos’, in *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 69-95.

²³ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 147. Salomies finds ‘latin and bilingual inscriptions’ in cities that are ‘either Roman *coloniae* or capitals of provinces which are prone to produce Latin inscriptions because [of] the presence of a Roman bureaucracy’ (‘Honorific’, 158). See also Levick, ‘Asia Minor’, 393-94; Eck, ‘Presence’, 20, 23-29.

²⁴ Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, ‘Epigraphic Database Heidelberg’, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home>. Latin inscriptions in the database from Ephesus dated between 50 BCE and 150 CE include HD000805, HD000808, HD000876, HD016451, HD026368, HD049167 and HD049169. The database continues to be updated and while the current map is much more interactive, it is much less suitable for a static illustration. Latin and Greek should not be taken to be the only languages present in Ephesus. Although he does not mention Latin, Casey notes that ‘there may have been a significant number of people in Ephesus who were bilingual in Aramaic and Greek, and fluent readers of Hebrew’ (*True?*, 93).

century CE as well as 45 more Latin inscriptions with uncertain or ‘Roman’ or ‘Imperial’ dates more generally.²⁵ Of the dated ones, those only in Latin (*ca.* 40) are mostly dedications and epitaphs, among them 5 referencing *negatiores* (e.g., *IEph* 3025) and 9 military men (e.g., *IEph* 715).²⁶ Furthermore, *IEph* 572-73 and *IEph* 2900 are pieces of clay pots with stamps denoting type, potter or area of origin and these are in both Latin and Greek.²⁷ This evidence of Latin use in Ephesus within the domains of commerce and the army add to the further evidence of language contact that comes from Latin-Greek inscriptions.

Kearsley’s study brings out the variety of ways that the two languages are used—in some inscriptions a single word from one language is used in the other. Some include the same information in two, often wooden, translations; others integrate the two languages more fluidly and each language gives more or less distinct information.²⁸ A few examples will demonstrate this variety.

In *IEph* 3501, from the late first century BCE, the information in Latin is simply repeated in Greek with the appropriate switch from Diana to Artemis: *Imp Caesar Augustus fines Dianae restituit* Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοὺς ὅρους Ἀρτέμιδι ἀποκατέστησεν.²⁹ Bilingual inscriptions such as these are often evidence of two monolingual communities rather than one bilingual one.³⁰ Brélaz believes that, in Asia Minor at least, Latin as an

²⁵ Dates are approximate and suggested by the Packhum database: The Packard Humanities Institute, ‘Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress’, epigraphy.packhum.org. For some concerns about ‘pseudo-inscriptions’ (but not dating) in this database, see James K. Aitken, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*, ed. Anselm C. Hagedorn, Nathan MacDonald, and Stuart Weeks, *Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible* 5 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 44.

²⁶ Additionally *IEph* 1826, though fragmentary, mentions *frumen[tarius]* thus connecting Latin with the domain of commerce. On the mobility of *negatiores*, see Rochette, ‘Bilingualism’, 283.

²⁷ Susanne Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker, ‘Subsidiary Factories of Italian Sigillate Potters: The Ephesian Evidence’, in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, HTS 41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 217-228 (224, 227).

²⁸ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 147. The evidence reported is mainly from the first two centuries CE.

²⁹ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 122-23. I find it interesting that Latin and Greek come together several times in inscriptions that reference both Diana and Caesar (*IEph* 1209; 1914.3). For an example of a Greek text that seems based on a Latin original, see Naphtali Lewis, ‘Three Textual Notes on the New Monumentum Ephesenum’, *ZPE* 107 (1995): 248 (notes on line 59).

³⁰ Lorenzetti, ‘Greek/Latin Bilingualism’, *EAGLL*; Ian Rutherford, ‘Interference or Translationese? Some Patterns in Lycian-Greek Bilingualism’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 197-219 (203).

addition to or replacement for Greek was always a *choice*, never a *requirement*.³¹ Yet some inscriptions demonstrate a relationship between the two languages that, while not negating Brélaz, expresses a more complex relationship.

IEph 3092, from 4-14 CE, is an inscription on an aqueduct detailing the generosity of Gaius Sextilius Pollio (with his wife, son, and ‘the rest of their children’). While the Latin and Greek texts are functionally identical, the Greek translates *C Sextilius P f Vot Pollio* as Γάϊος Σεξτίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Οὐοπουρία Πολλίων, thus using the Latin form of filiation rather than what would be more usual in Greek, the simple genitive and, additionally, spelling out words usually abbreviated in Latin.³² Indeed, none of the Ephesian inscriptions listed by Kearsley uses the Greek genitive for filiation, which leads to the supposition (which would, however, require further research) that at least during this time period in Ephesus the Latin form had become the usual one.

Furthermore, the Latin abbreviation ‘C’ is spelled out as Γάϊος in Greek. Although progression cannot be definitively proven from the small number of inscriptions, in 105 CE, *IEph* 30, a bilingual inscription on the base of a statue not covered in Kearsley’s study reads Γ Ουέλβιος Γ υἱός for the Latin [*C V*]ibius *C f*.³³ Thus the Latin system of abbreviations has been partially adopted in Greek. Furthermore, although traditionally honorands would be

³¹ Brélaz, ‘Recours’, 190.

³² James Adams notes the same Latin interference in Delos [‘Bilingualism at Delos’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 103-27. See also Adrados, *History*, 188]. For further evidence of Latin-Greek interference in Ephesus, see *IEph* 852 and 1540 [Kearsley, *Greeks*, 92-94; James N. Adams, ‘“Romanitas” and the Latin Language’, *CIQ* 53.1 (2003): 184-205 (204)]. While Adams suggests this was sometimes done in order rhetorically to position a Roman as not ‘as Greek as the Greeks’, it seems that this kind of Greek was also common in administrative *milieux* (‘Romanitas’, 203). Although Adams describes ‘the Roman indifference to the sensibilities of their subjects’ in their Greek translations, Cooley notes the places in the *Res Gestae* where the translator ‘softens its imperialist tone’. It seems that, like so much of the evidence, translation concerns must be evaluated on a case by case basis [James N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 471; Alison E. Cooley, *Res gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 30 and examples at 26 and 28]. Paul Viereck also mentions this phenomenon [*Sermo graecus quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem in scriptis publicis usi sunt examinatur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1888), 62].

³³ See similarly *IEph* 31, 33, 34, 35, as well as *IEph* 620, 857 and possibly 734. (These last three are included in Kearsley.)

listed in dative in Latin and in accusative in Greek, the inscriptions in Ephesus alternate between following these two conventions separately or putting honorands in the dative case in both languages.³⁴ Sometimes, as in *IEph* 620, accusative and dative are used in Greek within the same inscription.³⁵

Differences between the Latin and Greek in bilingual inscriptions can be more extensive as well. In *IEph* 718, in the midst of a Latin honorific inscription from the second century CE, when the *civitates Ephesiorum* are mentioned (l. 2-3), the Latin ‘breaks incontinently into Greek’ for ‘the resounding, well rehearsed, and hardly translatable titles of the city of Ephesus’: τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεοκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, after which it switches back to Latin to name the honorand and his honours.³⁶ Kaimio mentions this inscription as well: ‘it is a Latin inscription in which only the honorary epithet of the city is expressed in Greek. These are not bilingual texts assuming the understanding of both Greek and Latin speakers; they could also be interpreted as expressing some kind of dialogue between different ambitions, a dialogue which causes the elements of different origin to be written in their respective languages; but at the same time, one becomes aware of the careless disregard for the claims of linguistic unity within a text’.³⁷ I would suggest, however, that this ‘dialogue’ is between encyclopaedias of different languages, and the unity, rather than somehow being broken in a text using two different languages, resides instead in the idiolect of the author and, if the intention is to communicate, in that of the addressee(s). In such a case, it is difficult to understand in what sense *IEph* 718 is not a

³⁴ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 152. On the case used for the name of the honorand, see Salomies, ‘Honorific’, 144-47.

³⁵ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 88-89.

³⁶ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 106-107. Levick, ‘Asia Minor’, 400. Brélaz believes this is done in the context of competition between Ephesus and other provincial cities (‘Recours’, 181-83).

Other examples of code-switching related to domain include *IEph* 1543 (which is similar to *IEph* 718), *IEph* 858 and *IEph* 857 (each of which adds a phrase in Greek referring to the secretary, γραμματεῶν) and *IEph* 680 where the Latin and Greek honours for a prefect are followed by the names of ‘(members of) his praetorium’ in Latin (Kearsley, *Greeks*, 96).

³⁷ Kaimio, *Romans*, 81.

bilingual text since knowledge of both languages would be required to follow the dialogue Kaimio posits.

In *Ieph* 4123, in the mid-first century CE, there is a complex admixture of the two languages. The epitaph of Gaius Stertinius Orpex, a freedman, is in Latin (Figure 10). This is followed by an enumeration of the funds donated subsequent to his death, detailed in Greek but ‘structured according to the Roman rather than the local calendar’.³⁸ It is relevant that Orpex had been a *scriba librarius*, and was thus literate.³⁹ That his tombstone is inscribed with both Latin and Greek may indicate his own working knowledge of Greek, of the legal forms of Latin, and of the dating procedures of Rome.

³⁸ Kearsley, *Greeks*, 21.

³⁹ There seems to be some disagreement over the meaning of */scriba librarius/*. Adolf Berger describes a *scriba* as ‘[a] clerk in a court or in an office, a secretary’ and notes that ‘[a] *scriba* is to be distinguished from a *librarius* who was simply a copyist. When a *scriba* performed the tasks of a *librarius*, his title was *scriba librarius*’ [*Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 43.2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), 692]. Gordon, Reynolds, Beard and Roueché, however, put the *scriba librarius* in the ranks of clerks, for example to a tribune [‘Roman Inscriptions 1991-95’, *JRS* 87 (1997): 203-240 (207)]. Margaret Laird, in the context of Imperial Italy, sets down a *scriba librarius* as a ‘clerk to the decurions’ [‘Private Memory and Public Interest: Municipal Identity in Imperial Italy’, in *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*, ed. Eve D'Ambra and Guy P. R. Métraux 1526 (Oxford, UK: Archaeopress, 2006), 31-57 (34)]. All three refer to retainers working in the domains addressed in this chapter.

C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) Stertini Maximi consularis
 l(ibertus) Orpex quondam scriba librarius hic situs est et
 Stertinia C(aii) l(iberta) Quieta
 C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) f(ilius) Marinus v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII
 C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) f(ilius) Asiaticus v(ixit) a(nnis) III
 Stertinia C(aii) f(ilia) Prisca v(ixit) a(nnis) V III
 οὗτος μετὰ Μαρείνης [τῆ]ς θυγατρὸς [—]
 [—] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν Ὑγείᾳ καὶ Ὑπνῷ
 σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ, καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ ἱερεῖσιν
 * πεντακισχίλια, ἵνα πρὸς ταῖς τειμαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐν τῇ τετραγώνῳ ἀγορᾷ ...
 ..c.8...λαμβάνωσιν διανομὴν οἱ παρόντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας, καὶ τῇ
 γερουσίᾳ * δισχίλια πεντακόσια, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι διανομὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον
 ἀνὰ δηνάρια β', ὁμοίως καθιέρωσαν τῇ αὐτῇ γερουσίᾳ ἄλλα * χίλια πεντακόσια, ὅπως
 ἐκ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον οἱ κληρωθέντες ἄνθρωποι λαμβάνω-
 σιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις εἰς εὐωχίαν ἕκαστος * τρία καὶ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν * τριάκοντα
 [...c.10...]λαμβάνωσιν * εἴκοσι καὶ τραγικῶ? * δέκα, ὁμοίως ἐκάστῳ [—]
 [—] καὶ λείπας τρεῖς, φ[—]
 Καλένδαις Μαΐαις
 [—] ἐκ κυμικαῖς? δῆμον. κεῖ[μαι —]
 [—] ὁμοίως [— εἰς τὸ] γερόντει-
 ον * πεντακόσια

Figure 10: Text of Epitaph of Gaius Stertinius Orpex

Note: The Packard Humanities Institute, 'Ephesos 2618', <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>

Levick points out that 'freedmen and slaves ... identified themselves with the Roman citizen body of which they became members when they were freed. They were not simply acclimatized to using the language of their bosses and of their ultimate master the emperor, who is often mentioned in their titulature, but probably also acquired status through using the language that separated rulers from ruled; they show awareness of "propriety" in doing so'.⁴⁰ The negotiation of loyalty and status, then, called for some bilingual competence.

Among the evidence for Latin-Greek contact, this parallel evidence for the social status of the people represented must not be forgotten. The inscriptions described above do not offer a catalogue of literati. Instead, there are freedmen in administrative roles, along with merchants and legionnaires. A customs house dedicated by those involved in the fishing

⁴⁰ Levick, 'Asia Minor', 398-99. In general, Levick argues for 'propriety' as a social factor influencing language choice in the East. For the need for documents in Latin for Roman citizens, see Kaimio, *Romans*, 123, 148-50.

industry demonstrates a representative 2:1 ratio of Roman citizens.⁴¹ Especially the funerary inscriptions, Kearsley points out, ‘show the great extent to which those of sub-equestrian, freed, and servile statuses used both Latin and Greek’.⁴² The evidence discussed so far can be placed in a matrix (Figure 11), showing examples of inscriptions in all three domains in Ephesus.

	Army	Administration/law	Commerce
Ephesus	Military dedications and epitaphs	Gaius Stertinus Orpex	<i>Negatiores</i> dedications and epitaphs
Antioch			
Alexandria			

Figure 11: Examples of Latin Intersections in Ephesus

This evidence argues against the position of Brélaz that ‘les cités anatoliennes ne sont guère confrontées au latin dans leur vie quotidienne officielle et administrative’.⁴³ In Ephesus at least, Latin held an important place in the life of the city. However, what about the next city in the developing matrix, Antioch?

3.1.2. Antioch

Antioch was the place of residence of the Roman governor, the commander of the legions in Syria.⁴⁴ The city was the recipient of multiple imperial visits and construction projects, as well.⁴⁵ On the one hand, visiting dignitaries gave speeches in Greek (Tacitus,

⁴¹ G. H. R. Horsley, ‘A Fishing Cartel in First-Century Ephesos’, *NewDocs* 5: Linguistic Essays (1989): 95-114 (109-110).

⁴² Kearsley, *Greeks*, 155.

⁴³ Brélaz, ‘Recours’, 172.

⁴⁴ Pollard, *Soldiers*, 277.

⁴⁵ David Kennedy, ‘Syria’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 703-36 (714); Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 35-36; Miriam Griffin, ‘Nerva to Hadrian’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 84-131 (124, 124 n. 246, 125); Pollard, *Soldiers*, 278. Christine Kondoleon gives a summary time-line of imperial visits and building projects that includes Julius Caesar’s visit in 47 BCE, Augustus’s visits in 31-30 and 20 BCE, Tiberius’s participation (with Herod) in the Great Colonnaded Street (37 BCE-37 CE), Trajan’s presence in Antioch during the earthquake of 115-116 CE and Hadrian’s improvements from 117-38 CE [*Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), xii-xiii]. Warren Carter discusses Roman building projects and concludes, ‘Likely inscriptions on such rebuilt or new buildings attested Roman beneficence and proclaimed Roman presence and control’ [*Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 43]. For an example of building projects, see the description of the building of the palace and the circus in 67 BCE in Kennedy, ‘Syria’, 717-718; see further Maurice Sartre, ‘Syria and Arabia’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and

Hist. 2.80).⁴⁶ However, '[b]y the end of the first century Antioch was sending men to the Senate at Rome' where they needed at least some Latin ability.⁴⁷

While he was in Antioch, the emperor might hear legal cases. A transcript from May 216 CE has the words of Caracalla and the advocates in Greek, introduced each time with a Latin formula such as *Lollianus d(ixit)*.⁴⁸ Further evidence for Latin contact in the legal domain in Antioch comes from the term used for the early followers of Christ mentioned in Acts 11:26 (ἐγένετο ... χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς). The suffix of Χριστιανοί 'implies the word was coined by speakers of Latin.... The Greek-speaking synagogues in Rome used the Greek suffix *-esioi* in their names' instead of *-ιανοί*.⁴⁹ Formed like other terms for partisans of certain leaders such as Πομπηϊανοί, Καισαριανοί (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 3.11.82; 3.13.91), and *Augustiani* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14:15), the term Χριστιανοί suggests encounters with 'the Roman authorities' and various charges or

Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 635-63 (653, 655). John Malalas' sixth-century CE description of Antioch with Roman triumphs, building projects including a Captiolium, and even 'what is now called the Macellum' above which was a 'statue of a she-wolf suckling Romus and Remus, so that it should be recognized that the building was Roman' is difficult to fully rely on in the absence of corroborating archaeology (*Chron.* 9.14; 10.10, 45, 40-50; 11.9).

⁴⁶ Millar, *Roman*, 74.

⁴⁷ Michael Maas, 'People and Identity in Roman Antioch', in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13-21 (17). On the need for Latin in the Roman Senate, see Rochette, *Latin*, 17-18; Werner Eck, 'The Language of Power: Latin in the Inscriptions of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina', in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity. Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 123-44 (140); Michel Gayraud, 'L'apprentissage du grec et du latin dans l'Empire Romain d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Montpellier', *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences et Lettres de Montpellier* 41 (2010): 35-44 (42-43). Millar notes that the Antioch mint produced coins 'mainly with Greek legends, but some Latin' [*Roman*, 19 n. 22; Kaimio, *Romans*, 93; T. E. J. Wiedemann, 'From Nero to Vespasian', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 256-82 (269 n. 7)]. Further language contact might occur through the 'professional athletes and actors' whose circuits included Antioch, but Millar mentions no primary evidence for this (*Roman*, 259).

⁴⁸ Fernand de Visscher, and Pierre Roussel, 'Inscriptions du Temple de Dmeir', *Syria: revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* (1942): 173-200 (178); Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 535; Bruno Rochette, 'L'enseignement du latin comme L² dans la Pars Orientis de l'Empire romain: les *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*', in *Aspetti della scuola nel mondo romano: atti del convegno (Pisa, 5-6 dicembre 2006)*, ed. Franco Ballandi and Rolando Ferri, Supplementi di Lexis 51 (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 2008), 81-109 (99 n. 118); Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 306-308, 383. Similar papyri with other provenances exist, such as *P. Ross. Georg.* 5.18 and *P. Oxy.* 2.244.

⁴⁹ E. A. Judge, 'Judaism and the Rise of Christianity: A Roman Perspective', *TynBul* 45.2 (1994): 355-68 (363). Note that his reference on this page to Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.14 (for the term *Augustiani*) should instead be Tacitus, *Ann.* 14:15. See also Adrados, *History*, 189.

punishments (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96-97; Suetonius, *Nero* 16.2).⁵⁰ Although some have argued that the active use of the word *χρηματίζω* rather than *καλέω* in Acts 11:26 makes this a self-designation, both Mattingly and Taylor have refuted this view.⁵¹ Since, indeed, *χρηματίζω* is at least sometimes used in ‘official and juridical’ domains, the origin of *Χριστιανοί* ‘in Latin-speaking or Latin-influenced circles’ suggests that not only was contact with Latin happening in Antioch, but that it may have occurred in legal domains as people became aware of the Jesus-believers.⁵² Judge suggests that ‘[o]ne must think of members of the Roman administration, army or business community who were strong in the Syrian capital’.⁵³

The presence of the Roman army, indeed, provides the main evidence for Latin-Greek intersections in this city, although Latin inscriptions are much rarer in Antioch than in Ephesus.⁵⁴ A Roman legion was stationed at Cyrrhus, about 100 km NE of Antioch and halfway to Zeugma on the Euphrates, at least from 17 CE onwards and they left ‘one of the very rare Latin honorific inscriptions from Syria’ there, dated to the early second century CE.⁵⁵ In the opposite direction, in 56 CE a road was built (and marked with Latin milestones)

⁵⁰ Justin Taylor, ‘Why Were the Disciples First Called “Christians” at Antioch? (Acts 11, 26)’, *RB* 101.1 (1994): 75-94 (80, 94); Pollard, *Soldiers*, 556 n. 15.

⁵¹ Harold B. Mattingly, ‘The Origin of the Name *Christiani*’, *JTS* 9.1 (1958): 26-37 (28 n. 3); Taylor, ‘Why’, 81-83.

⁵² Taylor, ‘Why’, 80; 80 n. 19; John H. Elliott, *First Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, AB, vol. 37B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 790.

⁵³ Judge, ‘Judaism’, 363.

⁵⁴ For an overview of the more general history of Antioch that includes Roman elements without, however, mentioning languages, see Carter, *Matthew*, 37-52, especially 38-41; Magnus Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2003), 18-31. Both however rely heavily on Downey. See Millar’s concerns about Downey’s reliance on Malalas (*Roman*, 260 n. 11).

⁵⁵ Denis van Berchem, ‘Le port de Séluçie de Piérie et l’infrastructure logistique des guerres parthiques’, *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn im Landschaftsverbund Rheinland und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 185 (1985): 47-87 (65-66 and map 2); Hannah M. Cotton, Joseph Geiger, and J. David Thomas, *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965: Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents by Hannah M. Cotton and Joseph Geiger and with a Contribution by J. David Thomas* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), 14 n. 42. For more information about Roman soldiers stationed in Syria, and specifically Antioch, see Isaac, *Limits*, 105-103, 270-71, 76-77. On the inscription, see Millar, *Roman*, 104. For further Latin inscriptions in the area, see three from the late first century BCE, one found in Daphne-Harbie and two in Seleucia [Glanville Downey, ‘Greek and Latin Inscriptions’, in *Antioch on-the-Orontes Vol. III the Excavations 1937-1939*, ed. Richard Stillwell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), 83-115 (170, 178-79)].

from Antioch to Ptolemais, a veteran colony established in 53 CE.⁵⁶ This road goes through the very Latin colony of Berytus, with its prevalent Latin inscriptions.⁵⁷ In Ptolemais the Greek population seems to have been more immediately integrated with the Roman veterans and their families than in Berytus, but sometime in the mid-second century CE, Ptolemais sent one senator (Flavius Boëthus) to Rome.⁵⁸

Soldiers were involved locally, within Antioch, at least for the collection of taxes and possibly they were billeted and provisioned there as well.⁵⁹ A Latin tombstone (*IGLS* 3.1, 837) of an ‘*adiutor* (assistant) to the *procurator Augusti*’ has been found that can be dated between 14 and 68 CE.⁶⁰ Where the soldiers were stationed and how much they interacted with civilians, however, continues to be debated.⁶¹ Pollard analyses Tacitus’s reference

⁵⁶ Isaac, *Limits*, 34, 110, 322 n. 67; Millar, *Roman*, 268; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, 718; Pollard, *Soldiers*, 62. See Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.17 §76.

⁵⁷ R. G. Goodchild, ‘The Coast Road of Phoenicia and Its Roman Milestones’, *Berytus* 9.2 (1949): 91-127 (especially 112). Goodchild emphasizes that this road seems to be a Roman creation rather than anything that existed in any defined sense previously. On the varied integration of Roman colonies into the local population, see Kaimio, *Romans*, 39-40.

⁵⁸ Shimon Applebaum, *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times: Historical and Archaeological Essays*, ed. Jacob Neusner, *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 70-96 and inscriptional evidence listed at 70 n. 1, 2; Isaac, *Limits*, 344; Millar, *Roman*, 116, 188-89; Rochette, *Latin*, 209-210; Aharon Oppenheimer, *Between Rome and Babylon: Studies in Jewish Leadership and Society*, ed. Martin Hengel and Peter Schäfer, *Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 90. This is *pace* Kaimio, *Romans*, 103-108. For Latin inscriptions in Ptolemais, see Joyce Reynolds, and J. A. Lloyd, ‘Cyrene’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 619-640 (631).

⁵⁹ Pollard, *Soldiers*, 100, 277. On soldiers’ provisioning themselves from civilians, see Roy William Davies, ‘The Daily Life of the Roman Soldier under the Principate’, *ANRW* 1: 299-338 (316). Note further that literary evidence for the army in Antioch goes back to 51 and 43 BCE (Pollard, *Soldiers*, 39 n. 11, citing Cicero, *Att.* 5.18.1; *Fam.* 12.15.7). The complicating factor in these interactions is that, as noted above, it is impossible to tell how often exchanges between soldiers and civilians used any Latin at all. While soldiers might primarily speak Greek, they were also coming into contact with ‘Roman ideas’ for which their language might need to expand (Maas, ‘People’, 15, 17). So, although it is true, as Millar, e.g., argues, that ‘there is nothing to suggest that outside Berytus and Heliopolis Latin ever became *a*, let alone *the*, normal language of daily speech. Nor did it ever supplant Greek as the literary language of the Near East’, nevertheless, some Latin was known and used and thus language contact occurred (Millar, *Roman*, 527; Bubeník, *Hellenistic*, 63; Maas, ‘People’, 15; Pollard, *Soldiers*, 160). See, for example, Apuleius, *Metam.* 39 and discussion in Brélaz, ‘Recours’, 171. See similar discussion in Adams, ‘*Romanitas*’, 199. Note that Rochette uses this story to illustrate the opposite point, that locals did not speak Latin (*Latin*, 329 n. 13). See also the conclusion reached by Adams on his study of Egypt, where Greek was often used, and yet Latin was ‘the language of power’ (*Bilingualism and Latin*, 608).

⁶⁰ Pollard, *Soldiers*, 277-78.

⁶¹ Isaac, *Limits*, 294, 296, 299; Kennedy, ‘Syria’, 716; Mark Hassall, ‘The Army’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 320-43 (322); Pollard, *Soldiers*, 59-60; and an excellent summary of troop movements and responsibilities in Maurice Sartre, *D’Alexandre à Zénobie: Histoire du Levant antique, IV^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 480-97. Pollard believes that the soldiers would have camped outside rather than within the city (*Soldiers*, 66).

(Tacitus 2.80.3) to an announcement in the late 60's CE that the troops (in or near Antioch) would be switching places with others, located at the time on the frontier in Germany.⁶² While the sense of loss that Tacitus imagines the local people would feel is probably exaggerated, it is possible that the evil they were familiar with (and perhaps had to some degree tamed or at least adjusted to) would be better than an influx of brand new soldiers fresh from battle.⁶³

Soldiers also had business to conduct. In 166 CE, while stationed in Seleucia Pieria, Antioch's port city, one naval officer sold seven-year old Abbas (a slave boy renamed Eutyches) to another (*P.Lond.* 2.229). The bill of sale is in Latin. The Latin subscription of the seller is 'the painful performance of a very unready writer', the witnesses' subscriptions in Latin are 'fairly well written' and the final dating (that follows Syrian practice) and the subscription at the end are in Greek.⁶⁴ Military and trade domains were thus not impervious to each other, and Latin contact occurred in both.⁶⁵

Linguistic variety in military-civilian exchanges can be exemplified in Antioch by two canals built in 74 and 75 CE.⁶⁶ The first, the canal of the fullers, was built by the people of Antioch, who also maintained it. The stela (*AE* 1986, 694) commemorating and enacting the maintenance agreement is in Greek. However, on the stela is written *προνοησαμένου Μάρκου Ούλπίου Τραιανοῦ*.⁶⁷ The work was thus authorized or somehow supervised by Marcus Ulpius Traianus, then governor of Syria (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), future father

⁶² Pollard, *Soldiers*, 2-4.

⁶³ For a discussion of the hardship caused by the presence of the soldiers, see Isaac, *Limits*, 276-77. Carter describes this quite dramatically (Carter, *Matthew*, 41-42).

⁶⁴ Edward Maunde Thompson, 'On a Latin Deed of Sale of a Slave: 24th May, A.D. 166', *Archaeologia* 54 (1895): 433-38 (438); Pollard, *Soldiers*, 280-81. For a German translation of all but the subscriptions, see Werner Eck, 'Sklaven und Freigelassene von Römern in Iudaea und den angrenzenden Provinzen', *NovT* 55 (2013): 1-21 (15-16).

⁶⁵ Mullen, 'Introduction', 2.

⁶⁶ Millar, *Roman*, 86-87; Pollard, *Soldiers*, 23, 245-46.

⁶⁷ Denis Feissel, 'Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73-74 après J.-C.)', *Syria: revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* 62 (1985): 77-103. The majority (20/24) of the names of the blocks responsible for the maintenance of the canal are Greek; none are Latin (96-97). However, see the concerns about using names for ethnicity in Section 3.1.1 n. 18.

of the Emperor Trajan. The second canal, built the next year above Antioch, on his instructions as well, was completed along with the necessary bridges by four legions, twenty cohorts, along with a militia from Antioch.⁶⁸ A milestone (*AE* 1983, 927), that van Berchem suggests was placed along the canal, is in Latin.⁶⁹

It is difficult to detail specifically what language encounters these projects would have generated. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (*Pliny Ep.* 10.42, 61, 62) demonstrates that the authorization of such a construction might include the provision of skilled labourers, such as surveyors or architects.⁷⁰ Depending on where these came from, this could provide further opportunities for language contact between Greek speakers and Roman retainers.

Although not much will be said about evidence of Latin in trade, the importance of Antioch in Mediterranean commerce should at least be mentioned. One piece of evidence of language contact in this domain (besides the bill of sale for the child mentioned above), is found in the production of pottery, where markings were adopted in imitation of Western customs.⁷¹ Vorderstrasse notes that 'the earliest stamps were Latin names written in Greek'.⁷²

What can be concluded about Latin use in Antioch then? Simply that, while there is little to no clear evidence of Latin-Greek bilingualism, Latin has left traces in all three domains (Figure 12).

	Army	Administration/law	Commerce
Ephesus	Military dedications and epitaphs	Gaius Stertinus Orpex	<i>Negatiores</i> dedications and epitaphs

⁶⁸ Van Berchem, 'Port', 86; Sartre, 'Syria', 658.

⁶⁹ Van Berchem, 'Port', 85-87.

⁷⁰ Stephen Mitchell, 'Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces', *HSCP* 91 (1987): 333-65 (338).

⁷¹ Zabełlicky-Scheffenecker, 'Factories', 224; William V. Harris, 'Trade', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 710-740 (712); Sartre, 'Syria', 656-57; Malcolm A. R. Colledge, 'Art and Architecture', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 966-83 (974).

⁷² Tasha Vorderstrasse, 'The Romanization and Christianization of the Antiochene Region: The Material Evidence from Three Sites', in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch: Papers from a Colloquium London, 15th December 2001*, ed. Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson (Oxford, UK: Oxbow, 2004), 86-101 (90).

Antioch	Canals	Imperial visits, χριστιανοί	Sale of slave, pottery
Alexandria			

Figure 12: Examples of Latin Intersections in Ephesus and Antioch

3.1.3. Alexandria

In Alexandria, language use also intersected with Latin.⁷³ Intriguing evidence, possibly from the Roman army, comes from the forty fragments of a marble wall ready to be turned into lime for use in fourth-century CE construction.⁷⁴ Nine pieces have been found with variations of the word *Caesar* painted in red.⁷⁵ The hand is ‘a version of an official or literary hand of the Augustan period’ and, although certainty is impossible, ‘a probable reason for the appearance of such dipinti might be the commemoration of an arrival of a Caesar by the accompanying soldiers’.⁷⁶ Thus, from quite early in the first century CE, someone with some knowledge of Latin was present in Alexandria.

Roman legions had a significant (although decreasing) presence in Alexandria in the reign of Augustus, and then in nearby Nicopolis from early in the first century CE until the early second century.⁷⁷ Although the legions were sometimes called on for battle, they more frequently were employed in guarding local commercial enterprises, in internal order-

⁷³ Alan K. Bowman, ‘Egypt’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 676-702 (696-98). There is evidence of several Alexandrians who left the city and subsequently produced works in Latin from their new residence in Rome, but this does not advance the questions pursued in this thesis. Philoxinus, for example, in the first century BCE and Appian in the second CE started their lives in Alexandria but produced their works in Rome. Philoxinus believed that Latin was a dialect of Greek, and Appian’s Greek shows evidence of Latinisms [Rochette, *Latin*, 225; Johannes Hering, ‘Lateinisches bei Appian’ (PhD thesis, Leipzig, 1935)]. Strabo and his friend, Roman prefect Aelius Gallus, visited Alexandria in the mid-first century BCE (Strabo 17.1.6-10; Bowman, ‘Egypt’, 699). So Latin and Greek speakers were coming to and from Alexandria, but left no concrete evidence.

Alexandria sent men to the Senate though, first Greeks, then, in the late second century, a native Egyptian [Dio Cassius, *History* 77.5.5; Mason Hammond, ‘Composition of the Senate, A.D. 68-235’, *JRS* 47.1/2 (1957): 74-81 (79 and 17 n. 18)]. In general, however, Alexandrian élites grounded their learning in Greek [Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8-9].

⁷⁴ Adam Łukaszewicz, ‘Caesar in Alexandria: Fragmentary Latin Dipinti Discovered at Kom El-Dikka’, *JJP* 41 (2011): 79-92 (90).

⁷⁵ Łukaszewicz, ‘Caesar’, 90.

⁷⁶ Łukaszewicz, ‘Caesar’, 90.

⁷⁷ Bowman, ‘Egypt’, 686-89; Erich W. Gruen, ‘The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 147-97 (189-190); Hassall, ‘Army’, 321-23. For a detailed study of the movements of various legions and auxiliaries in Egypt, see Jean Lesquier, *L’armée romaine d’Égypte d’Auguste à Dioclétien* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut, 1918).

keeping, and in construction.⁷⁸ Furthermore, the soldier's work details along with 'the increase in local recruitment, the tendency for sons to follow fathers into service and the generally greater visibility and importance of veterans' highlight the Latin-Greek encounters that occurred in Alexandria as a result of the army presence there.⁷⁹ The *Acta Alexandrinorum* also suggest that Romans responded to the 'bitterly hostile attitude' of Alexandrians, and those exchanges provided further opportunities for language contact.⁸⁰

Since the soldiers were sometimes appointed to keep roads safe for trade, their presence intersected with those who worked in commerce.⁸¹ *ILS* 2483, for example, lists in Latin 'details of a force of legionary and auxiliary soldiers brought together ... for the construction of water tanks at four named sites in the Eastern Desert and the reconstruction of the *castrum* at Coptus'.⁸² Although not specific to Alexandria, this inscription illustrates the intersection of Latin with the army's presence in civilian enterprises. Indeed, during the first and second centuries CE, Alexandria was a major crossroad for trade.⁸³ Merchants stopped at Alexandria on their way to and from the Red Sea, the interior of Egypt, and across the Mediterranean.⁸⁴ At least one fleet of ships carrying grain from Egypt to Rome sailed from Alexandria to Ostia each year.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Lesquier, *L'armée*, 15. For Syria, see, similarly, Isaac, *Limits*, 68-69. The army was called on, for example, to put a stop to Jewish uprisings. On the role of the army against the Alexandrian Jews, see Isaac, *Limits*, 277; Bowman, 'Egypt', 701; Martin Goodman, 'Judaea', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 737-81 (778-79). Note that all of the evidence gathered for Alexandrian Jews in *C. Pap. Jud.* II is in Greek.

⁷⁹ Bowman, 'Egypt', 688.

⁸⁰ Isaac, *Limits*, 278; J. A. Crook, 'Augustus: Power, Authority, Achievement', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 113-146 (140).

⁸¹ Bowman, 'Egypt', 676-77, 688, 699; Harris, 'Trade', 711-12.

⁸² David Kennedy, 'The Composition of a Military Work Party in Roman Egypt (*ILS* 2483: Coptos)', *JEA* 71 (1985): 156-160 (156).

⁸³ On mobility in general during the Roman empire, see Catherine Hezser, 'Travel and Mobility', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. Catherine Hezser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 210-26.

⁸⁴ Karl Jansen-Winkel, 'Alexandria', PC.

⁸⁵ Lionel Casson, 'The Isis and Her Voyage', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950): 43-56 (43); G. E. Rickman, 'The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36 (1980): 261-75 (266).

Language contact occurred on the Mediterranean Sea as well. The term for the wind in Acts 27:14, εὐρακύνων, combines the Greek εὐρος (the East wind) and the Latin *aquilo* (the North wind).⁸⁶ Another similar combination in the domain of trade is ὀνομάγων, ‘donkey-seller’ (from Greek ὄνος, donkey, and Latin *mango*, trader).⁸⁷ The same kind of contact between Latin and Greek that produced these terms would have occurred in the Alexandrian port office at Ostia, near Rome.⁸⁸ Also the records in Latin of the sales of two slaves from the second century CE are among the ‘documents and letters brought into Egypt from places outside and quite far away’.⁸⁹ Although written outside of Alexandria, the fact that they were brought there shows again that there were people in Alexandria whose lives intersected with Latin.

One Latin inscription from Alexandria is now kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The inscription is found on the claw (Latin inside, Greek outside) of one of the four crabs that originally held up the obelisk in the temple of Augustus. Both versions ‘state that the Roman prefect Barbarus and the architect Pontius re-erected the obelisk in Alexandria during the eighteenth year of an emperor, probably Augustus’, and the use of Latin particularly on this monument has a ‘strong symbolic connotation’.⁹⁰ However, when one takes into account the huge obelisk covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, both the

⁸⁶ ‘εὐρακύνων’, BDAG 411. See further Brian M. Rapske, ‘Acts, Travel and Shipwreck’, in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 1-47 (38-39).

⁸⁷ Panagiotis Filos, ‘Latin Loanwords in Greek’, *EAGLL* sec. 2. The Latin inscription referring to the traders of purple, found in Philippi, might constitute another piece of evidence, but since it can only be dated vaguely to the first 300 years CE it is not particularly helpful [CIL III.664; Peter Pilhofer, *Philippi: Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, 2nd ed., WUNT 1.119, vol. 2 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), 650].

⁸⁸ Harris, ‘Trade’, 736. For a list of the various posts, see Werner Eck, ‘The Growth of Administrative Posts’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 238-65 (242-44).

⁸⁹ E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 50, 186 nn. 15-16; Sergio Daris, ‘I papiri e gli ostraca latini d’egitto’, *Aevum* 74.1 (2000): 105-175 (111, 133).

⁹⁰ Lorenzetti, ‘Greek/Latin Bilingualism’, *EAGLL*.

Greek and the Latin on the claws are reduced to insignificance, and the Latin especially, on the *inside* of the claw, practically disappears. This, too, might be considered symbolic!⁹¹

Some evidence also exists for the use of Latin in law and administration.⁹² Already in 1925 Jouguet was pointing out that Greek was used in imperial circles in Egypt to preserve continuity between the emperor and the pharaohs.⁹³ Yet, even that early, there is evidence of Greek-Latin intersections. A Greek inscription (*CIL 3 Suppl.* 6583) from lower Egypt dated to 47-30 BCE ends with the phrase, *regina et rex iusser(un)t*.⁹⁴ It continued an earlier grant of inviolability to a synagogue.⁹⁵ Alexandria also sent men to the Senate, first Greeks, then, in the late second century, a native Egyptian (Dio Cassius, *History* 77.5.5).⁹⁶ Two inscriptions from Cyrenaica suggest that even in Eastern provinces, furthermore, prayers for the emperor were ‘both made and recorded in Latin’.⁹⁷ In general, however, Alexandrian élites grounded their learning in Greek.⁹⁸

Alexandria was ‘the administrative hub’ of Egypt, and ‘the Roman prefect was regularly and officially described as “prefect of Alexandria and all Egypt”’ (Dio of

⁹¹ For the obelisk as well as a more detailed discussion of Alexandria in history and architecture, see Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 75-79, 173-220.

⁹² Bowman, ‘Egypt’, 691-93. See also the later evidence of Christian martyrs and the record of their North African trial in Latin [H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 4-5]. Education in Latin would have been necessary for retainers in these posts. M. Hamdy Ibrahim assembles an interesting assortment of evidence for a Latin curriculum, but his evidence spans three to four centuries and therefore is quite speculative [‘Education of Latin in Roman Egypt in the Light of Papyri’, in *Roma e l’Egitto nell’antichità classica: Cairo, 6-9 febbraio 1989. Atti del I congresso internazionale italo-egiziano*, ed. Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1992), 219-226].

⁹³ P. Jouguet, ‘Les papyrus latins d’Égypte’, *Revue des études latines* 3.1 (1925): 35-50 (41-42, see also 39). For an overview of the use of Greek and Latin in official correspondence, see Kaimio, *Romans*, 76-80. Note that the word /official/ is best used for items related to the Roman administration and not as a synonym for /sanctioned/ (Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 600).

⁹⁴ Jean Bingen, ‘L’asylie pour une synagogue: *CIL* III Suppl. 6583 = *CII* 1449’, in *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata*, ed. Jan Quaegebeur, OLA 13 (Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 11-16 (11, 12, 15).

⁹⁵ Bingen, ‘L’asylie’, 12.

⁹⁶ Hammond, ‘Composition’, 79 and 17 n. 18.

⁹⁷ J. M. Reynolds, ‘Vota pro salute principis’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 30 (1962): 33-36 (33); Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 361.

⁹⁸ Whitmarsh, *Literature*, 8-9.

Prusa, *Or.* 32.36).⁹⁹ From the second century CE onwards, the term /πραιτώριον/ was used for the governor's buildings there.¹⁰⁰ And while Latin did not become common in legal documents until after Diocletian, even before that scribes needed Latin terms and phrases to produce the documents required for Roman citizens.¹⁰¹ There are, for example, Latin birth records on wax tablets from 62 and 103 CE.¹⁰² Thus, while public inscriptions used Latin in a way that minimized Rome symbolically, '[t]he requirement that birth certificates should be in Latin ... provides an explicit example of the symbolic use of Latin in matters to do with the citizenship'.¹⁰³ Furthermore, and most importantly for the theory that a group of retainers had regular contact with Latin, this suggests, as Daris concludes, that 'Non c'è dubbio che una categoria di impiegati bilingui, con sicuro possesso del latino, occupavano una posizione di attivo rilievo nell'ambito della burocrazia prefettizia e degli uffici collaterali, dai quali prendeva forma ed avvio ogni pratica amministrativa'.¹⁰⁴ So even in a place with little obvious evidence of Latin use, it is present among Roman retainers.

⁹⁹ Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs 332 BC–AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 205.

¹⁰⁰ Bernhard Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, ed. Friedrich Bilabel, *Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyrskunde* 1 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1927), 48.

¹⁰¹ Jouguet, 'Papyrus', 41; P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 232-35, 241-43. See also Pliny's letters to and from Trajan about giving an Egyptian his freedom in Alexandria before requesting it in Rome (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.5-7, 10). Trajan requested more information so that he might send Pliny a letter for Pompeius Planta, the governor of Egypt. Pliny and Trajan wrote to each other in Latin. Pompeius Planta was of the equestrian order, procurator of Lycia and Pamphilia, and later governor of Egypt (97-99 CE). What language the letter to P. Planta would be written in and how the manumission of Harpocras would be recorded is a matter of speculation, but the circumstance provides another intersection where Latin contact might occur [Raymond Henry Lacey, 'The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: Their Careers' (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1917), 1, with epigraphical data].

¹⁰² *CPL* 148 and *BGU* 7.1691. Rochette lists PSI 2.1185 as a birth record, but he is mistaken ['Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *CdE* 71 (1996): 153-68 (160 n. 3)].

¹⁰³ Adams, 'Romanitas', 186, with further examples at 187-88.

¹⁰⁴ Sergio Daris, 'Latino ed Egitto romano', in *Il bilinguismo degli antichi: XVIII Giornate filologiche genovesi*, ed. dipartimento di archeologia filologia classica e loro tradizioni, Pubblicazioni del dipartimento di archeologia filologia classica e loro tradizioni 135, n. s. (Genova: Università di Genova, Facoltà di lettere, 1991), 47-81 (49).

3.1.4. Conclusion

The matrix has now been filled in from the available evidence (Figure 13). While there is no support for wholesale bilingualism, in all three cities there is some evidence that points towards Greek and Latin in contact, specifically in the army, among those serving the Roman administration and in commerce.¹⁰⁵

	Army	Administration/law	Commerce
Ephesus	Military dedications and epitaphs	Gaius Stertinus Orpex	<i>Negatiores</i> dedications and epitaphs
Antioch	Canals	Imperial visits, <i>χριστιανοί</i>	Sale of slave, pottery
Alexandria	Construction, safety	Birth records	Ostia office

Figure 13: Examples of Latin Intersections in Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria

While an exact correspondence between Latin use in the Fourth Gospel (discussed below) and only one of these cities might clarify the Gospel's provenance, the evidence is not strong enough to support such an endeavour. The more numerous inscriptions found in Ephesus could suggest that more Latin was used there, but their survival may also simply be chance, or perhaps evidence that Latin use was more tied to public expressions of status than in Antioch or Alexandria.¹⁰⁶ Because of the earlier rebellion of Ephesus against Rome, it is possible, too, that the numerous Latin inscriptions there sought to express 'avec insistance la loyauté de la cite émettrice envers les autorités romaines'.¹⁰⁷ Of relevance to this thesis, however, is the way in which the matrix of locations and domains intersects with another axis, that of social group.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ See Werner Eck for a nuanced discussion, although his conclusion that the administrative Latin did not affect 'the city and citizens of Ephesus ... in the least' seems to go beyond the evidence ('Presence', 27-29). See, similarly, Kaimio, *Romans*, 38-39.

¹⁰⁶ For the use of Latin in expressions of status and power, see Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 363; Isaac, 'Latin', 66. For some conjectures about varied Latin use in inscriptions, see Kaimio, *Romans*, 65. Note that Kaimio is especially helpful in gathering evidence; his conclusions are sometimes overly speculative, such as when he suggests that in Pisidian Antioch the Greek translation of the *Res Gestae* was 'discarded' or that language use in the Roman Senate was no longer discussed in the official records after the reign of Trajan because it was no longer of any consequence (*Romans*, 76, 108).

¹⁰⁷ Brélaz, 'Recours', 180. See, for example, the large inscription to Augustus and other imperial patrons on the Mazaeus and Mithridates gate (Eck, 'Presence', 25).

¹⁰⁸ Note that because Latin was primarily used in the army, administration and commerce, language diffusion in the East happened mostly by the process described by Adams as 'hierarchical diffusion, whereby

Ekkehard and Wolfgang Stegemann have argued for a ‘significant ... presence of retainers from the upper stratum’ among the early Christ movement.¹⁰⁹ The term /retainer/ is helpful to identify the members of Longenecker’s ‘middling groups’ whom he describes as closely and directly serving the élite.¹¹⁰ This is also the group that has left behind the evidence listed above, *apparitores* such as scribes, *Augustales* (freedmen serving in cities under the patronage of decurions), and other ‘upwardly mobile’ people, as well as veterans and traders, who might constitute 17% of a city’s population.¹¹¹ And their contact with Roman élites, especially in the circumstances just listed which had some possibility of upward mobility, would motivate them to converge their language towards that of those with higher status.¹¹² This middling group is sometimes ignored in more ‘binary’, rich/poor

features leap . . . from an influential urban centre across rural space to a lesser town or towns’ [*The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC-AD 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 18]. This process, also called ‘parachuting’, happens as influential members of society are in contact with each other either through travel or through common texts, despite the geographical separation between them. Their language use would, in turn, have an influence on the people in their immediate environs, influence which would not necessarily be reflected in the intervening geographical area.

¹⁰⁹ Ekkehard W. Stegemann, and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century*, trans. O. C. Dean, Jr. (T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1999), 316; see also 69-70, 312-314. See, for example, the model for social stratification in the Roman empire that is adapted by Dennis Duling for use in the Gospel of Matthew [‘Empire: Theories, Methods, Models’, in *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context*, ed. John Riches and David C. Sim, Early Christianity in Context Published under JSNTSup 276 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 49-74 (53-55, 65)]. In this model, ‘[t]he highest social stratum consists of rulers; beneath them are other governing strata and their “retainers”, this is, those who serve them. Still lower are merchants, peasants and artisans’ (54, 55, 65). See, too, the reminder that the production of inscriptions required the collaboration of several people who are not represented in the final product (Mullen, ‘Introduction’, 12).

¹¹⁰ Bruce W. Longenecker, ‘Exposing the Economic Middle: A Revised Economy Scale for the Study of Early Urban Christianity’, *JSNT* 31.3 (2009): 243-278 (268-69). Note Longenecker’s concerns about the term /class/ which will be avoided because of its more modern cultural unit (268).

¹¹¹ Longenecker, ‘Economic Middle’, 263-67. Also, although Nicholas Purcell points out that *apparitores* are rarely mentioned in the provinces, he includes evidence of men in the provinces fulfilling similar functions [‘The *Apparitores*: A Study in Social Mobility’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 125-173 (131, 134, 139, 150, 154, 159, 160)]. The figure of 17% is *pace* Carter who follows Lenski in estimating this group at 5% [Warren Carter, *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor*, ed. Barbara Green, Interfaces (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 38]. Yet Lenski’s figure is not meant to be anything more than an approximation, a minimum based on reports from ‘the last days of the Chinese Empire’ and ‘nineteenth-century Russia’ [*Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 245 and 245 n. 5].

¹¹² Louise Revell mentions that freedmen are frequently the subject of inscriptions, perhaps because ‘it was one of the few resources available to them to establish a position within one of the dominant hierarchies’ [*Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 183]. On some limited upward mobility, see Millar, *Roman*, 528-29. On convergence in upwardly mobile groups, see Edwards, *Multilingualism*, 82; Howard Giles, ‘Ethnicity Markers in Speech’, in *Social Markers in Speech*, ed. Klaus R. Scherer and Howard Giles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 251-89; John C. Turner, and Roger Brown, ‘Social Status, Cognitive Alternatives and Intergroup Relations’, in *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel, European Monographs in Social Psychology 14 (London: Academic Press, 1978), 201-34; Richard N. Lalonde, and Randy A. Silverman,

constructions of first-century CE social strata.¹¹³ Yet, as the evidence reflects, even groups of different statuses were not ‘bounded groups with isolated material lives’ and their contact with Romans is reflected in the evidence that they left behind.¹¹⁴ Such retainers are particularly relevant for this thesis as a group who might have constituted some of the auditors of the Gospel of John.¹¹⁵ The presence of Latin in the legal domain, furthermore, connects retainers in that domain with the Fourth Gospel’s frequent use of legal terms.¹¹⁶ And it is important to note that, along with and in addition to language contact, cultural activities such as ‘festivals and processions’, emperor worship, and ‘gladiatorial combats and wild beast shows’, spread Roman culture in the East, even to ‘non-educated Greeks’.¹¹⁷

Such retainers are also represented in the Johannine text, as Warren Carter has demonstrated (John 1:19; 2:14, 16; 7:32, 45, 46; 18:3, 6, 10, 12, 18, 22, 26, 36; 19:2, 6, 23, 24, 32, 34).¹¹⁸ Out of these twenty references, eight mention specifically Roman retainers (18:3, 6, 12; 19:2, 23, 24, 32, 34). And some of the disciples might have been part of a middle economic group, too, as Van Tilborg shows (e.g., 6:16, 22).¹¹⁹ That they are represented in the text does not constitute proof that retainers were among John’s audience. Nevertheless, the evidence adduced so far in the chapter shows that people who had some contact with Latin were both in the environs of the composition of the Fourth Gospel (Eco’s object) and within the text itself (Eco’s Sign). Chapters 4-7 of this thesis will propose an interpretant for John’s Gospel, particularly John 18:28—19:22, that takes into account the awareness of Roman culture that such people would develop.

‘Behavioral Preferences in Response to Social Injustice: The Effects of Group Permeability and Social Identity Salience’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 66.1 (1994): 78-85.

¹¹³ For example, Carter, *John*, 54. While Carter describes the ‘retainer class’ (54, 66) he does not engage significantly with their presence. For arguments against the division of ancient society into rich-poor alone, see Longenecker, ‘Economic Middle’, 247-49, 268-69.

¹¹⁴ Revell, *Roman*, 153.

¹¹⁵ The higher and more mobile the group, the greater the possibility for developing a trans-local group identity [John Breuilly, ‘Introduction’, in *Nations and Nationalism*, Ernest Gellner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), xiii-liii (xxiii-xxiv)].

¹¹⁶ Lincoln, *Truth*, 29-33.

¹¹⁷ Swain, *Hellenism*, 418-21.

¹¹⁸ Carter, *John*, 66, 68.

¹¹⁹ Tilborg, *Reading*, 82-83.

This proposal, however, does not negate previous interpretants of the Fourth Gospel grounded in a Jewish encyclopaedia. Chapter 2 has shown that people living in multiple cultures have access to more than one encyclopaedia.¹²⁰ And the first and second century CE provide examples of Jews living in some of the same intersections as those described above.¹²¹ In the second century CE, for example, a few Jews were using Latin in their epitaphs in the Appian catacombs.¹²² There is even evidence of a Jewish baker supplying the Roman army at Masada.¹²³ Philo's nephew, Tiberius Alexander, rose through the ranks of the Roman army and helped Vespasian become emperor (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.5.2 §100-102; *J.W.* 2.18.7-8 §487-98; 5.1.6 §43-46; 6.4.3 §237-38).¹²⁴ Jews were also present in Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria and interacted with both local and imperial rulers.¹²⁵ Inscriptional evidence shows that they were among the merchants, in administration, and even in the army,

¹²⁰ Section 2.1.3; cf. Ehrensperger, *Crossroads*, 57-59.

¹²¹ L. Michael White, 'Capitalizing on the Imperial Cult: Some Jewish Perspectives', in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, ed. Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed, SBL WGRWSup 5 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 173-214. There is also the inscription warning against gentiles entering the temple that Josephus reports was written in Latin and Greek, but it is somewhat uncertain, since only Greek copies have so far been found (*J.W.* 5.5.2 §194; Hezser, *Literacy*, 413-14).

¹²² Williams, *Jews*, 181, 185.

¹²³ Hezser, *Literacy*, 416.

¹²⁴ Gottfried Schimanowski, 'Die jüdische Integration in die Oberschicht Alexandriens und die angebliche Apostasie des Tiberius Julius Alexander', in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World: Jüdische Identität in der griechisch-römischen Welt*, ed. Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gripenrog, AGJU 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111-35 (123-33); White, 'Capitalizing', 174.

¹²⁵ Tilborg, *Reading*, 38. Hezser suggests that Jews 'may have learned Latin to attend the law school at Beirut where Roman legal traditions were taught'; her study covers a longer time span than is of interest to this thesis and evidence for Beirut's law school dates to the third century CE (Hezser, *Literacy*, 103; Rochette, *Latin*, 167). For Jews in Ephesus, see Trebilco, *Early*, 37-52; Irina Levinskaya, 'The Traces of Jewish Life in Asia Minor', in *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 21.-24. Mai 2009, Leipzig*, ed. Roland Deines, Jens Herzer, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, WUNT 1.274 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 347-57 (350). For Jews in Antioch, see Irina Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter, *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting* 5 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 130-34; Bernadette J. Broton, 'The Jews of Ancient Antioch', in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 29-37. For Jews in Alexandria, see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.18.7 §488; 7.10.1 §407-419; Philo, *Flacc.* 8.55, and also Shaye J. D. Cohen, "'Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not': How Do You Know a Jew in Antiquity When You See One?", in *Diasporas in Antiquity*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Ernest S. Frerichs (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1-45 (28-29); Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, *Ancient Society and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 92-109; Sylvie Honigman, 'Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', *Ancient Society* 33 (2003): 61-102.

and held Roman citizenship.¹²⁶ As Gruen points out, the intersections occurred in the other direction as well, since some Jewish proselytes were among the Roman élite.¹²⁷

I want to avoid calling these people simply /Romans/, because they were not necessarily citizens nor were they Latin speakers.¹²⁸ Instead, to emphasize the cultural competence that is important for this thesis, I shall call them ‘Roman-aware auditors’ and propose that they were among the audience of the Gospel of John. Whether they were a cohesive group or not, and whether they constituted the whole of John’s auditors, will be explored briefly in Chapter 7.¹²⁹ At this point in the analysis, it is sufficient to note their presence in the first and second century CE Eastern Mediterranean, and to posit their presence among the auditors of the Fourth Gospel.

3.2. Latinisms and the Text of John’s Gospel

The Greek that resulted from the intersections discussed in the first half of this chapter differed in certain specific ways from the Greek used for literary compositions.¹³⁰ This is especially evident in Greek texts translated from Latin, which included transliterated or calqued Latin, morphological or syntactic oddities based on Latin, and a shift in meaning for

¹²⁶ Laurence H. Kant, ‘Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin’, *ANRW* 20.2: 671-713 (690-91); Haas, *Alexandria*, 96, 107; Hezser, *Literacy*, 313-14; Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), 320, 384-85, 437; Joseph Geiger, ‘Language, Culture and Identity in Ancient Palestine’, in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, ed. Erik Nis Ostenfeld, Karin Blomqvist, and Lisa Nevett, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 3 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), 233-46 (235, 239-40); Levinskaya, ‘Traces’, 354-55. For Jews with Roman citizenship, see Acts 16:37, but also Erich S. Gruen, ‘Romans and Jews’, in *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jeremy McNerney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 423-36 (433). See also evidence for Jews or Godfearers in Stobi, a Latin-speaking town in Macedonia (Rajak, *Dialogue*, 356-57). There is some evidence of Latin intersections in the tombstones of Beth She-arim, but these are from the second to fourth century CE and thus may be significantly late from the perspective of this thesis (Rajak, *Dialogue*, 481, 481 n. 4).

¹²⁷ Gruen, ‘Romans’, 432.

¹²⁸ See, for example, Hezser’s cautions about the lack of Latin learning among Jews in Palestine (*Literacy*, 235-36).

¹²⁹ Section 7.1.4.

¹³⁰ Sebastian Brock, ‘Translation in Antiquity’, in *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. Anastassios-Fivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 873-86; Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 124-31.

some older Greek words as they began to be used with specifically Roman referents.¹³¹ These characteristics of translated Greek provide helpful categories for examining the Greek of the Fourth Gospel.¹³² I am not arguing that the Gospel of John is a translated text.¹³³ Yet the same three characteristics, namely code-switches, syntactical Latinisms, and calques and language shift, are evidence of Latin-influenced Greek and are present in the Greek of this Gospel, concentrated particularly in the Johannine trial narrative.¹³⁴ These elements provide the *Haftpunkte* that mark the boundaries of John 18:28—19:22 and suggest the relevance of an interpretant of this narrative unit that uses a Roman encyclopaedia, a task that will engage the remaining chapters of this thesis.¹³⁵

3.2.1. Code-switches

A code-switch is, as discussed in Chapter 2, a foreign word ‘simply transliterated into Greek characters ... introduced directly into the Greek text, in the grammatical case required by the Greek sentence’.¹³⁶ Brixhe calls this rare, and it may be so in translated texts, but not among the Greek of Roman retainers, as the evidence discussed in this section will demonstrate.¹³⁷ In such Greek texts, there were three reasons why Latin words were borrowed. First, they were used for Roman concepts or items for which no Greek term existed.¹³⁸ This was described as *specificity* in Chapter 2.¹³⁹ Secondly, ‘there appears to have been a marked preference in the army and the lower echelons of government bureaucracy

¹³¹ Brixhe, ‘Greek’. Note that LXX Greek is another example of ‘translation Greek’. The examples that follow are specifically chosen because they reflect contact with Latin as opposed to Hebrew or Aramaic. For a balanced view of LXX Greek and its influence on Greek use among Jews, see G. H. R. Horsley, ‘The Fiction of “Jewish Greek”’, *NewDocs 5: Linguistic Essays* (1989): 5-40.

¹³² See the example (*ILS* 9238) of a bilingual inscription by a Greek, a freedman of a Roman, whose Greek had become, at least in the inscription, very Latinised (Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 37-38).

¹³³ I am not arguing that the Fourth Gospel’s author(s) did not know Greek well; that thesis goes beyond what the assembled evidence supports.

¹³⁴ Brixhe, ‘Greek’, 903.

¹³⁵ This does not mean that the narrative is unintelligible for those without access to a Roman encyclopaedia. Furthermore, I shall argue that some of the Roman content is communicated in a hidden transcript and therefore comprises only one of several layers of meaning. See Section 5.1.4.

¹³⁶ Brixhe, ‘Greek’, 905-906.

¹³⁷ Brixhe, ‘Greek’, 906.

¹³⁸ Brixhe, ‘Greek’, 905. For Greek awareness of borrowed words, in this case from Egyptian and Sanskrit, see Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 2.66f.

¹³⁹ Section 2.2.2.

for more Latin expressions'.¹⁴⁰ This phenomenon existed, say Adams and Swain, among retainers: 'enough [Latin] was spoken by soldiers, colonists, and traders ... for many words to enter the Greek language'.¹⁴¹ While Greek literary writers were sufficiently resourced from Attic Greek to eschew Latin (and began to promote a return to the older Greek forms), 'Latin penetrated deeply into [the] everyday'.¹⁴² Thirdly, loans would occur in domains where 'the loaning language is culturally superior'.¹⁴³ Administration and army, as the principal extensions of Roman power and the expression of their claim to cultural superiority (Vergil, *Aen.* 6.851-53), can be seen as special instances of this principle.

The word *πραιτώριον* is a case in point.¹⁴⁴ It can only be found very rarely before its attestation in the New Testament, and then it is used to refer not to a location but to the Praetorian Guard.¹⁴⁵ When it refers to a governor's residence, its earliest uses outside of the New Testament are in a military letter, in an ostraca demanding the tax levy of bricks for building a *πραιτώριον*, and in a Latin-Greek bilingual record of legal proceedings, all from Egypt in the early to mid-second century CE.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 7.

¹⁴¹ James N. Adams, and Simon Swain, 'Introduction', in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-20 (17; see further 16-19). See also on this Lucian, *How to Write History* 15.

¹⁴² Mason, *Greek Terms*, 8. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 19.9 is sometimes cited as evidence of élite Greek knowledge of Latin and Latin literature, but this does not seem to have been common practice. Furthermore, it is such a neat anecdote of a Roman getting the better of Greeks on their own turf (love poetry) that it is easy to suppose that the story grew in the telling [Barry Baldwin, 'Bi-Culturalism and Bi-Lingualism in the Roman Empire', in *Proceedings of the Pacific North-West Conference on Foreign Languages*, ed. Walter C. Kraft 25.1 (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 1974), 65-68 (66); Rochette, *Latin*, 267-69; Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 16].

¹⁴³ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 7.

¹⁴⁴ For the identification of the *praetorium* in Jerusalem as Herod's palace, see Jean-Pierre Lémonon, *Ponce Pilate*, 2nd ed. (Ivry-sur-Seine: L'Atelier, 2007), 113-120. However, most important for this thesis is the lack of references to a *praetorium* in Jerusalem outside of the Gospels. See above for a *praetorium* in Alexandria (Section 3.1.3). I have found none for Ephesus. And while there exist references to a *praetorium* in Antioch, they are late [John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 72; John Malalas, *Chron.* 13.30; Luke Lavan, 'The Praetoria of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity', in *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, ed. Luke Lavan, JRA, Supplementary Series 42 (Portsmouth, RI: Thomson-Shore, 2001), 39-56 (41 n. 7)].

¹⁴⁵ See, for example, *SEG* 6.597. The use in Phil 1:13 is generally taken to refer to people, possibly the Praetorian Guard [Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and W. Ward Gasque, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 93; Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, ed. Richard Bauckham, SNTSMS 110 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2001), 66 n. 18].

¹⁴⁶ These are *P. Oxy.* 58.3917; *O. Bodl.* 2.745 and *P. Wisc.* 2.48. On *O. Bodl.* 2.745, see Allard Wijnand Mees, *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern: unter*

Earlier than the Gospel of John is the Gospel of Mark, where *πραιτώριον* is used in 15:16: ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πραιτώριον, ('into the αὐλή, that is the *praetorium*').¹⁴⁷ Arguing for or against John's dependence on Mark lies outside the scope of this study, but it is interesting that *πραιτώριον* is used in Mark as a specification, explanation or translation of αὐλή; the author apparently assumed that neither αὐλή nor *πραιτώριον* was sufficiently communicative alone.¹⁴⁸ This would make sense if *πραιτώριον* was not yet thoroughly assimilated into Greek use. It is to the point that neither Philo nor, surprisingly given the Roman topics he discusses, Josephus ever use the word. Josephus, for example, uses

Berücksichtigung von Papyri, Inschriften und Rechtsquellen, Monographien / Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 52, vol. 1 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2002), 381. In *P. Wisc.* 2.48, the Greek in line 26 is ἰσῆλθον [correction: εἰσῆλθον] ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ; 'they [or I] went in the *praetorium*', author translation). The Latin phrase of this bilingual papyrus is in the last two lines: *Liberalis op.... id tale feceris profanabat. ibo in patr...* ('Free [?]... you will have made so what he desecrated. I shall go into [my] country', author translation).

There is one inscription using the word *πραιτώριον* that is possibly earlier. One of two bronze votive tablets from Eburacum is dedicated by a Demetrius to θεοῖς τοῖς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πραιτωρίου. 'the household gods of the governor's residence' [E. C. Clark, 'The Romano-Greek Inscriptions in England', *Archaeological Journal* 42 (1885): 424-34 (426)]. The dating of this tablet in the reign of Domitian is dependent on the identification of this Demetrius with the Demetrius who participates in Plutarch's discussion on *The Obsolescence of Oracles*. C. W. King, who made the connection in 1882, recognizes that the 'sole grounds for identification are the names of the two persons, their personal characters, their employment under the same government, and the coincidence of the time of their visit to Britain' ['The Votive Tablets of the "Scriba" Demetrius at York', *Archaeological Journal* 39 (1882): 23-37 (37)]. And although he finds himself convinced by the data, he also admits the 'irresistible temptation to magnify mere trifles, favourable to one's cause, and to tempt the mind to soar above the regions of dull fact upon the wings of fancy' (37). In any case, whether it is early or not, the evidence of 'in der zwar griechisch geschriebenen, aber römisch gedachten Weihung an die Götter des Praetoriums Demetrius', this use of *πραιτώριον* supports its categorization as a word borrowed from Latin for its Roman specificity [H. Dessau, 'Ein Freund Plutarchs in England', *Hermes* 46 (1911): 156-160 (159)]. This is somewhat *pace* Clark who says '[a] Greek was obviously the author', but there is no necessary paradox in a Greek 'thinking' in Latin ('Romano-Greek', 426). Although inscriptions from Ephesus are sometimes cited for the use of the word in that city, e.g., Thiessen, these are dated to the third (*IEph* 3.737) and the fifth century CE (*IEph* 4.1345, dated according to the mention of the Prefect Arcadius) [*Christen in Ephesus: die historische und theologische Situation in vorpaulinischer und paulinischer Zeit und zur Zeit der Apostelgeschichte und der Pastoralbriefe*, ed. Klaus Berger et al., *Texte und Arbeiten zum Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* 12 (Tübingen: Francke, 1995), 119 n. 170].

¹⁴⁷ The word also appears in Matt 27:27; Acts 23:35 and Phil 1:13. On the Philippians reference, see footnote 145 above. Whether the use of *πραιτώριον* in Matt 27:27 occurred through contact with Mark or independently will not be debated in this thesis. Luke does not use the term in his account of the trial, but does when he describes Paul's trial in Caesarea [Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, vol. Volume 3: 15:1—23:35 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 3346]. Both cases constitute, then, two more of the few known instances of the word used for the building earlier than the Fourth Gospel.

¹⁴⁸ Joel Marcus recognizes that in the present texts the words are used synonymously, but suggests that originally *πραιτώριον* was in the genitive, specifying where the courtyard was and therefore translates: 'into the courtyard—that is, of the praetorium' [*Mark 8-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. John J. Collins, AB 27A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 1038-39, see also 31-32]. The variations in the manuscript evidence also seem to point towards a code-switch with Greek endings not yet well integrated. On this, see Section 2.2.2, although as noted above Greek tended to integrate borrowed words quickly.

στρατήγιον to denote a mobile *praetorium* on a campaign (*J.W.* 3.5.2 §82), and he simply refers to the Antonia Fortress as ἡ Ἀντωνία (*J.W.* 5.5.8 §238-47).¹⁴⁹ Like referring to a town square using the word /piazza/, the cultural unit of πραιτώριον probably included not just a reference to a location, but to a particular cultural use of that location.

Besides πραιτώριον (John 18:28, 33; 19:9), the Greek of the Gospel of John includes other words with Latin etymologies: σουδάριον (11:44, 20:7), λέντιον (13:4-5), φραγέλλιον (2:15), Καῖσαρ (19:12, 15), τίτλος (19:19-20) and λίτρα (12:3; 19:39; this word will be discussed separately below).¹⁵⁰ One more Greek word borrowed from Latin is δηνάριον (John 6:7; 12:5; Latin *dēnāriūs*). It is used in all three of the Gospels as well as Revelation, but since BDAG takes this back to the second century BCE, it can be considered to have been thoroughly assimilated into Greek by the time of the final editing of John's Gospel.¹⁵¹ As a transliteration for *Caesar*, Καῖσαρ goes back at least to Philo (e.g., *Embassy* 145). Both of these words, a δηνάριον with its Roman images and Καῖσαρ with its imperial referent, could be used for their Roman specificity, but their etymology will not be further considered.

¹⁴⁹ The Antonia Fortress has been suggested as the referent for the πραιτώριον in John 18:28—19:22 (see above, n. 144).

¹⁵⁰ To this list, Lamb adds ἀρχιτρίκλινος (2:8-9), noting that 'we have no prior documentary evidence' of these "'new" words' with the exception of λίτρα (*Text*, 142). Ἀρχιτρίκλινος is particularly helpful as an example of the way Latin-Greek borrowing could be bi-directional. The prefix is Greek, and the stem, *triclīnium*, at first glance seems to be Latin, but further research reveals that it is, in fact, borrowed from Greek, but used much more often in Latin. Menander uses it 4 times. Polybius once (*Histories* 30.26.3), and it is also found several times each in the T. Ab. (11) and Plutarch (3). In Latin, however, it is used by Vitruvius Pollio 26 times, and by Cicero 11 times. Pliny the Elder uses it 10 times, Pliny the Younger 11 times, Petronius 25 times, and Suetonius 20 times. The Greek etymology is *pace* David Sick although his references are very helpful ['The Architriklinos at Cana', *JBL* 130.3 (2011): 513-526 (515, 520-21)]. Somewhat ironically, then, this originally Greek word has been transmitted as a designation for a particularly Roman dining area. It is impossible to tell from this evidence whether ἀρχιτρίκλινος would have sounded Greek or Roman to John's audience.

λιθόστρωτος poses a problem as well. Brown (2.882) cites 'The Pavement', a contribution by John Aulay Steele who sees a contrast between Jesus and Jupiter because the tessellated tiles were likely to have images of Roman gods on them [Brown, *John*, 2.882; John Aulay Steele, 'The Pavement', *ExpTim* 34.12 (1923): 562-63 (562-63)]. However, whether tessellated pavements discovered in England have any necessary connection with those mentioned in John 19:13 is quite uncertain. The term is used, furthermore, in LXX 2 Chr 7:3 (Brown, *John*, 2.882), and it is also in Esth 1:6 and Song 3:10. The Latin *lithostrotus* is used in the sixth-seventh century Latin Codex Monacensis, but its etymology is Greek to Latin rather than Latin to Greek ('*lithostrotus*', *OLD* 1139).

¹⁵¹ Δηνάριον is used in Matt 18:28; 20:2, 9-10, 13; 22:19; Mark 6:37; 12:15; 14:5; Luke 7:41; 10:35; 20:24; John 6:7; 12:5; Rev 6:6.

Each of the other Latin words used by John follows the regular patterns of Greek assimilation of Latin words and is integrated into the sentence with a Greek ending.¹⁵² Πραιτώριον (from *praetōrium*) transcribes [ae] as [αι], [ō] as [ω], and as a neuter noun ending in *-um*, or *-ium*, it is brought into Greek as a neuter noun of the second Greek declension ending in *-ον*.¹⁵³ It has no previous attestation outside the New Testament in its use for a building, as noted above.¹⁵⁴ Σουδάριον (from *sūdārium*) transcribes [ū] as [ου] and [ā] as [ά] with the same declension shift.¹⁵⁵ It is not attested before the New Testament, either; it occurs twice in John (11:44; 20:7) and twice in Luke-Acts (Luke 19:20; Acts 19:12).¹⁵⁶ Λέντιον (from *linteum*) is likely a case of metathesis, where the [i] and the [e] have changed places.¹⁵⁷ Λέντιον only has a few early attestations, the first in *Vitae Aesopi* G61.13, from the first

¹⁵² For an earlier look at the morphological changes in Latin loanwords, on which García Domingo builds, see Meinersmann, *Lateinischen*, 104-119. Both supersede the brief notes by Jannaris who approaches the topic by first ‘eliminating’ what he calls ‘blunders’, ‘literal transcriptions’, ‘hybrid forms’, and ‘transliterations’ (by which he means translations) without criteria other than that they are ‘obviou[s]’ [‘Latin Influence on Greek Orthography’, *Classical Review* 21.3 (1907): 67-72 (68)].

¹⁵³ Enrique García Domingo, *Latinismos en la koiné (en los documentos epigráficos desde el 212 a. J. C. hasta el 14 d. J. C.): Gramática y léxico griego-latino, latino-griego* (Burgos: Aldecoa, 1979), 65, 55-56, 93.

¹⁵⁴ Lamb does not include πραιτώριον since it is previously attested, but the only previous attestations with the same meaning are in the other Gospels (*Text*, 142). Alan Millard looks at these words as well but he concentrates on evidence in Palestine. Especially helpful is his discussion of the Latin evidence from the ‘Cave of Letters’ [*Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 152]. Note, however, Louis Feldman’s comments on the registers in which this did and did not occur; ‘remarkably few actually entered the rabbis’ legal vocabulary’ [*Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 35]. Furthermore, Millard omits λέντιον from his list of Latinisms unattested before the first century, although it, too, is minimally attested, and he omits John from the list of New Testament texts that use πραιτώριον. Finally, he supposes that the ‘presence of Latin words in the Gospels reflects the linguistic picture of Palestine in the first century AD’, but it seems more reasonable that the language of the Gospels would reflect the languages of author, redactor(s) and audience (*Reading*, 125-31; 148-53).

¹⁵⁵ The [ū] as [ου] transcription was one response to the lack of /u/ in Greek. This change, in particular, is from the first century BCE to the first century CE (García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 58-60; 45-46; Kearsley, *Greeks*, 3). The [i] to [ι] transcription is ‘el procedimiento de transcripción más frecuente’ for this vowel sound (García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 52).

¹⁵⁶ Paul Trebilco, ‘Asia’, in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad H. Gempf (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 291-362 (313). See also Meinersmann who does not find the word attested before CPR 1.27, dated to 190 CE (*Lateinischen*, 59).

¹⁵⁷ García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 64. Johannes Kramer instead points to the practice ‘dass das frühere lateinische i durch griechisches ε wiedergegeben ist’ [‘Die Papyrologie als Erkenntnisquelle für die Romanistik’, in *Von der Papyrologie zur Romanistik*, ed. Johannes Kramer, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 30 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 27-38 (31)]. Binder suggests that λίντεον was meant and that λέντιον was a scribal error which ‘war also durch den Sprachgebrauch des Evangelisten legitimiert’. She is thus forced to regard the occurrence in *Vita Aesopi* as a ‘Rätsel’ (G61.13, first century CE). Metathesis seems to me a simpler solution (*Sprachkontakt*, 122-23, 122 n. 11).

century CE, and there is also an inscription from the time of Hadrian.¹⁵⁸ Φραγέλλιον occurs as φλαγέλλιον, transcribing *flagellum* with an iota added.¹⁵⁹ The change from [λ] to [ρ] is probably an example of anticipatory dissimilation. This occurs when, in a word such as φλαγέλλιον, with two [l] sounds, the first [l] changes to be clearly distinct from the second.¹⁶⁰ With its consonant change, it is found more often in the second century CE.¹⁶¹ It has not yet become thoroughly integrated even then, however, since it occurs in line 11 of an Egyptian papyrus from 103-117 CE as φλαγελλιον (*P. Lond.* 19). Τίτλος (from *tītūlus*) transcribes [l] as [i] and may have experienced the syncope that García Domingo describes as ‘entre oclusiva y /l/’ or may have been imported from vulgar Latin where Dieterich describes a ‘Schwund ... des u zwischen c-l, p-l, t-l.’¹⁶² The declension shift is simply from second Latin to second Greek.¹⁶³ As far as its usage goes, Hatch claims that ‘the word is not uncommon in the Hellenistic period’.¹⁶⁴ He only refers to Hahn, who simply notes: ‘Der juristischen Sprache gehört noch das auch später öfter gebrauchte τίτλος an’, without

¹⁵⁸ Mauro Pesce, and Adriana Destro, ‘La lavanda dei piedi di Gv 13,1-20, il *Romanzo di Esopo* e i *Saturnalia* di Macrobio’, *Bib* 80.2 (1999): 240-49 (242); Keener, *John*, 908 n. 109. The inscription is *IMagnMai* 116, 34, cited in ‘λέντιον’, BDAG 592. Note that although BDAG lists Arrian, *Peripl.* 4, I have not been able to locate the word in that text. There is also *O. Wilck.* 2.1611, but its dating (1-399 CE) is too vague to be determinative.

¹⁵⁹ For example, *P. Lond.* 191. I have not been able to find an explanation for the addition of the iota.

¹⁶⁰ Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, ed. Karl Krumbacher, *Byzantinisches Archiv als Ergänzung der Byzantinischen Zeitschrift* 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 123. Binder agrees, calling this a case of ‘Liquidendissimilation ohne Nasaleinschub’. She also points out that the *Appendix Probi* from the third or fourth century CE includes the rule, ‘*flagellum*, non *fragellum*’, showing that this dissimilation was entering Latin usage as well (*Sprachkontakt*, 252). This is *pace* Otto Immisch who suggests that the change came about in connection with a play on words between *flagellum* and *frangere*, which, it is to be noted, would only work in Latin [‘De Glossis Lexici Hesychiani Italicis’, *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 8 (1885): 265-378 (373-74)]. Hahn follows Immisch [*Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache: Bis auf die Zeit Hadrians* (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1906), 265].

¹⁶¹ ‘φραγέλλιον’, BDAG 1064; T. 12 Patr. 12.2.3; Robert Cavenaile, ‘Quelques aspects de l’apport linguistique du grec au latin d’Égypte’, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952): 191-203 (196).

¹⁶² García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 52, 63; Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, 39. Agreeing with Dieterich is Hahn, *Rom*, 265. For examples of later uses, see Meinersmann, *Lateinischen*, 61.

¹⁶³ García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 91-92.

¹⁶⁴ William Henry Paine Hatch, ‘Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor’, *JBL* 27.2 (1908): 134-146 (143).

including further references.¹⁶⁵ I have not been able to locate anything earlier than the second century CE.

These are all regular shifts that occurred when writing Latin words in Greek. On this Eleanor Dickey notes, ‘some types of integration are standard in Greek even for Latin words clearly marked as foreign rather than loanwords. For example, Latin nouns and adjectives almost always appear in Greek not with Latin endings, but with the endings appropriate to the equivalent declension in Greek: *-us* becomes *-ος*, *-um* becomes *-ον*, *-am* becomes *-αν*, etc’.¹⁶⁶ She concludes from her study that ‘Greek seems in general to have had a very low tolerance’ for ‘unintegrated foreign words’.¹⁶⁷ Thus, the integration of the Latin words into the Greek of the Gospel reveals very little about how recently the words were imported. More telling is the rarity of these words in other evidence from the past.¹⁶⁸ Mullen notes that ‘the distribution of the item in the extant literature may give an idea of whether it had generally been accepted into the recipient language (borrowing), or whether its attestation was ad hoc (code-switching or interference)’.¹⁶⁹

The rarity of these words in ancient texts is mirrored, for the most part, in the New Testament canon, and none is used in the LXX. Three of these words, *λέντιον*, *φραγέλλιον*, and *τίτλος* are only found in John. Nevertheless, comparisons can be instructive.¹⁷⁰ Although *σουδάριον* is used in John only for a grave-cloth placed over the face, Luke uses the same word to describe a small cloth carrying coins (Luke 19:20) and cloths that, having

¹⁶⁵ Hahn, *Rom*, 122.

¹⁶⁶ Eleanor Dickey, ‘Latin Loanwords in Greek: A Preliminary Analysis’, in *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin*, ed. Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho, and Marja Vierros, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 17 (Helsinki: Suomen Ateenan-Instituutin säätiö, 2012), 57-70 (61).

¹⁶⁷ Dickey, ‘Loanwords’, 61 n. 20.

¹⁶⁸ This discussion necessarily builds on the proposed date of the Gospel, taken to be the late first or early second century CE. See Section 7.2.3.

¹⁶⁹ Mullen, ‘Introduction’, 20. Furthermore, Chantraine did not include *πραιτώριον*, *σουδάριον*, *λέντιον* or *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* in his *Dictionnaire*, and he lists nothing earlier than what I have found for *φραγέλλιον* or *τίτλος* (‘*φραγέλλιον*’, *DELG* 1224; ‘*τίτλος*’, *DELG* 1122).

¹⁷⁰ Analysis and claims of equivalency in the following two paragraphs are based on entries in L&N.

touched Paul, then brought about healings (Acts 19:12).¹⁷¹ While the σουδάριον is small and used on the face, the λέντιον is for drying. Only John tells the footwashing episode, so it makes sense that he alone uses λέντιον, but John is also the only one to use τίτλος, since Mark and Luke use the Greek equivalent, ἐπιγραφή (Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38), and Matthew does not name the board that the αἰτία is written on (Matt 27:37). In all of these cases, John uses more Latin words for items also mentioned in other Gospels. However, the evidence does not all point in one direction. Although the whip that Jesus makes to clear the temple is a φραγέλλιον (*flagellum*, a *hapax legomenon*, John 2:15), when it comes to the flogging ordered by Pilate, John describes it using the verb μαστιγώω, whereas it is Matthew and Mark who use the equivalent verb borrowed from Latin, φραγελλόω (Matt 27:26; Mark 15:15).¹⁷² I shall suggest in Chapter 6 that John is minimizing the focus on the whipping in general and the Roman element of the whipping in particular, because it is the Χαῖρε of the soldiers that he wants to highlight.¹⁷³

Out of the six Latin loanwords under examination, then, in two cases, that of τίτλος and πραιτώριον, John uses a Latin loanword where another word was available (ἐπιγραφή and αὐλή). In one case (μαστιγώω) John does the reverse and uses a Greek word where he seems to have known at least a variation of the Latin one, based on his use of φραγέλλιον in John 2:15. In the case of σουδάριον there does not seem to be another word (besides λέντιον) used for small cloths from the first century CE onwards.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore,

¹⁷¹ There is also ὀθόνη for the large sheet in Acts 10:11 and 11:5.

¹⁷² Both Gospel authors knew μαστιγώω, using it in Matt 10:27; 20:19; 23:34; Mark 10:34. On the way Mark uses Latinisms in the trial scene, see Lochlan Shelfer, 'The Legal Precision of the Term 'Paraklētos'', *JSNT* 32, no. 2 (2009): 131-150 (135 n. 19); Brown, *Death*, 1.850. Although these focus on the physical blows, Luke uses παιδεύω (Luke 23:16, 22) a verb that references a punishment 'for the purpose of improved behavior' ('παιδεύω; παιδεία, ας', L&N 489). There is no whip in the other Gospel accounts of the temple event.

¹⁷³ Section 7.2.2.

¹⁷⁴ Although neither is attested earlier than the New Testament texts, afterwards they are used much more frequently than their nearest equivalents, ἡμιτίβιον and μάκτρον. Another possible synonym is ἐκμαγεῖον; it is used much more frequently, but it has multiple meanings (ἐκμαγεῖον, LSJ 513).

these words all come from the domains discussed above: *πραιτώριον*, *φραγέλλιον* and *τίτλος* from the intersection of army and legal domains as the soldiers enforced legal decisions, and *σουδάριον* and *λέντιον* from commerce or simply as items familiar to retainers in Roman households.¹⁷⁵ They likely came into Koine Greek from the intersections discussed in the first half of this chapter. Furthermore, since they are poorly attested earlier than the second century CE, they likely carry Roman specificity in their use in the Fourth Gospel. I shall include all five of these words among the Latinisms that I posit in John.

3.2.2. Syntactical Latinisms

The Gospel of John offers many examples of Greek syntax that have been connected with Latin influence. I want to present seven such cases in this section: one article omission, two case changes, filiation formulas, periphrastic verbs, *ἵνα* clauses, and a unit of measure. Only the first seems to me to have a clear enough connection to Latin to argue for it as a *Haftpunkt*.

The omission of articles is difficult to discuss because Greek does not require an article for every noun. I only want to bring attention to one specific example that can be connected to the possibility of Latin influence. In John 19:7, the Jews point out that Jesus has made himself, in the usual translation, ‘the Son of God’.¹⁷⁶ Yet the Greek phrase has no articles: *υἱὸς θεοῦ*. It is true that the phrase is used in this sentence as the complement in an object-complement construction, and such a complement is often marked by the lack of an

¹⁷⁵ Note that *πρωτὶ* in John 18:28 is sometimes assumed to have a Roman referent (Brown, *John*, 844; Barrett, *Gospel*, 531). This may be the case, but the word would only acquire that interpretant from abduction using a Roman encyclopaedia, since it is used throughout the LXX without a Roman cultural unit. Thus, it is not listed in this chapter among the *Haftpunkte* for the use of a Roman encyclopaedia in John 18:28—19:22.

¹⁷⁶ For a nuanced discussion of the absence of articles as Latinisms, see Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 516. See also Moule who, although he does not mention this verse, points to ‘a Greek version of a Roman history’ where there is ‘an instance of omission of articles due to *Latin* influence’ [*An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 177, emphasis original; citing Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), 16-17]. Radermacher points back to Meuwese’s discussion of articles where in twelve out of twenty cases the Greek of the *Res Gestae* omits all articles in translating the Latin [‘*De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione Graeca*’ (PhD thesis, Amsterdam, 1920), 39-42].

article.¹⁷⁷ However, this lack cannot be attributed solely to that construction for two reasons. First, ‘[i]f one of the two is a *pronoun*, it will be the object’, and here the object is *ἐαυτόν*.¹⁷⁸ Therefore the lack of article is not required to designate *υἰὸν θεοῦ* as the complement. Furthermore, the text might read *ὅτι υἰὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐαυτόν ἐποίησεν*, and the lack of an article for *υἱός* would be sufficient to mark *υἰὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* as the complement. In John 10:36, for example, where (as in 19:7) there is no confusion between subject and predicate, *υἱός* nevertheless lacks the article likely because of the phrase’s function as a predicate, yet *θεός* retains its genitive article.¹⁷⁹ The cultural unit of *υἱός θεοῦ* will be discussed in Chapter 4, but the lack of both articles provides an example of a construction common in Greek influenced by the lack of articles in the Latin language.¹⁸⁰ This instance seems particularly relevant as a Latin-influenced omission since the phrase itself has a Roman cultural unit. It is not certainly a Latinism, because in John 1:23; 12:13, 38, *κύριος*, another word with a Roman cultural unit among its possible meanings, is used without an article.¹⁸¹ Yet in all three instances, the Roman cultural unit is not blown up, since the Gospel is citing the Septuagint which also has no article (Isa 40:3; LXX Ps 117:26; Isa 53:1). My argument in Chapter 6, however, will be that the Roman context of 19:7 *along with* the lack of articles blows up the Roman cultural unit of this phrase.

Case uses different from that usual in Greek also occur in the Fourth Gospel. Normally, Greek uses accusative for duration of time (John 5:6; 7:33; 12:35), but it

¹⁷⁷ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 182-89. See, e.g., John 4:46; 5:11; 5:18; 15:15.

¹⁷⁸ Wallace, *Greek*, 184.

¹⁷⁹ Marianne Meye Thompson, for example, translates the phrase as ‘I am the Son of God’, despite the anarthrous *υἱός* [*John: A Commentary*, ed. C. Clifton Black, M. Eugene Boring, and John T. Carroll, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2015), 230]. Robinson argues for Latin influence in the *υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι* of 10:36, but there the phrase has one article so that instance will not be taken as a Latinism in this thesis [“‘His Witness Is True’: a Test of the Johannine Claim”, in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. Ernst Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 453-76 (473 n. 67)].

¹⁸⁰ See n. 176.

¹⁸¹ ‘κύριος’, BDAG 578, 2bβ.

sometimes, as in John 14:9 borrowed the dative in imitation of the Latin ablative.¹⁸² Ward notes ‘that the dative of duration has also been identified as an Aramaicism’, citing articles by Jean Bernardi and Jordi Redondo.¹⁸³ Yet Redondo merely references Bernardi, and Bernardi claims only that this construction ‘*pourrait correspondre à l’emploi de la préformante l- en hébreu*’.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, although Bernardi finds this construction in Josephus (*J.W.* 5.9.4 §389, 397), he supposes that it comes from Hebrew influence based on three LXX attestations: Dan 9:2; 3 Kgdms 3:1; 7:1. Yet the first-time reference in Dan 9:2 is not to duration (τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει) and the second in the same verse, while expressing duration, is in the accusative case (ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη). The reference to 3 Kgdms 3:1 seems to be in error; perhaps 1 Kgdms 3:1; 2 Kgdms 3:1 or 4 Kgdms 3:1 is meant.¹⁸⁵ However, in the first two, the expressions of time use prepositions and, in the last, the duration of time is in the accusative case. 3 Kgdms 7:1 (or better because of an inversion of verses in the LXX, 3 Kgdms 7:38) does have a reference to time expressed in the dative: τρισκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν. This phrase is better understood as limitative, however.¹⁸⁶

Coulter George lists instead 2 Chr 7:8; Isa 48:7 and 3 Macc 6:38 as possible examples of the dative used for duration.¹⁸⁷ However none of these corresponds to a Hebrew ל as Bernardi’s proposal would require. In the first example, there is no *lamed*. In the second, the *lamed* is part of a longer prepositional expression (וּלְפָנַיִם) and the phrase could, in any case, be taken as limitative. And 3 Maccabees does not have a Hebrew *Vorlage*. These points do not completely preclude Hebrew influence on this construction, since the MT does not

¹⁸² Adams, *Bilingualism and Latin*, 80, 506-508. See also a brief mention in BDR, §201.

¹⁸³ J. S. Ward, ‘Roman Greek: Latinisms in the Greek of Flavius Josephus’, *CIQ* 57.2 (2007): 632-649 (641-42; the ‘n. 11’ in both references seems to be a typo).

¹⁸⁴ Jordi Redondo, ‘The Greek Literary Language of the Hebrew Historian Josephus’, *Hermes* 128.4 (2000): 420-34 (431); Jean Bernardi, ‘De quelques sémitismes de Flavius Josèphe’, *REG* 100 (1987): 18-29 (26, emphasis mine).

¹⁸⁵ Thanks to Olivier Munnich for help with these references.

¹⁸⁶ Coulter H. George, *Expressions of Time in Ancient Greek*, ed. R. L. Hunter et al., Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 260.

¹⁸⁷ George, *Expressions*, 260.

necessarily reflect the text behind the LXX and 3 Maccabees could be influenced by Hebrew even without an early Hebrew edition.¹⁸⁸ Still, the dative had begun to be used more generally in Greek for duration—it is not present in Thucydides or Xenophon (fifth-fourth century BCE), but appears occasionally in Epictetus (early second century CE).¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, this structure also appears elsewhere in the New Testament: Luke 1:74-75; Acts 8:11; and some manuscripts of Luke 8:27.¹⁹⁰ Thus, it is better to take this simply as a development of the Greek language possibly under Latin influence. In the example under review, John 14:9, manuscript evidence is uneven, and quite a few early witnesses, even early papyri such as \mathfrak{P}^{66} and \mathfrak{P}^{75} , have the phrase in the accusative. Although both UBS⁵ and NA²⁸ take the dative as their primary reading, possibly because it is the more difficult one, the influence of later Latin speakers may have altered the text in transmission instead of Latin having affected its initial composition.¹⁹¹ Therefore, no firm conclusion can be drawn about the reason for the dative of time in this verse.

Another case switch occurs in John 13:13 and 19:3, which use the nominative where vocative would be expected. These exemplars have been explained in a variety of ways. J. H. Moule claimed that, with the article, the use of the nominative signalled descriptiveness.¹⁹² He translated 19:5 as ‘Hail, you “King”!’, and suggested that Mark’s use of the vocative (15:18) ‘is merely a note of the writer’s imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom’.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ George, *Expressions*, 263-64 and nn. 46-47; T. M. Law, *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), e.g., 20, 66-67.

¹⁸⁹ George, *Expressions*, 78, 154, 228.

¹⁹⁰ George, *Expressions*, 264-65, 269-70.

¹⁹¹ George, *Expressions*, 269-70.

¹⁹² James Hope Moule, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3rd ed., vol. 1: Prolegomena (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908), 70.

¹⁹³ Moule, *Grammar*, 70-71. Barnabas Lindars follows him, translating instead: the ‘so-called King’ [*The Gospel of John*, ed. Matthew Black, NCB Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 565]. Robertson calls this ‘overrefinement’, a favourite term by the way [*A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919), 465, but see also 531, 579, 754, 768, 806, 835, 937, 1042, 1127, 1140, 1151, 1204].

Blass, Debrunner, and Rehkopf suggest that the construction arises in the New Testament and the LXX when ‘sie den determinierten semit. Vok. durch den Nom. mit Artikel wiedergeben’.¹⁹⁴ J. Svennung, like BDR, more carefully examines the LXX and concludes that the use of the nominative (with an article) for the vocative in LXX Greek is ‘eine natürliche Erscheinung’ due to the influence of the Hebrew text.¹⁹⁵ Of the examples offered, Joel 1:13 and Ps 5:3 are especially instructive. In Joel, the LXX has *περιζώσασθε καὶ κόπτεσθε, οἱ ἱερεῖς, θρηνεῖτε, οἱ λειτουργοῦντες*, two nominatives for vocatives, both with articles. The Hebrew, however, is

חֲגֹר וְסָפְדוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלַּיְלָה מִשְׁרַתִּי מִזֶּבַח

In this verse, *כֹּהֵן* has an article, but the participle *מִשְׁרַתִּי* does not. Thus, this one verse demonstrates the use of articles in the Greek nominatives with and without articles in the Hebrew. LXX Ps 5:3 is another example of the use of an article in a Greek nominative where one might expect a vocative without an article because of the Hebrew. I note it because, unlike the previous examples but like John 19:3, it is in the singular: *ὁ βασιλεύς μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου*. The Septuagint uses nominative for vocative, then, with or without an article in Hebrew.

Although Svennung proposes that nominative for vocative in the LXX is a Semitism, in the New Testament he prefers the explanation that the nominative is appositive, ‘zum im Verbum liegenden Subjekt der 2. Personen’.¹⁹⁶ Yet perhaps no explanation from another language is needed at all. In Greek poetry, the vocative was used for the nominative in

¹⁹⁴ BDR, §147 (2). See also BDR, §143; J. B. Hofmann, and Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, ed. Iwan Müller, Walter Otto, and Hermann Bengtson, 2nd ed., *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 2.2.2 (Munich: Beck, 1972), § 39; Eleanor Dickey, ‘Forms of Address and Markers of Status’, in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 327-37 (333-34).

¹⁹⁵ J. Svennung, *Anredeformen: Vergleichende Forschungen zur indirekten Anrede in der dritten Person und zum Nominativ für den Vokativ*, *Acta Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis* 42 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), 224.

¹⁹⁶ Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 225.

‘imitation of Homer’ and in Latin poetry, ‘[d]ie griechischen Vorbilder sind klar’.¹⁹⁷ Calboli looks at Greek influence on Latin and says that ‘the use of the nominative instead of the vocative’ is a ‘Graecism’, basing this conclusion on the 1895 work of Joseph Brenous.¹⁹⁸ This, however, is a misreading of Brenous who argues that this is a Latin construction.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, in Greek, the ‘vocative in –ε’ never disappeared, whereas in Latin ‘colloquial speech of the time of the Emperors the vocative in –e shows signs of disappearing and of being replaced by the nominative’.²⁰⁰

Rather than being a Semitism, the use of the nominative for the vocative could be another Latinism. However, influence from the Septuagint with or without articles in the Hebrew provides the most obvious explanation.²⁰¹ Since the phrase is in the vocative in Matthew and Mark (Matt 27:29; Mark 15:18), John was either following a different tradition or under one of the above-mentioned influences that required the change. And since Ἰῶᾱν ⁶⁶ has $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ it seems evident that the use was in flux.²⁰² Although the supposition that it was used in 19:3 to heighten the mock Roman solemnity is quite tempting, the possible influences are too varied to draw such a conclusion. The nominatives in 13:13 and 19:3 will not be highlighted as Latinisms in my analysis.

Another example of the way Greek was influenced by Latin occurs in filiation formulas. Greek inscriptions in Ephesus used $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ in imitation of the Latin *filius*, and this

¹⁹⁷ Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 463, 267; see also 464. For examples in Latin, see Vergil, *Aen.* 8.77; 10.325.

¹⁹⁸ Gualtiero Calboli, ‘Latin Syntax and Greek’, in *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax*, ed. Philip Baldi and Pierluigi Cuzzolin (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 65-193 (77-78).

¹⁹⁹ Joseph Brenous, *Étude sur les hellénismes dans la syntaxe latine* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1895), 83-89, esp. 84, 89.

²⁰⁰ Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 463-64. (This quote is from the English summary at the end of the book.)

²⁰¹ Maarten J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, ed. Tj. Baarda, A. van der Kooij, and A. S. van der Woude, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 14-18.

²⁰² Barrett, *Gospel*, 540.

filiation occurs in John's Gospel. The difficulty, however, is that this is at least as likely to occur from Hebrew influence (especially through LXX Greek) as from Latin.²⁰³

Two further constructions in Greek that were growing in frequency during the koine period may have been influenced by Latin. Periphrastic verb forms are more prevalent in the Fourth Gospel and in Luke than in Matthew and Mark, and while these forms cannot unilaterally be attributed to contact with Latin, that contact seems to have been one of the impetuses for their spread.²⁰⁴

Also, the use of ὅτι or ἵνα clauses rather than the infinitive, more common in John than elsewhere in the New Testament, may be linked to Latin influence.²⁰⁵ Although they have sometimes been classified as mistranslations from Aramaic, these constructions were a historical development of Koine Greek.²⁰⁶ Caragounis asserts that this was not as a result of 'foreign influence', but that leaves the discrepancy between the usages in the New Testament corpus unexplained.²⁰⁷ While a detailed analysis of which subordinate clauses might more classically be expressed with infinitives will not be attempted, a simple count shows the preference of John for these conjunctions (Figures 14 and 15).²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Luke 3:23-38 exemplifies the usual Greek construction, e.g., Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ τοῦ Μαθθαί τοῦ Λευί. Hebrew, e.g., in Zech 1:7 is אֶלְיָזְכָּרְיָה בֶן־בְּרַכְיָהוּ בֶן־עֲדָיָה. Yet John has seven Greek forms (6:71; 13:2, 26; 21:2; 21:15-17) plus three that use υἱός and thus are either influenced by Hebrew, Latin, or the pressure of both (1:42, 45; 6:42).

²⁰⁴ Brixhe, 'Greek', 906; Horrocks, *Greek*, 176-78; García Domingo, *Latinismos*, 252-53, 256-58. Note that this kind of change would have been resisted in élite registers. (Thanks to Colin Cousino for this comment.) The specific references for periphrastic verb forms are as follows. Mark: 1:6, 33; 6:52; 15:7, 26 and 3:1; 8:17. Matt: 9:36; 10:26, 30; 16:19; 18:18, 20; 26:43. Luke: 1:7; 2:26; 4:16, 17; 5:1, 17, 18; 6:40; 8:2; 9:32, 45; 12:2, 6, 35, 52; 14:8; 15:24; 18:34; 20:6; 23:15, 51, 55; 24:38 and 13:6; 14:18, 19. John: 1:24; 2:17; 3:21, 24, 27, 28; 6:31, 45, 65; 10:34; 12:14, 16; 13:5; 16:24; 17:19, 23; 18:18, 25; 19:11, 19, 20, 41; 20:30 and 17:13. These verb forms are also found regularly in the LXX, which might account, with the changes in Koine Greek, for all of these instances. Yet their special frequency in Luke and John allows for the possibility that contact with Latin increased their use.

²⁰⁵ BDR, § 388.2.

²⁰⁶ For Aramaic influence, see, e.g., Barrett, *Gospel*, 9. For an argument against Aramaic influence, see Casey, *True?*, 89-90. For historical development, see Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 116.

²⁰⁷ Caragounis, *Development*, 116 n. 92.

²⁰⁸ Exported from Logos Bible Software, 4:37 PM March 20, 2014.

3. Latin Intersections in the Eastern Roman Empire and in the Gospel of John

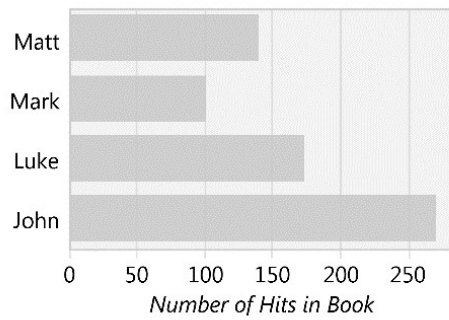


Figure 14: ὅτι in the Gospels

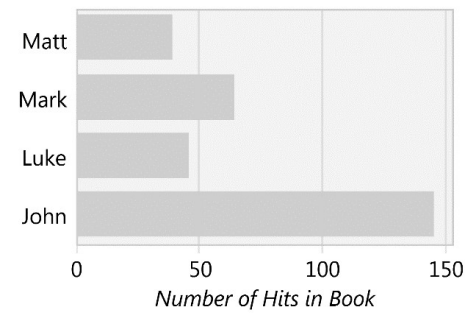


Figure 15: ἵνα in the Gospels

However, since the connection to Latin influence cannot be established with any degree of probability, these subordinate constructions will not be included among my proposed Latinisms.

Greek also sometimes borrowed the Romans' dating practices.²⁰⁹ While there are no certain examples of this in John (where dating references are debated), the use of λίτρα (12:3; 19:39) might be an example of the adoption not of Roman dating but measuring units.²¹⁰ However, Koine Greek was adopting foreign elements to adapt to the necessities of its speakers, as all languages do, so not all borrowed words are necessarily significant.²¹¹ The use of λίτρα, for example, predates the first century CE.²¹² And while John is the only Gospel to use λίτρα, the lexicon of units of measure across the New Testament shows a variety of intersecting practices (Figure 16).²¹³ Thus, while the Fourth Gospel does use a word for a

²⁰⁹ Brixhe, 'Greek', 907.

²¹⁰ On the Jewish feasts, see, e.g., Lincoln, *Gospel*, 8-9. John's references to hours (tenth, 1:39; sixth, 4:6; seventh 4:52; sixth, 19:14) are too disputed to be used as evidence (e.g., Keener, *John*, 1.591). Pliny the Elder's comment is cited to support both positions: 'The actual period of a day has been differently kept by different people: the Babylonians count the period between two sunrises, the Athenians that between two sunsets, the Umbrians from midday to midday, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and the authorities who fixed the official day, and also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, the period from midnight to midnight' (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 2.79). I might incline towards a Roman reckoning, but that would only be on the basis of the other *Haftpunkte* listed in this chapter. Therefore, the references cannot be used as *Haftpunkte* themselves. For Roman reckoning, see Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 219. For Jewish, see, e.g., Keener, *John*, 1.591-92.

²¹¹ On the congruence of NT Greek with Koine Greek in general, see James W. Voelz, 'The Greek of the New Testament: Its Place within the Context of Hellenistic Greek', in *Greek: A Language in Evolution: Essays in Honour of Antonios N. Jannaris*, ed. Chrys C. Caragounis (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 177-195.

²¹² 'λίτρα', BDAG 597.

²¹³ Etymology is taken from corresponding entries in BDAG and *DELG*. Note that for μόδιος, BDAG references a 4th-3rd BCE use (Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes* 43) with a footnote mentioning Gibbon ('μόδιος', BDAG 656). This refers to Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1995), 625 n. 10. There Gibbon offers a correction to a translation of Dinarchus who does not actually use μόδιος but instead μέδιμνος. This reference can thus be

Latin unit of measurement, it does not seem particularly distinctive either as a clearly Roman word or as a unique practice, when it is compared with the provenance of the terms for measures in the New Testament.²¹⁴ All the Gospel authors used Roman measures and Matthew and Luke used words derived from Hebrew as well as Latin. This is most likely to reflect the movement of people groups around the Mediterranean area but not Latin/Roman influence in particular.

	Matt	Mark	Luke-Acts	John	1 Cor	Rev
Hebrew	הָאָרְ		הָאָרְ בֶּרֶךְ, תָּבֵר			
Greek	πῆχυς, στάδιον		πῆχυς, στάδιον, ὀργυιά	πῆχυς, στάδιον, μετρητής	στάδιον	πῆχυς, στάδιον, ταλαντιαῖος, χοῖνιξ
Latin	<i>modius</i> , <i>mille</i>	<i>modius</i> , <i>sextarius</i> ?	<i>modius</i>	<i>libra</i>		

Figure 16: Measurements in the NT According to Language Origin

Although the evidence assembled in the category of syntactical Latinisms is more possible than certain, there are examples in the Gospel of John of the omission of articles, case changes, ἵνα and ὅτι clauses, and even one example of a unit of measurement that originated with the Romans. Yet only the phrase υἱὸς θεοῦ in 19:7 has a strong enough basis in Latin to posit any rhetorical effect such as a *Haftpunkt* would require. The evidence is stronger, however, in the category of calques and language shift.

ignored, μέδιμνος being a perfectly respectable Greek word going back to Herodotus in the fifth century BCE (μέδιμνος, LSJ 1089). See discussion in F. P. Lock, *The Rhetoric of Numbers in Gibbon's History* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), 107.

²¹⁴ References for the words in the table: σάτον (הָאָרְ; Matt 13:33; Luke 13:21), κόρος (בֶּרֶךְ; Luke 16:7), βάτος (תָּבֵר; Luke 16:6), πῆχυς (Matt 6:27; Luke 12:25; John 21:8; Rev 21:17), στάδιον (Matt 14:24; Luke 24:13; John 6:10; 11:18; 1 Cor 9:24; Rev 14:20; 21:16), ὀργυιά (Acts 27:28), μετρητής (John 2:6), ταλαντιαῖος (Rev 16:21), χοῖνιξ (Rev 6:6), μόδιος (*modius*; Matt 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 11:33), μίλιον (*mille*; Matt 5:41), ξέστης (*sextarius*; Mark 7:4), λίτρα (*libra*; John 12:3; 19:39).

3.2.3. Calques and language shift

Somewhat similar to code-switches, calques and language shift are also among the characteristics of translated Greek that Brixhe discusses.²¹⁵ Again, these elements find expression in John's text. Language shift can be illustrated by σπεῖρα (18:3, 12). This Greek word was used as early as Homer, in *Odyssey* 4.245, for a garment wound around the shoulders. Yet by the time of the New Testament its principal meaning was for a Latin *cohors* or sometimes a *manipulus*.²¹⁶ In the same way χιλίαρχος (John 18:12), attested in Greek since the fifth century BCE, became the designation for a Roman *tribunus militum*.²¹⁷ Shelfer, furthermore, has argued that παράκλητος (John 14:16, 26: 15:26; 16:7) should be understood as a calque of *advocatus*, and when taken as part of the legal language that permeates John, this seems likely.²¹⁸ Indeed, many of John's most frequently used word groups, such as μαρτυρία and μαρτυρέω (47 times), κρίσις and κρίνω (30 times), and ἀλήθ- words (55 times) may have multiple meanings, but one area of commonality: the legal domain.²¹⁹ Furthermore, a couple of specifically legal words are used occasionally: κατηγορέω (3 times, including once in John 8:6), ἐλέγχω (3 times).²²⁰ Several other perhaps less obvious words

²¹⁵ Brixhe, 'Greek', 907-909.

²¹⁶ σπεῖρα, LSJ 1625; σπεῖρα, BDAG 936.

²¹⁷ 'χιλίαρχος', BDAG 1084. Pace, e.g., Blinzler who argues against these terms as references to Romans in the Gospel of John [*The Trial of Jesus: The Jewish and Roman Proceedings against Jesus Christ Described and Assessed from the Oldest Accounts*, trans. Isabel and Florence McHugh (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1959), 63-70].

²¹⁸ Shelfer, 'Paraklētos'. For a different explanation that connects the Latin word *advocatus* with the Jewish Scriptures, see Lincoln, *Gospel*, 393-94.

²¹⁹ For other connections between the Gospel of John and the legal domain, see, for example, Beth M. Sheppard, 'The Gospel of John: A Roman Legal and Rhetorical Perspective' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1999), 200-204; George L. Parsenios, *Rhetoric and Drama in the Johannine Lawsuit Motif*, WUNT 1.258 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 34, 39, 87-128. Parsenios's argument that ζητεῖν, too, functions in such a capacity is strengthened abductively when it is connected with *quaerere*, whose usages include '[t]o hold a judicial inquiry into', 'to hear a criminal charge or civil claim in a court of law' and 'to examine (a person) by questioning' ('*quaerere*', OLD 1533, meaning 10; Parsenios, *Rhetoric*, 42-43, 49-86). However, although ζητέω is a Greek word that predates Latin influence, its legal meaning is not attested in BDAG before the second century CE with the exception of Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.5.13. The sentence is ὥστε ὅτου δέοιτο Κῦρος, οὐκ ἐζήτουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐφ' ἑκάστον ἔθεον 'and so if Cyrus wanted one of his officers, they did not have to search for him but would run to him by the shortest way'—not a legal use at all (Millar, LCL). Further research is necessary for a more definitive conclusion.

²²⁰ Note that Parsenios mistakenly lists καταγορεῖν at *Rhetoric*, 34. See 'κατηγορέω', BDAG 533 and 'ἐλέγχω', BDAG 315.

could be added to the list as well. A τίτλος (19:19-20) displayed a condemned man's crime (Suetonius, *Cal.* 32.2).²²¹ John frequently uses πιστεύω in the sense of trusting (or not trusting) the witness or words of a person (John 1:7; 2:22; 3:12; 4:21, 39, 41, 42, 50, 53; 5:24, 46-47; 8:30, 45-46; 10:25; 11:42; 12:38; 14:10; 17:8, 20; 19:35; 20:31) or trusting (or not trusting) because of a sign (1:50; 2:11, 23; 3:15; 6:30; 7:31; 10:37-38; 11:45, 48; 12:11, 37; 14:11; 20:8, 25, 29). A sign (σημεῖον) also "in combination with others ... is taken as a piece of evidence" (Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.9.9-11).²²² It has also been argued that καθώς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον (John 6:31; 12:14) comes from the legal domain.²²³ Thus, John does not only borrow Latin words, but his Greek vocabulary, too, overlaps with a domain in which Latin was used.

The expression in John 19:18, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, is sometimes called a Semitism and compared to Num 22:24.²²⁴ However, it does not quite match the Hebrew Bible nor the LXX, which both repeat the noun twice along with the adverb (φραγμὸς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ φραγμὸς ἐντεῦθεν).²²⁵ Yet Vergil uses *hinc atque hinc* throughout the *Aeneid* to mean 'on each side' (1.162; 1.500; 4.447; 8.387; 9.380; 12.431).²²⁶ The expression seems uncommon in Greek. The earliest use appears to go back only to Alexander of Aphrodisias (*Comm. Metaph.* 26; *De an.* 38) in ca. 200 CE. I suggest then that ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν is a calque of *hinc atque hinc*.²²⁷

²²¹ For the connection between *titulus* and τίτλος, see Section 3.2.1.

²²² Sheppard, 'Gospel of John', 120-21; A. E. Harvey, *Jesus on Trial: A Study in the Fourth Gospel* (London: SPCK, 1976), 95-100. For a discussion of the difference that Quintilian describes between σημεῖον and τεκμήριον, see Sheppard, 'Gospel of John', 73-75. See also Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.14-17.

²²³ Brock, 'Aspects', 72. Brock argues that by the 2nd century BCE, Jews had begun to view Scripture 'as a legal rather than a literary document', and therefore quoted it as such. See, e.g., 2 Esdras 6:2; 16:6.

²²⁴ 'ἐντεῦθεν', BDAG 339.

²²⁵ Num 22:24; see also Exod 17:12; Num 11:31; Josh 8:22; 2 Kgdms 2:13.

²²⁶ See also Martial, *Epigrams* 4.14; 7.95; 10.83 who uses *hinc et hinc* to mean 'hither and thither' or 'here and yon' (Shackleton Bailey, LCL).

²²⁷ Other examples of Latinisms in John are possible but will not be argued in this thesis. For example, Keener connects ἐξ αἱμάτων in John 1:13 to the Latin *quo sanguine* (404) and Mihăescu suggests that μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω in John 14:27 could come from a military context (*Non vos turbatis!*) [Keener, *John*, 404; Haralambie Mihăescu, 'Les termes de commandement militaires latins dans le *Strategicon* de Maurice', *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 14.3 (1969): 261-72 (270)]. This last, however, seems like a

Mark is generally described as the most Latin of the canonical Gospels.²²⁸ Yet Mark's ten words with Latin etymologies are used a total of thirteen times, whereas John uses his seven words fifteen times (or five words eleven times, when the list is restricted to those taken to be code-switches). In either case, John's usage warrants attention. Furthermore, in the Gospel of Mark, the words and phrases most likely to be connected to the Roman encyclopaedia, as well as words referencing Romans and Pilate, are clustered in several smaller passages (Figure 17).²²⁹ When highlighted in the Greek text and reduced in size so that the whole Gospel can be seen at a glance, they are grouped mainly in three passages addressing Roman topics: paying taxes to Caesar (Mark 12:13-17), Jesus before Pilate (15:1-18), and the request for Jesus' body (15:43-45).

case of *parallelomania*—one could add innumerable situations in which a leader would urge his or her followers not to be afraid and none would have any necessary connection with the Gospel of John [Samuel Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', *JBL* 81.1 (1962): 1-13].

The Sea of Galilee, too, is specified to be the Sea of Tiberias (John 6:1) and later simply called by the name of the Roman Emperor alone (John 21:1). This is in contrast to the other gospels that either simply mention 'the sea' (θάλασσα) or call it the Sea of Galilee. However, although there is a Roman connection there it seems hard to see a purpose in it.

Another possible grammatical Latinism is the position of *ἀπό* in 21:8b [Edwin A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar* (London: Black, 1906), 227].

²²⁸ For arguments (*pro* and *con*) about whether Mark was written in Rome or not, see Marcus, *Mark* 8-16, 30-37.

²²⁹ Latinisms in Mark are discussed in William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes*, ed. Gordon D. Fee, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 24-25, 184, 243, 246, 422; Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 1044. Included in the image, in order of occurrence, are ὁδὸν ποιεῖν (2:23); Ἡρωδιανοί (3:6; 12:13); συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν (3:6); μόδιον (4:21); λεγιών (5:9, 15); σπεκουλάτωρ (6:27); δηνάριον (6:37; 12:15; 14:5); περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν (6:48); ξέστης (7:4); κῆνος (12:14); Καίσαρ (12:14, 16, 17); κοδράντης (12:42); ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον (14:65); τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι (15:15); φραγελλῶ (15:15); πραιτώριον (15:16); τίθεντες τὰ γόνατα (15:19); κεντυρίων (15:39, 44, 45). Even though Lane correctly points out that λεγιών was not newly borrowed from Latin, I include it because of its specificity (184). Possible Latinisms not included are references to time less clearly Roman than in 6:48 (13:35; 14:17, 41, 72; 15:1); πυγμή (7:3, see 'πυγμή', BDAG 896 for references to debate) and items from Gundry that were not supported in Lane including χόρτος (4:28); αἰτία (5:33 v.l.); ὃ ἐστιν (3:17; 7:11, 34; 12:42; 15:16, 42); ἐσχάτως ἔχει (5:23); εἶπεν δοθῆναι αὐτῇ φαγεῖν (5:43); ἐκράτησεν (9:10); κατακρινούσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ (10:33); εἶχον ... ὅτι (11:32); συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες (15:1); Ποῦφος (15:21) and ἵνα clauses.

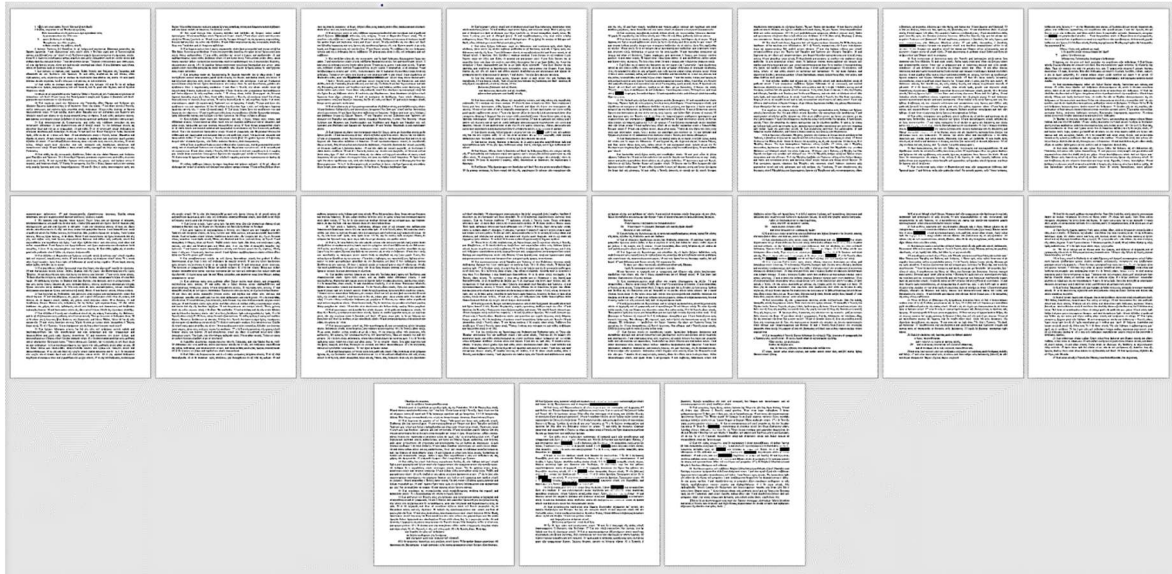


Figure 17: Spread of Latinisms in Mark

Of the Latinisms in John discussed above, I have marked in the figure below the words recently borrowed: *πραιτώριον* (18:28, 33; 19:9), *σουδάριον* (11:44; 20:7), *λέντιον* (13:4-5), *φραγέλλιον* (2:15), *τίτλος* (19:19, 20), as well as *υἱὸς θεοῦ* (19:7), *σπείρα* (18:3, 12), *χιλίαρχος* (18:12), the calques *παράκλητος* (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7), and *ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν* (19:18) to which I have added obvious references to Romans and Latin: *δηνάριον* (6:7; 12:5), *Ῥωμαῖος* (11:48), *φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος* (19:12), *Καῖσαρ* (19:12, 15), and *Ῥωμαῖστί* (19:20).²³⁰ These, it seems to me, are the most defensible *Haftpunkte*, words that connect with the Roman encyclopaedia and are likely to signal to the auditors that the Roman cultural units of the Signs ought to be part of the abductive process.²³¹ They are spread throughout the Gospel, but as can be seen in the snapshot below (Figure 18), they are concentrated particularly in John 18:28—19:22. This narrative unit, then, will become the focus of this thesis.

²³⁰ On the inclusion of *δηνάριον*, see Section 3.2.1. On *φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος*, see Section 6.2.2.3.

²³¹ See Section 2.2.2.

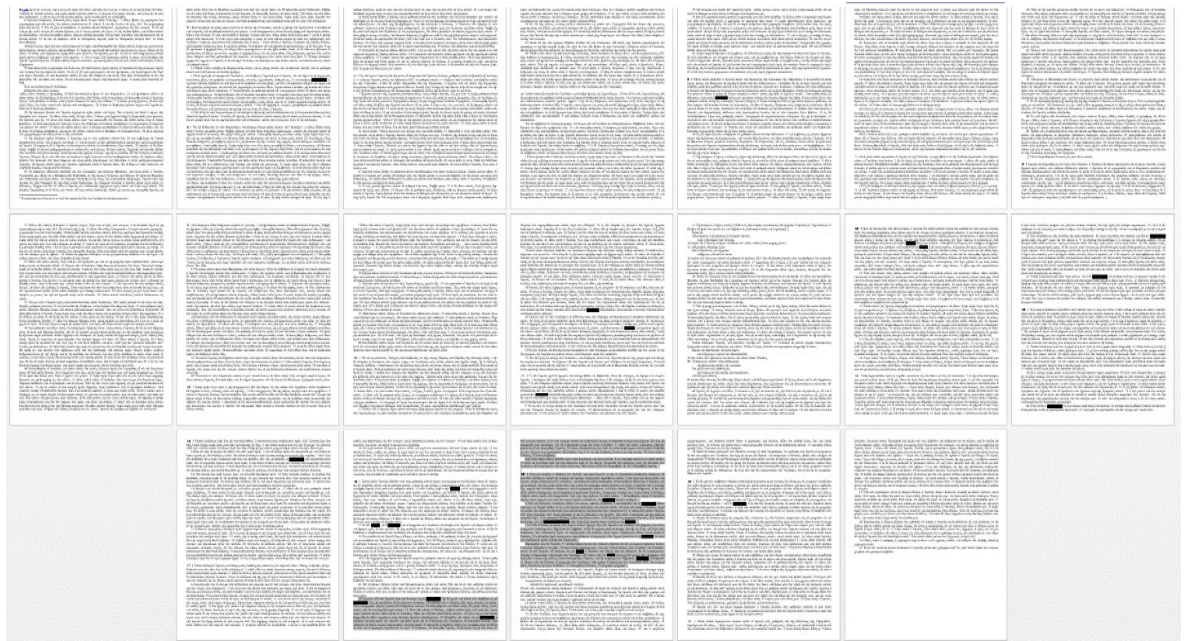


Figure 18: Latin Spread in John

3.3. Conclusion

The use of Latin in Greek cities in the East is restricted. There is no widespread evidence for fluent Latin-Greek bilingualism except, perhaps, among the élites, especially Romans serving in administrative posts in the East or Easterners desiring to follow a Roman *cursus*.²³² There is, however, evidence for many small points of contact between the two languages among retainers. Latin words crossed into Greek in the army; the Roman administration used them in their legal documents, and merchants and other travellers needed them to conduct business. Evidence for this contact with Latin can be found in the cities connected with the development of John's Gospel: Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria. Furthermore, the influence of Latin in the Mediterranean world is also visible in the text of the Fourth Gospel, most obviously in words that are etymologically Latin and unattested

²³² Walton already noted in 1929 that one cannot simply infer balanced bilingualism from inscriptional evidence [‘Oriental Senators in the Service of Rome: A Study of Imperial Policy Down to the Death of Marcus Aurelius’, *JRS* 19 (1929): 38-66 (40)]. For similar concerns, see Suzanne Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 8; Taylor, ‘Bilingualism’, 299-300; Penelope Fewster, ‘Bilingualism in Roman Egypt’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 220-45 (226-28). This thesis does not attempt to reconstruct the spoken environment except to posit Latin-Greek contact. However, on the ways written texts can be used in such an endeavour, see Mullen, ‘Introduction’, 13-14.

previously, but also in various syntactical and morphological constructions. While this evidence does not lead to certainty, it is suggestive enough to allow for this study to proceed. Based on the evidence of language contact examined in this chapter, I am proposing that (1) an author or editor of the Fourth Gospel had, within his idiolect, language influenced by contact with Latin and that (2) he used those resources particularly in the Johannine trial narrative to activate a Roman encyclopaedia for his auditors. Once activated, the Roman encyclopaedia blows up (in Eco's sense) the Roman cultural units of the Signs of the narrative.²³³ In Chapters 4—7, then, I shall offer an interpretation of John 18:18—19:22 using the Roman encyclopaedia.

²³³ See Sections 2.1.1 and 2.2.2.

4. Legitimizing Jesus as Caesar in the Gospel of John

In Chapter 3, I presented evidence for a group in the Eastern Mediterranean that intersected with Jews, Samaritans, and Gentiles: retainers who served, or served with, the Romans and thus came into contact with Latin as well as with the Roman cultural encyclopaedia.¹ As Craig Koester notes, in such an environment, although some ‘misreadings’ are excluded, ‘[t]he message of the text is multidimensional and can be approached at different levels by different types of readers’, so that layers of readings are not mutually exclusive.² The reading presented in this thesis will focus on the encyclopaedia of the people who were more or less embedded in Roman contexts, those I have called Roman-aware auditors.³ What I shall argue in this chapter is that interpreting the trial narrative with the Roman encyclopaedia adds another layer to John’s presentation of Jesus for a group of auditors whose cultural resources are not usually recognized. In the interpretant thus developed, the Roman cultural unit of βασιλεύς that references the emperor is activated so that Jesus is presented not just as a Jewish king but as a Caesar. Once this identification is highlighted, a Roman-aware auditor could recognize other Roman requirements for a good emperor: a *recusatio*, the consensus of the gods/God, and the consensus of the people. Furthermore, as the trial narrative progresses, two more elements of a Roman ruler are attributed to Jesus: the title ‘Son of God’ and ἐξουσία, the Greek translation of *imperium*. In these various ways, Jesus is introduced as Caesar. The discussion starts with the ambiguity in the cultural units of βασιλεύς.⁴

¹ For others who propose a ‘heterogeneous readership’, see Craig R. Koester, ‘The Spectrum of Johannine Readers’, in *What Is John? Readers and Readings of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia, SBL Symposium Series 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 5-19 (9-10); Lincoln, *Truth*, 180. Brown proposed seven groups addressed or referenced in the Fourth Gospel: three who are not Jesus-believers (the world, the Jews, followers of John the Baptist), two with inadequate faith (Jewish Jesus-believers who have remained in the synagogues and Jewish Jesus-believers who have separated themselves from the synagogues but who have a low Christology) and two groups of faithful Jesus-believers (other ‘apostolic’ communities and the Johannine community itself) (*Community*, 59-88). I am not interested in attempting to reconstruct the development of the community, so the other groups will not be discussed, but nothing in this reading precludes their existence—I am simply adding information that intersects with these other proposed groups.

² Koester, ‘Spectrum’, 16. See, similarly, Tilborg, *Reading*, 53.

³ See Section 3.1.4.

⁴ Some sections of this chapter were presented in Laura Hunt, ‘Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεύς: Are You an Emperor, or a King?’ (paper presented at Conference of the British New Testament Society, Manchester, UK, 5 September, 2014).

4.1. Emperor or Rex

The English word /king/ might seem to have a cultural unit identical with those of *rex* and βασιλεύς. Similarly, /emperor/ might seem equivalent to *imperator* and to αὐτοκράτωρ. However, the cultural units for these seemingly corresponding words turn out to vary with each language.⁵ Generally, /king/ is chosen as the most obvious gloss for translating βασιλεύς into English. However occasionally, as in 1 Peter 2:13, 17 or Josephus, *J.W.* 5.2.2 §58, /emperor/ turns out to fit the context better.⁶

Both αὐτοκράτωρ and *imperator* were broadly used during the Republic for a magistrate with a command, an *imperium*, outside of Rome. As late as Nero's reign, Petronius mentions an *imperator provinciae* (*Satyricon* 111), who might have been an administrative or military leader, depending on whether he is referring to a senatorial or imperial province.⁷ Also, after a particularly great victory, a general might be hailed by his troops as *imperator* or αὐτοκράτωρ.⁸ However, as early as Augustus, emperors began to resist the use of these terms for others, and from Vespasian onwards, *imperator* (αὐτοκράτωρ) became 'a fixed component of the ruler's name'.⁹ In fact, as Hugh Mason notes, 'The

⁵ As this discussion progresses, Signs will be chosen to refer to the correct cultural units. Thus, /rex/ and /imperator/ refer to the Roman cultural units for these Latin words; βασιλεύς/ and αὐτοκράτωρ/ refer to the broadly Mediterranean cultural units for these Greek words, and /king/ and /emperor/ refer either to contemporary cultural units for these English words or are used when an ancient cultural unit is not in view. On cultural units, see Section 2.1.1.

⁶ In Josephus in particular, Titus as he prepares to attack Jerusalem is called both βασιλεύς (*J.W.* 5.2.2 §58) and Καῖσαρ (5.2.2 §63). See, too, Whiston's note on βασιλεύς in *J.W.* 5.2.2 §58 [*The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. William Whiston (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987)]. Barrett also notes that '[i]n the Greek-speaking world the Emperor was often referred to as βασιλεύς' (*Gospel*, 543; see also Brown, *John*, 2.880; Carter, *John*, 302). Van Tilborg also offers some evidence for this, although he omits a discussion of βασιλεύς in his section on 'the titles of the emperor' (*Reading*, 38-48, 196).

⁷ Loretana de Libero, 'Imperator', PC.

⁸ Arnaldo Momigliano and Tim J. Cornell, 'Imperator (Αὐτοκράτωρ)', PC; Mason, *Greek Terms*, 118-119. For a specific example, see the *Senatus Consultum de Tabenis* (#17) from 81-80 BCE where Sulla is called αὐτοκράτωρ (l. 10) [Robert K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), 101].

⁹ This resistance is not universal, however. See Josephus's description of the troops hailing Titus as αὐτοκράτωρ after the fall of Jerusalem (*J.W.* 7.5.3-6 §122-57; Section 5.1.1); Momigliano and Cornell, 'Imperator (Αὐτοκράτωρ)', PC; Jean Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat*, ed. Bernhard Wyss, *Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 6 (Basel: Reinhardt, 1953), 52-53. Note that the Béranger book contains an extensively reworked version of an earlier essay. It adds, for example, a discussion of the Roman practice of adoption, and is published in a chapter entitled 'Le refus du pouvoir'. It is also reprinted as Jean Béranger, 'Le refus du pouvoir', in *Principatus: Études de notions et d'histoire politiques*

equation of αὐτοκράτωρ with *imperator* was an exact one, which extended to nearly all the uses of the Latin word'.¹⁰ This means that *imperator* can always be translated into the Greek αὐτοκράτωρ. It does not, however, preclude the concurrent use of βασιλεύς to designate the Roman emperor as well. Mason again: 'By the second century A.D., αὐτοκράτωρ as a general word for "emperor" came under challenge, especially in literary works, from βασιλεύς'.¹¹ In fact, for Harry Sidebottom, βασιλεύς 'is the normal Greek description of the emperor, which is either a neutral term of designation or, in some contexts, a term of approbation'.¹² The use of these terms depended in part on the genre of the writing. Although βασιλεύς was not used for the emperor in formal, official language, it was used in verse (in the time of Augustus), in prose (in the second century), and eventually even in inscriptions (by the time of Hadrian), and words formed from the βασιλ- stem were used from the time of Vespasian onwards.¹³ Indeed, the gradually increasing use of βασιλεύς may have been related to the availability of adjectives and verbs formed from its root, since these were not derivable from αὐτοκράτωρ.¹⁴

Although the Greek βασιλεύς could, by the end of the first century CE, refer either to an emperor or a king, Latin differentiates between *imperator* and *rex*.¹⁵ Livy, for example, recounts that after the last king, Tarquin, had raped Lucretia, Brutus banished him and 'obliged [the people] to swear an oath that they would suffer no man to be king (*regnare*) in

dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, ed. François Paschoud and Pierre Ducrey, Université de Lausanne: Publications de la faculté des lettres 20 (Genève: Droz, 1973), 165-207. The earlier essay is also quite valuable: Jean Béranger, 'Le refus du pouvoir (Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat)', *MH* 5 (1948): 178-96.

¹⁰ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 117.

¹¹ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 119-120.

¹² Harry Sidebottom, 'Roman Imperialism: The Changed Outward Trajectory of the Roman Empire', *Historia* 54.3 (2005): 315-330 (328 and, for examples, 328 n. 87).

¹³ Béranger, *Recherches*, 54; Mason, *Greek Terms*, 120; Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, Jaś Elsner, and Simon Goldhill, Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 66.

¹⁴ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 120.

¹⁵ See also Cicero, *Rep.* 2.30.52; Sabine Grebe, 'Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's *Aeneid*', *Vergilius* 50 (2004): 35-62 (39-40); Francis Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4-8. Cairns emphasizes that *rex* was not always inherently negative.

Rome' (Livy *Histories* 2.1.9 [Moore, LCL]).¹⁶ Ovid, too, notes that 'that day was the last of kingly rule (*regnum*)' (*Fasti* 2.852 [Frazer, LCL]). Also Scipio, as described by Livy twenty-five books later, turns down the offer of the Spanish troops to make him king (*rex*) because, for him, 'his highest title was that of *imperator*' and 'the title of a king (*regium nomen*), elsewhere in high honour, was not to be endured at Rome' (27.19.3-4).¹⁷

The use, during the Roman empire, of titles such as *princeps*, *imperator* and *Augustus* as well as 'Caesar', were designed to avoid the 'negative associations of kingship' that were primarily relevant for Romans in Rome.¹⁸ Still, some Greek writers outside of Rome were also aware of the Roman distaste for kings: '[T]he very name of monarchy (*μοναρχία*) was odious to the people' (Plutarch, *Publ.* 1.4 [Perrin, LCL]).

In fact, authors writing in Greek show differing awareness of these distinctions, and βασιλεύς is sometimes used as a simple synonym for *imperator* and sometimes as the translation of *rex*. Josephus describes Antipater warning that if the people of Judaea 'put faith in the vain expectations raised by persons who for personal profit desired revolution, they would find in himself a master (*δεσπότης*) instead of a protector (*κηδεμών*), in Hyrcanus a tyrant (*τύραννος*) instead of a king (*βασιλεύς*), in the Romans and Caesar enemies (*πολέμιος*) instead of rulers (*ἡγεμόν*) and friends (*φίλος*)' (*J.W.* 1.10.4 §202 [Henderson, LCL]). Thus, for Josephus, a βασιλεύς is not inherently a τύραννος, unlike in the Roman cultural unit of *rex*. Furthermore, although for the most part he uses βασιλεύς to designate a local king, he 'twice employs βασιλειάω to describe would-be emperors' (*J.W.* 1.2 §5; 4.9.9 §546), and he

¹⁶ For the full story, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 4.67.2; 4.70.4-5. See also Cicero's thoughts on this episode and its effect on terminology (*Rep.* 2.26-27). Later in the fourth century BCE, the Romans would throw Marcus Manlius Capitolinus from the Tarpeian Rock, accusing him of aspiring to kingship (Livy, *History of Rome* 6.20.4-5, 12; Plutarch, *Camillus* 36.2-7). Luke 4:29 provides an interesting parallel, but it is likely that death by cliff was not restricted to these two instances.

¹⁷ Livy goes on: 'As for his having the spirit of a king, if they thought that was the noblest thing in the nature of man, let it be their silent verdict; from the use of the word let them refrain' (27.19.5) and the same story told in Greek by Polybius in *Histories* 10.40.

¹⁸ Greg Woolf, 'Inventing Empire in Ancient Rome', in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. Susan E. Alcock et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 311-322 (313).

also ‘speaks of the βασιλεία of Vespasian’ (5.9.4 §409).¹⁹ While Josephus saw himself writing for a Roman audience, he does not distinguish between *rex* and *imperator*.²⁰

Appian, on the other hand, writing from Alexandria in the early second century CE, describes the Romans’ justification for killing Julius Caesar: ‘a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they feared (and in this they knew their man) that if he should conquer these nations also he would indeed be indisputably king (βασιλεύς). On mature consideration, I conclude that they did actually find an excuse for the conspiracy in the prospect of this additional title, though the difference it could make to them turned on a mere quibble, since in plain fact “dictator” (δικτάτωρ) is exactly the same as “king” (βασιλεύς)’ (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 2.111 [White, LCL]). Appian is thus aware of the Romans’ distaste for this title: ‘From this example the Romans now pay like honours to each emperor (ἀρχή) at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings (βασιλεύς) even while alive’ (*Bell. civ.* 2.148; see also 1.5, 98-99, 101, 103; 2.110). Appian does not find the distinction meaningful, but he demonstrates that he is aware of it.

Other authors show various patterns of use. Cassius Dio only calls the Roman emperor αὐτοκράτωρ; others such as Philostratus, Aristides, Dio Chrysostom, Galen, Herodian and Lucian use βασιλεύς as well.²¹ And although βασιλεύς ‘never entirely replaces αὐτοκράτωρ’, its use continues to increase through the third century.²² While the Greek βασιλεύς (in combination with αὐτοκράτωρ or alone) could refer to an emperor with no implication of tyranny, for a Roman the term *rex* would designate either a foreign, local ruler or a tyrant and, when making this distinction in Greek, a writer such as Appian uses βασιλεύς

¹⁹ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 120.

²⁰ Minucius Felix similarly saw Josephus and his writing as in some way foreign [*Ag. Ap.* 1.2; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 33.4; *pace* James Carleton Paget, ‘Some Observations on Josephus and Christianity’, *JTS* 52.2 (2001): 539-624 (540 n. 7)].

²¹ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 120. See, for example, Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 5.37.

²² Mason, *Greek Terms*, 121.

for *rex*. This creates multiple choices for the cultural unit of βασιλεύς in John 18:28—19:22.

In such a text, a Roman-aware auditor needs to determine whether the reference is to the *princeps*, a local ruler or a tyrant.²³

4.2. Βασιλεύς in John 18:33-37

Helen Bond points out that, as opposed to the rest of the Gospel, '[w]ithin the Roman trial narrative the issue of Jesus' kingship suddenly becomes prominent; the word "king" occurs seven times. The impression is that John wants to focus on the title and to describe exactly in what sense Jesus really was a king'.²⁴ In this section of the chapter, I want to lead an 'inferential walk', an abductive journey into the first five verses, looking at the way the text deals with the ambiguity caused by the multiple cultural units of βασιλεύς.²⁵

After his first conversation with 'the Jews' (18:33), Pilate enters the πραιτώριον, calls Jesus and asks him, Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; At this point in the abductive process, there is no reason to read βασιλεύς as anything other than a local 'king of the Jews', even if one knows the Roman encyclopaedia.²⁶ Pilate calls Jesus a king, and John's auditors believe him to be one.²⁷

²³ Note that to separate the religious from the political is anachronistic; see Section 1.2.1. Pace, e.g., Barrett who says, 'Jesus admits that he is a king, but proceeds at once with such a definition of his kingship as removes it from the sphere of sedition and rebellion' (*Gospel*, 536. See also his comments on v. 38, p. 538).

²⁴ Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation*, ed. Richard Bauckham, SNTSMS 100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 171. That 'kingship is the theological motif that dominates the episodes of the trial' has been noted by many [Josef Blank, 'Die Verhandlung vor Pilatus Joh 18:28-19:16 im Lichte johanneischer Theologie', *BZ* 3 (1959): 60-81 (62); Ignace de la Potterie, 'Jésus roi et juge d'après Jn 19, 13, Ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος', *Bib* 41 (1960): 217-47 (239-40); Brown, *John*, 2.863; Ignace de la Potterie, *La vérité dans Saint Jean*, AnBib 73 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 107-108; Barrett, *Gospel*, 540; David Hill, "'My Kingdom Is Not of This World" (John 18.36): Conflict and Christian Existence in the World According to the Fourth Gospel', *IBS* 9 (1987): 54-62 (55)]. The kingdom motif was foreshadowed at the beginning of the Gospel in the encounters with Nathanael and Nicodemus [Craig R. Koester, 'Theological Complexity and the Characterization of Nicodemus in John's Gospel', in *Characters and Characterization in the Gospel of John*, ed. Christopher W. Skinner, Library of New Testament Studies 461 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 165-81 (173)].

²⁵ Eco, *Role*, 31-32.

²⁶ In the narrative world, this might point to the hated Herod, but whether hearers outside of Judaea would have made this connection is uncertain (Goodman, 'Judaea', 747). There is no reason, as Bernard claims, to expect a negative response, at least as far as the Greek grammar is concerned [J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1928), 2.609].

²⁷ Jane Heath, "'You Say That I Am a King" (John 18.37)', *JSNT* 34.3 (2012): 232-53 (244); Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 63.

Roman referents for this conversation start to become evident as the exchange progresses. Jesus tells Pilate (v. 36), Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. In the Roman encyclopaedia, a βασιλεία can be an empire.²⁸ Furthermore, this verse describes a βασιλεία not of this world, and a Roman *imperator* also rules an empire whose origins do not come from this world. Heavenly origin legitimates rule, both in the Gospel of John (e.g., 1:49) and in the *Aeneid* (e.g., 1.257-82).²⁹ According to Vergil, under the ‘auspices’ of Romulus (*Aeneid* 6.781), ‘that great city of Rome shall match her role to the globe itself (*imperium terries*) and her spirit to the skies’. In that vision, Augustus is the ‘offspring of the deified (*divi genus*); he will establish again the Age of Gold in Latium, once ruled over by Saturn, and shall extend Rome’s rule over Garamantes and Indians. Our lands shall lie beyond the zodiac, beyond the paths of the sun and the year, where heaven-bearing Atlas spins upon his shoulder the heavens’ axis, studded with blazing stars’ (777-797).³⁰ Thus, to declare that Jesus’ rule is not from this world does not distinguish his empire from that of the Romans.³¹ Instead, from the point of view of the Roman encyclopaedia, claiming that Jesus’ empire is not from this world is an implicit assertion that Jesus is *imperator*.³² Therefore, the term βασιλεία in John 18:36 can be translated into English as /empire/.³³

This analysis contradicts several previous interpretations. Jane Heath, for example, notes that “King” and “kingdom” are ... significant categories, but ones that are not to be

²⁸ On βασιλεία as empire, see above (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.9.4 §409; Mason, *Greek Terms*, 120). Note that βασιλεία in John 3:3, 5 is found in a passage that clearly refers to a Jewish encyclopedia and therefore must be interpreted based on those cultural units.

²⁹ Musa W. Dube, ‘Savior of the World but Not of This World: A Postcolonial Reading of Spatial Construction in John’, in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 118-135 (123).

³⁰ Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 6: A Commentary*, vol. 1: Introduction, Text and Translation (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 55.

³¹ Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 331.

³² This would be clear to anyone familiar with Rome’s coins, monuments, and the various forms of emperor worship. On Augustus’ use of the *sidus Iulium* to promulgate his title *divi filius* as well as his comparison to Aeneas, also the son of a god, see Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro, *Jerome Lectures* 16 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 34-36, 201-210. On the ways that subsequent rulers appropriated the myth, see Zanker, *Power*, 215-238.

³³ Dale B. Martin, ‘Jesus in Jerusalem: Armed and Not Dangerous’, *JSNT* 37.1 (2014): 3-24 (14).

understood in worldly ways'.³⁴ Without a definition of 'worldly', this remark is difficult to evaluate.³⁵ Perhaps it is meant to stem from her references to 'made by human hands'—the type of human-created sovereignty that Jesus rejects, as also does Yahweh with regard to idols.³⁶ This line of argument, however, causes Heath to conclude 'that Jesus is king, but ... this is not a title or role that is readily understood in the usual political or religious categories'.³⁷ Others also propose that Jesus rejected a 'political' kingship.³⁸ However, the political cannot be divorced from the religious, and in these analyses it is unclear what sense this leaves for Jesus' kingdom.

Sometimes, Jesus' claim to rule a kingdom 'not from this world' is interpreted as one designed to render it innocuous to Pilate and the Romans, who do rule this world. However, the Roman Johannine Pilate, as well as John's hearers, are negotiating their position as subjects of an *imperium* that is also given from above. The phrase would, on the contrary,

³⁴ Heath, 'You Say', 241. See, similarly, Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, R. W. N. Hoare, and J. K. Riches (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 214; Schnackenburg, *John*, 2.20; Dirk F. Gniesmer, *In den Prozeß verwickelt: Erzählanalytische und textpragmatische Erwägungen zur Erzählung vom Prozeß Jesu vor Pilatus (Joh 18,28-19,16a.b)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), 286; James D. G. Dunn, *Neither Jew nor Greek: A Contested Identity*, Christianity in the Making 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 341. Fernando Segovia also characterizes John 6:15 as a rejection of 'an offer of worldly "kingship"'; however, he does spend significant amounts of time distinguishing 'the this-world' from 'the other-world' and one presumes that he refers to 'the this-world' ['The Gospel of John', in *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia and R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 13 (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 156-93 (180, 165-74)].

³⁵ Heath also uses the term 'this-worldly' (e.g., 'You Say', 244) so perhaps the distinction is between the physical and the spiritual. This division, however, would be similar to that between politics and religion, and equally anachronistic (see Section 1.2.1).

³⁶ Heath, 'You Say', 241-42.

³⁷ Heath, 'You Say', 242.

³⁸ Bernard, *St. John*, 1.183; Blinzler, *Trial*, 191; Severino Pancaro, *The Law in the Fourth Gospel: The Torah and the Gospel, Moses and Jesus, Judaism and Christianity According to John*, ed. W. C. van Unnik, NovTSup 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 315-16; Sheppard, 'Gospel of John', 166-68; Craig R. Koester, 'Why Was the Messiah Crucified? A Study of God, Jesus, Satan, and Human Agency in Johannine Theology', in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 163-80 (166); Sean Adams, and Daniel Smith, 'A Review Panel of Joseph Modica and Scot McKnight, eds., *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies* (Intervarsity Press, 2013)' (presented at Ancient Historiography and the New Testament in the Institute for Biblical Research, SBL Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD, 22 November, 2013), Scott McKnight's remarks; Dunn, *Neither*, 341. Note that, in contrast to my argument, for Sheppard, both Jesus and Pilate correctly separate kingship of this world and otherworldly kingship whereas 'the Jews' incorrectly do not. Those who note the political implications of Jesus' words include David Rensberger, *Overcoming the World: Politics and Community in the Gospel of John* (London: SPCK, 1989), 90; Jennifer Glancy, 'Torture: Flesh, Truth, and the Fourth Gospel', *BibInt* 13.2 (2005): 107-136 (125); Segovia, 'Gospel', e.g., 157; Carter, *John*, 7, 9-10; Stovell, *Mapping*, 161. For a nuanced discussion that subsumes the political under the spiritual, see Thomas Söding, 'Die Macht der Wahrheit und das Reich der Freiheit: Zur johanneischen Deutung des Pilatus-Prozesses (Joh 18,28 - 19,16)', *ZTK* 93 (1996): 35-58.

have represented a heightening of the danger to Rome. Brown suggests not a political/spiritual division, but a ‘Spirit’-‘flesh’ dichotomy, but this is also not sustainable.³⁹ Roman gods interacted frequently with mortals (see, e.g., Apollo’s interaction with Atia, Augustus’ mother, discussed in the last section of this chapter; Suetonius, *Aug.* 994.4). If there is any reassurance for Pilate, it is ambiguous, and contained in the next sentence: ‘my officers would have been fighting’ (v. 36).⁴⁰ Jesus, as ruler, does not enforce his power with violence, yet the very theme of judgement of the world mentioned elsewhere in the Gospel (e.g., 9:39-41) seems to argue that Jesus’ kingdom has a violence of its own.⁴¹

Any assumption that βασιλεύς means *rex* is further destabilized as the conversation progresses. Pilate comes back to the point, Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; (v. 37). Pancaro notes the absence of τῶν Ἰουδαίων in this verse and concludes that ‘[i]n the Passion narrative the Jews as a nation are considered enemies of Jesus.... Consequently, those who are “of the truth”, the subjects of Jesus, are not Jews, and it is of these that Jesus is king. Jesus is not the “King of the Jews”, he is “the King of Israel”’.⁴² In Chapter 7, I shall discuss the problems inherent in equating ‘the Jews as a nation’ with those who reject Jesus.⁴³ In the inferential walk of this section, where the text continues to create resonances with the Roman empire, I note that in this verse where βασιλεύς is not tied to any ἔθνος it can signify *imperator* even more easily.⁴⁴ Jesus answers in the same vein: βασιλεύς εἰμι or perhaps even βασιλεύς εἰμι ἐγώ.⁴⁵

³⁹ Pace Brown, *John*, 2.869.

⁴⁰ The ὑπηρέται are taken to be Jesus’ followers, not, as suggested by Bernard, the ‘twelve legions of angels’ from Matt. 26:53 (*St. John*, 2.610-11). Bernard only slightly overstates the case, however, when he notes that this term ‘always means the minister or officer of a king’ (‘ὑπηρέτης’, BDAG 1035; Bernard, *St. John*, 2.610).

⁴¹ See Section 7.2.2.

⁴² Pancaro, *Law*, 298. Brown also credits the enmity of ‘the Jews’ as a cause for the absence of τῶν Ἰουδαίων (*John*, 2.853).

⁴³ Section 7.1.3.

⁴⁴ Lindars notes that οὐκοῦν is a *hapex legomenon*. It is often used ironically, and expects a positive response (*John*, 559).

⁴⁵ Heath, ‘You Say’. Heath’s proposal takes into account the repetition of εἰς τοῦτο and it brings out the parallel syntax of Pilate’s question and Jesus’ response.

To raise awareness of the imperial allusions in this passage I translate the exchange with the aid of English words that brings out those allusions:⁴⁶

- Pilate: Are you the King of the Jews?
- Jesus: Do you say this of your own accord, or did others say it to you about me?
- Pilate: Am I a Jew? Your own people and the chief priests have delivered you over to me. What have you done?
- Jesus: My empire is not of this world. If my empire were of this world, my officers would have been fighting, that I might not be delivered over to the Jews. But my empire is not from here.
- Pilate (who serves an empire not from this world): So you *are* an emperor?
- Jesus: You say that I am an emperor.

The meaning of βασιλεύς is thus determined through the abductive process in which '[t]he reader plays an active role in textual interpretation because signs are structured according to an inferential model ($p \supset q$, and not $p \equiv q$). Text interpretation is possible because even linguistic signs are not ruled by sheer equivalence (synonymy and definition).... Signs are open devices, not stiff armors prescribing a bi-conditional identity'.⁴⁷ The text creates a world in which the reader is invited to participate: 'Überzeugend wirken sie [religiöse Texte und deren Inhalt] nämlich besonders dann, wenn sie mit einprägsamen Bildern und mit rhetorischem Geschick auf den Rezipienten einwirken und ihn mit allem Respekt nötigen, sich in die Erzählhandlung mit seinen Erfahrungen und seiner eigenen Sprachwelt einzubringen'.⁴⁸ So far, the Roman encyclopaedia has suggested the image of Jesus as a Roman emperor with an empire. Yet once this possibility is raised, descriptions of Jesus from earlier in the Gospel may confirm or expand that possibility.

⁴⁶ Ben-Porat calls these 'allusion[s] in general' in contrast to literary allusions ('Poetics', 108).

⁴⁷ Umberto Eco, 'The Theory of Signs and the Role of the Reader', *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 14.1 (1981): 35-45 (44).

⁴⁸ Busse, 'Metaphorik', 279; see also 303.

This is possible because abduction is a repetitive, circular process where new information from the text allows for revisions and expansions of previous understandings. Interpreters start the process with the results unfolding before their eyes or ears. They know the laws that generally govern words and sentences and the cultural units usually associated with them. They put these laws and cultural units together in order to acquire understanding. However, further reading (or hearing) provides further results which must then also be filtered through their knowledge of the laws of the language and the cultural encyclopaedia in order to come to further conclusions about the meaning of the words, phrases and sentences in one specific passage (Figure 19).

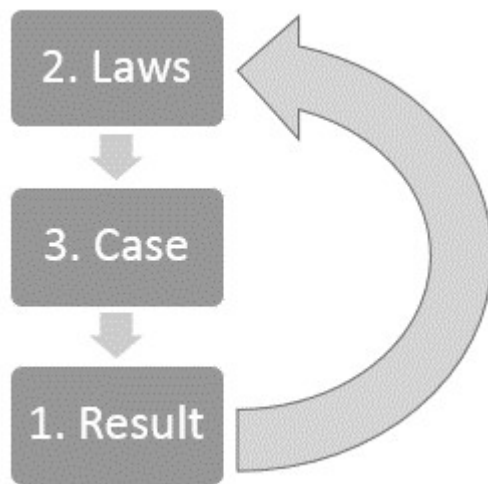


Figure 19: The Abductive Cycle
Note: Image adapted from Eco, 'Theory', 45.

Consequently, when hearing this narrative unit which, starting at John 18:28, opens a Roman encyclopaedia and addresses the topic of rule, John's earlier descriptions of Jesus become relevant in a way that differs from their previous contextualized readings because, in addition to those interpretants, they describe practices associated with Roman rule. It is to the relevance of some earlier narratives (John 6:15, a variety of references to God's approval of Jesus, as well as 12:12-19) that I now turn. Within a Roman encyclopaedia, these features elaborate on Jesus' fitness to rule because of his modesty, the consensus of the gods/God, and the consensus of the people.

4.3. Jesus' Legitimation as Caesar

While masculinity is not a major topic of this thesis, 'the connections between imperial leadership, masculinity and virtue' made from the time of Augustus onwards, bring the topic into my discussion at this point.⁴⁹ Colleen Conway describes masculinity as that which was enacted by those who are (1) born with male genitalia, as they become (2) penetrators and generators, and (3) possessors of virtue, the most important of which was self-control.⁵⁰ As this self-control is displayed in Augustus, at least in his public characterization, it includes on the one hand his conquest of the world and, at the same time, his enduring modesty and humility.⁵¹

The importance of modesty for John's portrayal of Jesus will be discussed below with respect to the Roman *recusatio*. Other Johannine descriptions of Jesus that cohere with various entries in the Roman cultural encyclopaedia can only be mentioned but not fully explored. Conway emphasizes the willingness necessary for a virtuous Roman death that Jesus also exhibits.⁵² In John 8:22, 'the Jews' wonder if Jesus is going to kill himself, and this verse might be compared with the Roman practice of honourable suicide (Livy, *Histories* 1.58.8).⁵³ In the Roman encyclopaedia even criminals who died bravely were worth

⁴⁹ Colleen M. Conway, *Behold the Man: Jesus and Greco-Roman Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 24.

⁵⁰ Conway, *Behold*, 16, 21, 23. Other evidences of masculinity include bravery in battle, courageous suicide, stoicism in pain, self-mastery that allows one to master others, restraint in bodily movements and self-mastery to the point of lack of sexual interest (*Behold*, 29-30, 33, 38).

⁵¹ Conway, *Behold*, 45-46. For several examples of humility expressed as modesty, see the rest of Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 4.5. Note especially 4.5.6 which, after stories of the modesty of public figures as they refuse to exalt themselves, tells of Caesar's physical modesty that is then connected with his divinity. The Roman mandate to conquer the world will be discussed in Section 7.1.2.

⁵² Conway, *Behold*, 73; see, similarly, Grace M. Jantzen, *Foundations of Violence*, Death and the Displacement of Beauty 1 (London: Routledge, 2004), 279; Jason J. Ripley, "'Behold the Man'?: Subverting Imperial Masculinity in the Gospel of John", *Journal of the Bible and its Reception* 2.2 (2015): 219-39 (230-31); and in general on Jesus as in control of his own death, see Dodd, *Interpretation*, 426; Godfrey C. Nicholson, *Death as Departure: The Johannine Descent-Ascent Schema* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 164-65; Lincoln, *Truth*, 126; Keener, *John*, 870. Pace Nijay Gupta's view of John's Jesus as 'humbled and lowly' in the Passion narrative ['Gloria in Profundis: Comparing the Glory of Moses in Sirach to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel', *HBT* 36.1 (2014): 60-78 (76; see also the abstract, where Jesus is described as 'frail, weak, shamed and defeated', 60)].

⁵³ Grace Jantzen shows the way Cicero connected Cato's suicide with Socrates's. Thus, despite the very real differences between the two events (and even Socrates's admonitions against suicide) he developed the Roman concept of virtuous, manly suicide seemingly connected with the Greek past (*Foundations*, 271). Jason Ripley has connected these events with the Gospel of John ['Glorious Death, Imperial Rome, and the

discussion (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 61.4), and a noble death was celebrated (Seneca, *Ep.* 24).⁵⁴ The pamphlets written after Cato the Younger's suicide popularized the notion of suicide as noble and manly.⁵⁵ If 'He won't kill himself, will he?' (John 8:22) is understood to have two answers, the 'yes' of Jesus' voluntary death (10:18) connects with this Roman virtue of noble suicide.⁵⁶

Two more connections between the Gospel of John and the Roman encyclopaedia can be mentioned: Jesus' care for his mother in John 19:25-27 echoes Euryalus, who similarly put his mother in the care of Ascanius (Vergil, *Aeneid* 9.280-302).⁵⁷ And John 2:21, where the temple is equated with Jesus' body, might be compared to the epithet *augustus* which, among other significations, expresses a belief that Octavian himself was the temple of the worship of his Genius.⁵⁸ However, I shall confine my inquiries to those related to the ambiguity of βασιλεύς in John 18:33-37. If Jesus is a ruler, is he a just ruler or a tyrant? As it turns out, this question has already been answered in previous passages in John that show Jesus with the necessary prerequisites for a just Roman ruler: humility, the consensus of

Gospel of John' (paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, November 17, 2012)]. Ernst Haenchen in fact connects 'the manner in which Jesus goes to his death' with 'a provocation of death (at least as the Evangelist sees it), which amounts to the same thing as suicide' [*John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapters 7-21*, ed. Robert Walter Funk and Ulrich Busse, trans. Robert Walter Funk, ed. Helmut Koester, *Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 27]. Herman Ridderbos, however, explicitly denies this: 'his self-offering is something other than suicide!' [*The Gospel According to John: A Theological Commentary*, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 300]. Other references to honourable suicide can be found in Paul D. Duke, *Irony in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985), 86; Thomas L. Brodie, *The Gospel According to John: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 326; Keener, *John*, 1.743 n. 378; Warren Carter, *John: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 120; Conway, *Behold*, 29. Neyrey characterizes suicide as 'an unholy act' and misses the Roman (and Greek) cultural units for this concept (*Cultural*, 231).

⁵⁴ For other examples of descriptions of noble deaths, see David Seeley, *The Noble Death: Graeco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation*, ed. David Hill, JSNTSup 28 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 113-41; Jan Willem van Henten, and Friedrich Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death: Selected Texts from Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2002), 9-41.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 67-70; Jantzen, *Foundations*, 273-74.

⁵⁶ Ripley, 'Behold', 224. On the *double entendre* of this verse, see Section 7.1.4.

⁵⁷ This connection is also made in Keener, *John*, 2.1144. For discussions about the variety of historical and theological interpretations given to this event, see Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St John*, trans. David Smith and G. A. Kon, ed. Serafin de Ausejo et al., HThKNT, vol. 3: *Commentary on Chapters 13—21* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 3.277-82; Ridderbos, *Gospel*, 610-15.

⁵⁸ Edwin S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' 'Res gestae'*, ed. Heinz Heinen, Hildegard Temporini, and Gerold Walser, *Historia* 54 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987), 102. See also Barrett, *Gospel*, 201.

God, and the consensus of the people. Each of these will be described first within Roman culture and then within the Gospel.

4.3.1. The Roman *recusatio*

This first practice, the *recusatio*—the refusal of an office or an honour—is one element within the larger Roman discourse on fitness to rule.⁵⁹ By the time of the early second century CE, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill explains, the ‘restraint of power’ valued by the Greeks and the ‘friendly treatment of inferiors’ valued by Romans under the Republic ‘come together ... to form something new’, a ‘social etiquette’ that demonstrates respect for the past while at the same time repackaging it under a new term, *civilitas*.⁶⁰ Cicero, for example, notes that unlike his predecessors, he will not gather taxes from the lands in Asia under his jurisdiction, nor allow honours such as ‘statues’ or ‘temples’ for himself, and even proffers an apology for bragging about his own clemency (*Ad Atticus* 114.7 [Bailey, LCL]).

Adam Winn claims that the *recusatio* was ‘cleverly’ used by Octavian to balance his absolute power with his public humility.⁶¹ Winn defines *recusatio* as a cover term for the six different areas discussed by Wallace-Hadrill in which emperors enacted *civilitas*. These include (1) the refusal of ‘public offices and titles’; (2) the refusal of ‘public honors’; (3) respect for ‘the Roman Senate and *populus*’; (4) respect for ‘*lex* and *libertas*’; (5) modesty in ‘public appearance and private residence’; and finally (6) generous ‘actions and identity as benefactors’.⁶² *Civilitas*, with its emphasis on restraint and modesty was, as Wallace-Hadrill notes, an invention of the Principate.⁶³ Yet it should not be seen only as the result of

⁵⁹ Note that term *recusatio* is also used for the practice of authors who position their choice of writing in a ‘lower’ literary genre as a modest refusal ‘to write in a “higher” genre’. It was adopted by Romans first as a literary practice of social positioning and then as an aspect of modesty (Philip R. Hardie and Richard Hunter, ‘Literary genre’, PC).

⁶⁰ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King’, *JRS* 72 (1982): 32–48 (42). Note that these practices are frequently mentioned without reference to the term; see, e.g., Grebe, ‘Authority’, 44.

⁶¹ Adam Winn, ‘Tyrant or Servant? Roman Political Ideology and Mark 10.42–45’, *JSNT* 36.4 (2014): 325–52 (330).

⁶² Winn, ‘Tyrant’, 331; Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis’, 36–40.

⁶³ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis’, 43.

Octavian's cleverness.⁶⁴ This ignores the influences of the culture on Octavian himself.⁶⁵ Instead, Wallace-Hadrill proposes that 'it served to articulate certain deeper truths that, for a period, mattered to the society over which these emperors ruled: the continuity with the republican past; the dependence of the emperor on the consent of the upper orders; but above all the use of the social structure of a city-state to organize and unify the disparate peoples of the empire'.⁶⁶

Furthermore, while the six behaviours that Winn lists do cohere in Roman *civilitas*, the *recusatio* is more specifically a refusal of an office or a title.⁶⁷ Pliny the Younger offers a particularly good description, which does not necessarily report Trajan's behaviour or motives transparently but demonstrates the way that the refusal of honours was seen as the proper practice of rulers.

Although your many outstanding merits surely called for you to assume some new title and honour, you refused the title of Father of your country (*tu etiam patris patriae recusabas*), and it was only after a prolonged struggle between us and your modesty that in the end you were persuaded. Others accepted that title from the start along with that of Emperor (*imperator*) and Caesar (*Caesar*), on the first day of their principate (*principatus*), but you waved it away until even in your own grudging estimate of your services, you had to admit it was your due. Thus you alone have been Father of the country in fact before you were in name. In our hearts, in our minds we knew you as this; the title made no difference to the devotion of your people, except for our feeling of ingratitude if we addressed you only as Emperor (*imperator*) and Caesar (*Caesar*) when we felt we had a Father (*pater*) in you. And now that you bear the name, how kind and considerate you show yourself, living with your subjects as a father with his children! You left us as an ordinary citizen, you return as emperor (*imperator*), knowing your subjects as you are known to them; in your thoughts we have not changed, nor in ours have you; you are one among us all, the greatest of us simply because you are the best (Pliny the Younger, *Pan.* 21 [Radice, LCL]).⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Winn, 'Tyrant', 330.

⁶⁵ Grebe, similarly, accuses Augustus of designs and pretenses ('Authority', 41-42).

⁶⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 'Civilis', 48.

⁶⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, 'Civilis', 44.

⁶⁸ See also Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 4.5.2 and Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 59.1-2: 'To refuse it too often can be misinterpreted, or give the impression that you value it too little. In fact, of course, you refused because you value it so highly, but you will convince no one of this unless one day you accept'. These references are cited by Jesper Madsen, who also offers an overview of various writers' evaluations of the emperors ['Patriotism and Ambitions: Intellectual Response to Roman Rule in the High Empire', in *Roman Rule in Greek and Latin Writing: Double Vision*, ed. Jesper Majbom Madsen and Roger Rees, Impact of Empire: Roman Empire, c. 200 BC-AD 476 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 16-38]. Note that Joseph Fantin discusses the terms *dominus*, κύριος and δεσπότης without seeming to be aware of the *recusatio*

Jean Béranger has shown that the *recusatio* was a real practice and neither simply a construction of panegyrist nor an empty gesture by the intended recipient of the honour, since sometimes the offer of the title or office was never repeated.⁶⁹ More narrowly than Wallace-Hadrill, he defines the purpose of a *recusatio* as making the choice of emperor dependent on the consensus of the gods and of those ruled (the army, the Senate, and/or the *populus*).⁷⁰ Without this, the emperor is understood to devolve into a tyrant.⁷¹ The goal, then, is ‘persuader les citoyens qu’ils avaient le chef de leur choix, non le complice d’une faction’.⁷²

Augustus himself referred to his *recusatio* in *Res gest. divi Aug.* 5.1-6.1: ‘I did not accept absolute power that was offered to me’, and Suetonius offers this dramatic description: ‘When the people did their best to force the dictatorship upon him, he knelt down, threw off his toga from his shoulders and with bare breast begged them not to insist’ (Suetonius, *Augustus* 52 [Rolfe, LCL]).⁷³

On the other hand, the lack of *recusatio* can be an occasion of reproach. Tacitus criticizes Tiberius because he ‘nowhere manifested the least hesitation’ (Tac. *Ann.* 1.7. [Moore, Jackson, LCL]). Later, when he does evidence ‘hesitation’, Tacitus calls it ‘hypocritical’, *cunctatione ficta* (Tac. *Ann.* 1.46).⁷⁴ Whether evaluated positively (because

[*Lord of the Entire World: Lord Jesus, a Challenge to Lord Caesar?*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, New Testament Monographs 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 180-82; see similarly 213-15].

⁶⁹ Béranger, ‘Refus’, 178, 184.

⁷⁰ Béranger, ‘Refus’, 185, 188-91; Béranger, *Recherches*, 154. For the way this developed into late antiquity, see Sabine G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 168-73. For other ways in which Jesus’ character coheres with the conception of an ideal ruler, see, e.g., Alicia D. Myers, *Characterizing Jesus: A Rhetorical Analysis on the Fourth Gospel's Use of Scripture in Its Presentation of Jesus*, ed. Mark Goodacre, LNTS 458 (London: T & T Clark, 2012), 158 with primary references in n. 69.

⁷¹ Béranger, ‘Refus’, 195.

⁷² Béranger, *Recherches*, 157. See also Polybius *Histories* 6.2.4 (Béranger, *Recherches*, 152-53). Clement of Alexandria connects Jesus with this concept of empire when he calls him ‘α βασιλεύς, ... one who rules according to the laws, who has the skill to rule the *consenting*’ (my translation, my emphasis, *Strom.* 1.24).

⁷³ Cooley, *Res gestae*, 63, 128; J. Albert Harrill, ‘Paul and Empire: Studying Roman Identity after the Cultural Turn’, *Early Christianity* 2.3 (2011): 281-311 (300-301). See also *Res gest. divi Aug.* 10.

⁷⁴ See similarly Suetonius, *Aug.* 58; *Tib.* 24, 26-27; *Nero* 8, as well as Brunt’s comments on some of these passages [‘Lex de Imperio Vespasiani’, *JRS* 67 (1977): 95-116 (97-98)]. Tacitus, too, describes the *moderatus* of various emperors (*Histories* 1.17).

they enact them) or negatively (because they do not), narratives of a *recusatio* exist for nine of the fifteen emperors from Augustus to Antoninus Pius.⁷⁵ Thus, the refusal of ‘autocracy’, as Wallace-Hadrill points out, was the means by which ‘[t]he Principate’ itself was ‘ritually perpetuated from reign to reign’.⁷⁶

A *recusatio* by foreign would-be rulers is described by Josephus, enacted *in front of* the Romans (rather than *by* them) in a dispute over local rule. When Antipater and Archelaus argued for their respective fitness to rule before Caesar, Nicolaus spoke on behalf of Archelaus, the heir that Herod had provisionally designated. He said that because Herod chose Caesar as ‘surety for the succession’, he had by this means proven his sanity: ‘[O]ne who was sane enough to cede his authority to the master of the world was surely not mistaken in his selection of an heir. The sagacity shown in his choice of the donor was a guarantee of his sanity in the choice of the recipient’ (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.2.6 §35-36).⁷⁷ While not refusing a title, Herod has, in his will, refused to exercise his right to designate his heir, thus demonstrating the humility of a *recusatio* in a Judean dispute before Rome.

4.3.2. John 6:15 through Roman eyes

Jesus’ *recusatio* occurs in John 6:15, in a context where the Jewish encyclopaedia of the narrative would narcotize its Roman cultural unit. Indeed, Jesus’ exodus to the mountain

⁷⁵ Béranger, *Recherches*, 139-40. His ancient references are correct through Antoninus Pius with the exception of Plutarch, *Galba* 4.3-7, which describes Galba seeking council upon being asked to take the imperial honours. This is not a *recusatio*. (I did not check Eusebius-Jerome and Zonaras since those were written much later than the period of interest to this study.) Those not included in Béranger’s list are Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Titus, Domitian and Hadrian. Béranger believes that the need for a *recusatio* was inversely proportional to the hereditary charism of the emperor (*Recherches*, 141-42). However, Caligula can be added to the list based on Alexander Jakobson, and Hannah M. Cotton, ‘Caligula’s *recusatio imperii*’, *Historia* 34.4 (1985): 497-503.

⁷⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Civilis’, 36-37.

⁷⁷ Bond, ‘Authorities’, 222. Josephus also depicts Archelaus himself in a *recusatio* when, after the mourning period, he spoke to ‘the multitude. He thanked them for the zeal which they had displayed over his father’s funeral and for the marks of homage shown to himself, as to a king whose claim to the throne was already confirmed. He would, however, for the present abstain not only from the exercise of the authority, but even from the assumption of the titles, of royalty, until his right to the succession had been ratified by Caesar, to whose ruling everything had been submitted under the terms of the will. Even when, as he reminded them, the army at Jericho had desired to place the diadem on his head, he had declined it’ (*J.W.* 2.1.1 §2-3 [Thackeray, LCL]). It seems somewhat ironic, though, that this speech was delivered with Archelaus in ‘white raiment’ and ‘from a golden throne on a raised platform’, hardly the accoutrements of humility (2.1.1 §2). Josephus also describes Florus refusing acclamations (*J.W.* 2.14.7 §297).

(‘Then Jesus, because he knew that they were about to come and seize him to make him a king, withdrew again to the mountains alone by himself’, author translation) has been interpreted in terms of Moses and the Sinai event.⁷⁸ Susan Hylen notes that repeated references to ‘the mountain setting’ (vv. 3, 15) enhance the other ‘connections ... made between Jesus and Moses’.⁷⁹ The way Hylen sets the text of Chapter 6 within the Jewish encyclopaedia brings out a ‘figural reading’ that, rather than dichotomizing the literal and the figurative, relates the two in such a way that it ‘holds physical and spiritual together’.⁸⁰ Hylen’s figural rather than figurative reading coheres with the approach offered in this thesis.⁸¹ She brings previous tropes into dialogue with the current text and both appropriates and adds to them. This is similar to the way I have described the cultural encyclopaedia that informs but is also changed by the universe of discourse of a text.⁸² However, Hylen does not discuss Jesus’ *refusal* of the kingship, except to note that ‘[t]he crowd’s attempt to make Jesus king on their own initiative is not misguided in terms of the understanding it portrays of who Jesus is but in how Jesus’ kingship will be enacted’.⁸³ While Hylen’s insights are quite convincing when the passage is read in context, once the Roman encyclopaedia is brought up in John 18, the topic of βασιλεύς would bring John 6:15 to mind in a new light. The trial narrative, indeed, will elaborate on the enactment of Jesus’ rule by comparison and contrast with the emperor.

Jerome Neyrey describes the ascription of royalty to Jesus without addressing his refusal of it. He does, however, include the way the honours accrued to Jesus in this Gospel are not ‘Jesus’ vainglorious self-extension’ but rather are ‘ascribed to him by God ... and

⁷⁸ E.g., Schnackenburg, *John*, 1.20. Note that the use of γινώσκω in this verse is hard to reconcile with Pancaro’s emphasis on a progressive aspect to the semantic meaning of this word: ‘the very nature of the verb ... implies the gradual discovery or acquisition of knowledge’ (*Law*, 149-50).

⁷⁹ Susan Hylen, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, ed. James D. G. Dunn et al., BZNW 137 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 123.

⁸⁰ Hylen, *Allusion*, 182.

⁸¹ Hylen, *Allusion*, 159-62.

⁸² Section 2.1 and Chapter 7.

⁸³ Hylen, *Allusion*, 147.

acknowledged by others'.⁸⁴ Yet Neyrey, while demonstrating that the charge levelled against Jesus that he 'made himself the Son of God' (19:7) is false, and that he *is* this by God's decree and public recognition, does not explain why in 6:15 Jesus would refuse an honour so deserved and ascribed.⁸⁵ Peder Borgen suggests that with his behaviour 'Jesus made clear that they had misunderstood the significance of his actions', but this conclusion contradicts the emphasis on Jesus as βασιλεύς in the Johannine trial narrative.⁸⁶ For Paul Duke, Jesus' rejection of a kingship that will be highlighted in John 18-19 is simply ironic.⁸⁷ For Tom Thatcher, 'the Johannine Jesus ... has no interest in political aspirations and immediately withdraws to a mountain until the Jews' nationalistic fervour cools off, a move that seems calculated to correct any notion that his ministry would disrupt the status quo'.⁸⁸ However, when this incident is interpreted through the lens of a Roman encyclopaedia, the offer and refusal of this office highlight the support of the people and the *virtus* of Jesus—a very political move indeed.

⁸⁴ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 179, 428.

⁸⁵ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 427-28.

⁸⁶ Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 208. This conclusion about the meaning of Jesus' refusal to be made king is widespread among scholars. See, e.g., Schnackenburg, *John*, 1.20 (assuming an implied 'King of the Jews' where the only 'acceptable' title would be 'king of Israel'; J. Terence Forestell, *The Word of the Cross: Salvation as Revelation in the Fourth Gospel*, AnBib 57 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1974), 106; Francis J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man*, Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 14 (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1976), 172; Harvey, *Jesus*, 88; Barrett, *Gospel*, 278 (connected by Barrett to 'the Q temptation narrative'); Haenchen, *John*, 272; Robinson, *Priority*, 208, 260; Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM, 1989), 156 n. 112; Richard J. Cassidy, *John's Gospel in New Perspective: Christology and the Realities of Roman Power* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1992), 51-52; Koester, *Symbolism*, 27; John Painter, 'Inclined to God: The Quest for Eternal Life—Bultmannian Hermeneutics and the Theology of the Fourth Gospel', in *Exploring the Gospel of John: in Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 346-68 (361); Ridderbos, *Gospel*, 85, 91, 216; Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 126; Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 240. Bultmann especially notes the apparent contradiction within the text, since Jesus 'is again standing before the people' ten verses later (*John*, 214). For Bultmann, this demonstrates the 'symbolic character of the scene' but rather than contrasting a symbolic scene with a historical one, I want to bring out the symbolic character of the gesture within Roman conceptions of rule—to refuse the crown is to demonstrate humility, a primary requirement for a good ruler. Anton Dauer adds that this refusal makes the charge in 18:33 'absurd', since Jesus 'hat sich ... selbst gegen jede Politisierung seines Auftrages gewandt' [*Die Passionsgeschichte im Johannevangelium: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und theologische Untersuchung zu Joh 18,1-19,30*, ed. Vinzenz Hamp and Josef Schmid, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 30 (Munich: Kösel, 1972), 253]. Meeks, however, does not see a dichotomy nor does Carter (Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 64; Carter, *John*, 303).

⁸⁷ Duke, *Irony*, 136.

⁸⁸ Thatcher, *Greater*, 21.

Busse suggests that Jesus rejects the people's offer because he saw that it was motivated by his euergetism in providing them with food (John 6:1-14), just the sort of behaviour that one would expect from a king.⁸⁹ This is an important insight into the crowd's response to Jesus' actions. It does not necessarily shed light on Jesus' own refusal of their offer, except perhaps that John may intend to underline the inadequacy of what is often called 'signs-faith'.⁹⁰ Yet when the Roman practice of *recusatio* is taken into consideration, Jesus' rejection of the offer of kingship takes on added meaning.

I would like to suggest, then, that while it is clear that the cultural encyclopaedia within which the abduction of John 6 would first occur is a Jewish one, thus leading to an interpretation such as the one suggested by Hylen, when John 18 opens with Pilate and the repetition of *πραιτώριον* and *βασιλεύς*, Jesus' refusal to be made king (6:15) would resurface in the abductive process as an example of an imperial *recusatio*, thus proving Jesus' fitness to rule. Romans further demanded that the rule of an emperor rest on the consent of the gods and that of the governed.⁹¹ That Jesus had the consent of the gods—or in this case God—is amply demonstrated by signs (both Jesus' own and those from above).

4.3.3. The consensus of the gods: Prophecies, wonders and signs

While a full analysis of the use of *σημεῖα* in the Gospel of John goes beyond the needs of this argument, it is important to note the significance of signs to the Romans. Andrew Riggsby describes their import.

The Romans had a variety of devices for communicating with the gods—watching birds or lightening, observing the entrails of sacrificial animals, and occasionally reacting to random prodigies like the birth of a two-headed animal or a rain of stones. This communication was rarely aimed at prophecy in the sense of discovering the future. Rather, the goal was to discover divine judgment of a past or present action. Most of the time what was sought was

⁸⁹ Busse, 'Metaphorik', 303, 316. See also Koester, 'Why', 167 n. 12.

⁹⁰ See, for example, Keener, *John*, 1.276-77; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 149.

⁹¹ Béranger, *Recherches*, 152. Karl Schefold attributes the presence of the gods in *profectio* Cancellaria Relief as proof of the 'will of the gods' without which the emperor would not take power [*Orient, Hellas und Rom in der archäologischen Forschung seit 1939*, ed. Karl Hönn, Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte: Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe 15 (Bern: Francke, 1949), 235-36; cf. Béranger, *Recherches*, 139].

a simple yes-or-no answer: did the gods approve of some government action?⁹²

The gods' approval was sought, in particular, in *omina imperii* to legitimate a ruler.⁹³

Prophecies and portents previous to the accession of Vespasian, for example, predicted that the new ruler would come from the East (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4.5).⁹⁴ These include: a strong new branch on a sacred tree; mud heaped into Vespasian's toga (representing his protection of the empire); a dog carrying a human hand (and another time an ox) presenting itself to him; a miraculously uprooted and replaced cypress tree; dreams and oracles, one given by Josephus (*Vespasian* 5). Two particularly point to his coming from the East: 'when Galba was on his way to the elections which gave him his second consulship, a statue of the Deified Julius of its own accord turned towards the East; and on the field of Betriacum, before the battle began, two eagles fought in the sight of all, and when one was vanquished, a third came from the direction of the rising sun and drove off the victor' (5.7 [Rolfe, LCL]).⁹⁵

Similar omens are interpreted by Tacitus, in particular 'the gods' leaving the temple in Jerusalem:

Few interpreted these omens as fearful; the majority firmly believed that their ancient priestly writings contained the prophecy that this was the very time when the East should grow strong and that men starting from Judea should possess the world. This mysterious prophecy had in reality pointed to Vespasian and Titus, but the common people, as is the way of human ambition, interpreted these great destinies in their own favour, and could not be turned to the truth even by adversity (*Histories* 5.13 [Moore, Jackson, LCL]).

Such divine authentication is similarly adduced to Jesus in the *Testimonium Flavianum*, which points out that 'divine prophets had prophesied' not only Jesus'

⁹² Andrew M. Riggsby, *Roman Law and the Legal World of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 208-209.

⁹³ J. R. Fears, 'The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology', *ANRW* 17.1: 3-141 (74-75).

⁹⁴ I am grateful to George van Kooten for the references in this paragraph and the following one.

⁹⁵ Forester suggests that these predictions were known in particular in Alexandria, but offers no primary references for his assertion [*The Lives of the Twelve Caesars by C. Suetonius Tranquillus to Which Are Added His Lives of the Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and Poets*, Bohn's Classical Library (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890), 445 n. 1].

resurrection but also ‘myriad other things about him’ (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.3.3 §63-64). Whether Josephus himself or, as scholars now generally believe, later redactors wrote all or part of this passage, it testifies to an author’s desire to communicate God’s approval as he legitimates Jesus’ authenticity.⁹⁶

This same divine legitimization of Jesus is found in several passages in the Gospel of John. First, Jesus is ‘God’s Chosen One’ as testified by the descent of the dove/Spirit and by God’s seal (1:32-34; 6:27).⁹⁷ Lincoln rightly notes the unique status, the ‘oneness between the Father and the Son’ that the dove’s appearance prompts in John the Baptist’s initial testimony as to God’s authentication of Jesus.⁹⁸

God’s voice from heaven in John 12:27-33 is, according to Godfrey Nicholson, an attempt ‘to correct (albeit unsuccessfully) the perception of Jesus that was held by the “great crowd” (12:9, 12, 17) who had given Jesus the reception due the King of Israel when he entered Jerusalem’.⁹⁹ However, the thunder does not occur in the context of Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem but of his speaking of his death, and there is no reason, in any case, to think that thunder is a correction. Instead, this voice provides evidence of the consensus of God. That a voice or a thunder from heaven would be understood as such is one of the cultural units for the phenomenon. Craig Keener notes three purposes for divine thunder: ‘to strike terror into an enemy army’, ‘to encourage a favored mortal or to confirm his prayer’.¹⁰⁰ Brown indeed

⁹⁶ For a brief introduction to the question, see Robert E. Van Voorst, ‘Sources, Extra-New Testamental’, in *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Craig A. Evans (New York: Routledge, 2008), 602-606 (605). For the best broad overview of the complexity of the questions, see Paget, ‘Some Observations’, with a variety of scholars’ positions listed on p. 583.

⁹⁷ Lincoln, *Truth*, 217, 452; Keener, *John*, 677-78. For an argument for *ὁ ἐκλεκτός* rather than *ὁ υἱός* as the preferred reading for John 1:34, see Brown, *John*, 1.57; Lincoln, *Truth*, 63. For an opposing view, see Keener, *John*, 463-65. Even if the reading *ὁ υἱός* is preferred, the verse is still an expression of God’s revelation to John the Baptist by means of the dove that Jesus is his agent of spirit baptism (v. 33).

⁹⁸ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 114-15.

⁹⁹ Nicholson, *Death*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ Keener, *John*, 2.877 and nn. 84-87. Plutarch, in fact, notes that ‘peals of thunder’ was a portent ‘familiar to the Romans’ (*Fabius Maximus* 2.2 [Perrin, LCL])—in this case in the face of Hannibal’s advancing army. For thunder as a portent of war, see Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.523-40. For thunder in response to prayers, see Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.141-42; 9.630-31.

asks the question: ‘does its obvious synchronization with Jesus’ preaching signify for the crowd that God approves of Jesus?’¹⁰¹ I propose that the answer to that question is: Yes.

Jesus’ effect on the soldiers who fall down when he pronounces the *ἐγώ εἰμι* (18:6) may also be interpreted as divine authentication. Catrin Williams has brought out ‘four aspects or themes ... of direct relevance’ to this event: (1) Jesus, like Israel’s God, is sovereign over his own fate; (2) in this scene the forces of God triumph over the forces of darkness and Satan; (3) more generally Jesus, like God, is victorious over anyone who opposes him and (4) Jesus is the agent of salvation, specifically in this passage for his disciples, but also ultimately ‘as the bestower of eternal life’.¹⁰² Most significant for the argument of this chapter is the way this congruence between the actions and purposes of Jesus and of Israel’s God and the accompanying supernatural defeat of the soldiers authorize Jesus.¹⁰³

The signs (*σημεῖα*) that Jesus performs also testify that ‘he has divine approval’ (John 3:2; 9:33).¹⁰⁴ This relationship of a sign to the authentication of God does not deny that, in John, hearers are expected to go beyond this preliminary identification of Jesus as a miracle-worker approved by God.¹⁰⁵ Neither does such a statement preclude readings that analyse John’s signs in relation to the use of *σημεῖον* within the LXX.¹⁰⁶ Hearers might come to the text with either or both encyclopaedias available to them, and interpretation must come from

¹⁰¹ Brown, *John*, 1.477. Lincoln notes that ‘whether the crowd experienced thunder as a confirmatory portent (cf., e.g., Exod. 19.19; 1 Sam. 12.17-18; Sir. 46.16-17) or thought of the noise as an angelic voice, both phenomena were interpreted as divine approval of Jesus’ words.... The voice from heaven is an accommodation to the crowd, who still need to be convinced of his true relationship to the Father’ (*Gospel*, 352).

¹⁰² Catrin H. Williams, *I Am He: The Interpretation of ‘Ani Hû’ in Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, ed. Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius, WUNT 2.113 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 293-98.

¹⁰³ See also Williams, *I Am He*, 303. Others who see this event as evidence of Jesus’ relationship to God include Lincoln, *Truth*, 200.

¹⁰⁴ Lincoln, *Truth*, 67; Brown, *John*, 1.377; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 87-91; Keener, *John*, 272-75; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 131; Brant, *John*, 94. This is true no matter how many signs one discerns in John’s Gospel. For discussions about which events in the Gospel of John might be considered ‘signs’, see, e.g., Brown, *John*, 1.528; Marianne Meye Thompson, *The Incarnate Word: Perspectives on Jesus in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), 56-57; Koester, *Symbolism*, 264 n. 15; Brant, *John*, 92-93.

¹⁰⁵ Keener, *John*, 1.275-77.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Brown, *John*, 1.529-30; Keener, *John*, 1.277-79.

the encyclopaedia raised in the context. As Brown has pointed out, ‘the frequency of Exodus motifs’ makes cultural units from a Jewish encyclopaedia most likely for the term *σημεῖα*.¹⁰⁷ However, in this instance, the entries for the Jewish and Roman encyclopaedias are similar. Keener offers examples of ‘signs as authentication’ from the Greek, Roman, and Jewish encyclopaedias.¹⁰⁸

Both portents in the heavens and signs performed by (apparent) human beings occur not only in the Gospel of John but also in Vergil’s *Aeneid*. For example, when Dido and Aeneas meet in the cave ‘Primal Earth and nuptial Juno give the sign (*signum*); fires flashed in Heaven, the witness to their bridal [*sic*], and on the mountain-top screamed the Nymphs’ (4.167 [Fairclough, LCL]). Later, Beroë carries ‘signs (*signa*) of divine beauty’ that reveal her as Venus in human disguise (5.647). Finally, a *signum* in the ‘high heaven’, leads the Rutulians to believe that the gods approve and will support them in war (12.244-58). In two of these three examples, however, the signs are misleading. For Dido and Aeneas, ‘Juno and Venus attempt to confirm the union ... with the bonds of the natural universe, but it is a universe functioning in the perverted mode of the storm’.¹⁰⁹ Their union is doomed. And about the sign shown to the Rutulians, Vergil himself comments that ‘none was more potent to confound Italian minds and cheat them with its miracle’ (12.245-46). It is only Beroë, and the sign of beauty that the goddess herself carries, who reveal the truth.

The reason for this is that the progress of the epic depends on the Roman understanding of fate (*fatum*): ‘Arms I sing and the man who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by *fate*, came to Italy and Lavinian shores’ (1.1-3).¹¹⁰ The word */fatum/* can be translated as ‘spoken’, revealing the relationship of destiny to the ‘decrees which were

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *John*, 1.529.

¹⁰⁸ Keener, *John*, 1.272-74.

¹⁰⁹ Hardie, *Aeneid*, 318; Cairns, *Epic*, 48-49.

¹¹⁰ Cairns, *Epic*, 24-25, 50, 193.

uttered long before' by the gods.¹¹¹ In Vergil's *Aeneid*, for example, fate is sometimes but not always identical to the words of Jupiter. Dido prays to the Sun, to Juno, Hecate, the Furies and the gods of dying Elissa that 'if Jove's decrees (*fata*) demand this, if this end is fixed' for Aeneas to arrive safely in Italy, that at least he would meet war and heartbreak (4.614, author translation).¹¹² Thus, the only portents that are valid are those that cohere with Jupiter's words.

What is particularly interesting is that three of the fulfilment sayings in the Gospel of John also focus on the spoken word. The two instances of most relevance, John 18:9 and 18:32, occur at the arrest in the garden and at the beginning of the trial before Pilate.¹¹³ The similarity of the formulas for Scripture and Jesus' words, ὁ λόγος ... ὃν εἶπεν (2:22; 4:50; 7:36; 12:38 [about Isaiah's words]; 18:9, 32), puts the two 'on par'.¹¹⁴ The spokenness of Jesus' prophetic words coheres with Roman conceptions of oracles.¹¹⁵ This connection should not be overemphasized. Daube, for example, points out that verbal nouns (such as *fatum*) do not necessarily retain the full force of the verb.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, spoken prophecies

¹¹¹ Stephen Benko, 'Virgil's Fourth Eclogue in Christian Interpretation', *ANRW* 31.1: 646-705 (689). See similarly Grebe, 'Authority', 60.

¹¹² Elizabeth Vandiver, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (Springfield, VA: Teaching Company), MP3, Lecture 4: The Opening of the Aeneid.; James J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 108, 121. For more on Greek ideas of fate from classical times through the end of the fourth century CE, see Andrew Louth, 'Pagans and Christians on Providence', in *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority, and Change*, ed. J. H. D. Scourfield (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2007), 279-98.

¹¹³ The one other instance is John 12:38. In that verse, it is Isaiah's spoken word that is fulfilled (ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν). However, Φ^{75} does not include ὃν εἶπεν. Furthermore, this verse is better discussed along with the other verses where John records Isaiah's speech (1:23; 12:39, 41), although without using the word λόγος [Johannes Beutler, 'The Use of "Scripture" in the Gospel of John', in *Exploring the Gospel of John: in Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 148-62 (148)]. However, since this verse is outside of the Johannine trial narrative, it will not be further examined.

¹¹⁴ Keener, *John*, 1.530-31; 2.889, 1082. This has been most fully investigated by Francis J. Moloney, who concludes that the written word that is the finished Gospel is 'the completion of Israel's Scripture' ['The Gospel of John as Scripture', *CBQ* 67.3 (2005): 454-68 (461-62, 466). For an opposing view, see Beutler, 'Use', 154].

¹¹⁵ For the importance of Jesus' word, see, e.g., Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 289-90; Lincoln, *Truth*, 72. Jesus' word, indeed, is emphasized throughout the Gospel (e.g., 2:22; 3:34; 4:50; 5:24, 47; 6:63; 7:36; 8:43; 12:48; 15:3, 20) but only in 18:9 and 32 is it said to be fulfilled.

¹¹⁶ David Daube, *Roman Law: Linguistic, Social and Philosophical Aspects* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 3.

are part of the Jewish tradition as well (1 Kgs 8:15, 20, 24 and Dan 4:33).¹¹⁷ Still, that Jesus' words would be said to be fulfilled (18:32) just in a section of the Gospel where I have posited an abductive process that uses the Roman encyclopaedia suggests the possibility that the Gospel of John portrays Jesus' words—like those of Jupiter, king of the gods—as fate, and therefore self-legitimizing divine signs.

Through a dove, God's voice from heaven, the collapse of soldiers, the signs he performs, and the equating of Jesus' words with the will of God, the Gospel of John describes the legitimization of Jesus by the God who sent him (3:34).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, in 18:37, the Johannine Jesus explains both his sending and his rule with reference to his role as a witness, thus creating coherence between these three facets of his identity; these will be explored in Chapter 6.¹¹⁹ At this juncture, the Roman perception of the consensus of the gods necessary for a ruler demonstrate such approval in John's Gospel does not remove Jesus from any political arena but rather confirms him there. However, it is not enough for a ruler to have the consensus of the gods. While Carter, for example, notes passages in the Fourth Gospel that legitimate Jesus' rule through divine approbation, the affiliated consensus of the people and *recusatio* of the ruler must not be omitted from discussion.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Keener, *John*, 2.1082 n. 125. See also Adele Reinhartz, *Befriending the Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 49-50.

¹¹⁸ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 149.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., the judicial role of a ruler discussed in Section 6.2.2.4.

¹²⁰ Carter, *John*, 153. That a ruler, in fact, would be expected to provide for his people as in John 6:1-14 is mentioned above and brought out by Busse, 'Metaphorik', 303, 316. Carter correctly notes the implicit critique of Roman emperors, but misses the affirmation of Jesus as ruler in this theme of provision (*John*, 218-26). Similarly, Lindars believes that the problem is that 'Jesus would not accept popular acclaim, but awaited a sign from God himself' (*John*, 244). Koester, too, emphasizes 'the difference between the power that comes from God above and the power that relies on the favour of the masses below' (*Symbolism*, 92). See also Carter, 'Kingship is God-given (and Rome-given) and cannot be enacted by the people (6:15)' (*John*, 192).

4.3.4. The consensus of the people: *Adventus* and John 12:12-19

The consensus of the people, by the fourth century CE, '[à] défaut de surnaturel, ... devenait elle-même prodige: *vox populi, vox Dei*'.¹²¹ The approbation of the people was seen as confirmation of the approval of the gods. This emphasis on the support of the people was a particularly Roman concern from the Republic onwards. In the *Res gestae divi Augusti* in the Latin version 'Augustus is keen to acknowledge the importance of the *plebs* in supporting him', whereas 'the Greek is more dismissive of the *plebs*'.¹²² The connection, in the Roman encyclopaedia, between the support of the people and an emperor's *recusatio* suggests that the way John recounts Jesus accepting the welcome that the people give him as he enters Jerusalem (12:12-19) must be seen not as an anomaly, nor as a contradiction of Jesus' *recusatio*. Instead, together with God's approbation, they demonstrate not a non-political or non-physical reign but rather Jesus' very fitness for rule.

Public acclamations such as those described in John 12:13-15 were common practice in antiquity.¹²³ However, several overlapping practices must be distinguished from each other, because acclamations could be spontaneous expressions of popular opinion, specific expressions within the Roman Senate, or the *de facto* official installation of an emperor by the army.¹²⁴ Furthermore, people could be acclaimed in the context of a *salutatio* (the morning greeting of patrons by clients, also practised by the emperor and his clients), an *adventus* (a procession leading an important person into a city) or a *triumphus* (the

¹²¹ Béranger, 'Refus', 191. He cites on this Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 26.1.5. See also Charlotte Roueché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984): 181-199 (187-88).

¹²² Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 29. See similarly David N. Wigtil, 'The Ideology of the Greek "*Res gestae*"', *ANRW* 30.1: 624-38 (627).

¹²³ Conway, *Behold*, 81; Roueché, 'Acclamations', 182. Acclamations were inscribed on milestones, but the earliest is from the end of the second century CE (Roueché, 'Acclamations', 185).

¹²⁴ Ernst Badian, 'acclamation', *OCD*; Rolf Hurschmann, 'acclamatio', *PC*; Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government*, trans. Lorenzo Chiesa and Matteo Mandarini (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 170. Some of my thinking on this and the Agamben reference were prompted by Brad Bitner, 'The Ephesian Artemis Incident (Acts 19:23-40) and the Sociology of Acclamation in Polis and Ekklesia' (paper presented at SBL, Baltimore, MD, November, 2013).

procession of a victorious leader into the city of Rome).¹²⁵ For these events, '[t]here is no one standard word in Latin—*conclamatio*, *vox*, *adclamatio*—or in Greek—*phōnē*, *ekboēsis*, *euphēmia*, among a larger range of terms. For this reason, the occasions on which acclamations are used have not always been recognized or understood'.¹²⁶ Therefore I shall focus not on similarity of terminology but on similarity of events.

Although the Roman army's acclamation of an emperor will be important to John 19:1-3, and the triumph will be discussed further in relation to John 19:16b, the acclamations of interest in this section are those offered to Jesus as he is welcomed into Jerusalem (John 4:40-42; 12:12-19). These can be compared with the evidence from *P. Fouad* 8, which seems to list the acclamations given to another man whose arrival was heralded with portents and prophecies and who himself performed signs, Vespasian (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 7; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81–2; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 65.8.1–2). The papyrus lists the acclamations at his entrance into Alexandria: εὐθὺς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ... ὅτι ὑγιαίνων, κύριε Καῖσαρ ... Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἷς σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης ... ὁ ἥλιος ὁ ἀνατέλλων ... φύλαξον ἡμεῖν ... κύριε σεβαστέ, ... ὁ Ἀμμωνος υἱὸς ... θεὸς Καῖσαρ ... θεὸς Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς ... κύριε σεβαστέ Οὐεσπασιανέ.¹²⁷ This event demonstrates that an *acclamatio* in its 'simplest form...gives a man a particular epithet' such as 'so-and-so is great, or good, or patriotic, *philopatris*'.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Rolf Hurschmann, 'salutatio', PC; Walter Eder, 'triumph, triumphal procession', PC; Christian Gizewski, 'adventus', PC; Ernst Badian, 'triumph', *OCD*. The triumph will be discussed further below and in Section 5.1.2.

¹²⁶ Roueché, 'Acclamations', 181 and 181 n. 2.

¹²⁷ 'The upright emperor ... that he be healthy, Lord Caesar ... Vespasian, the one saviour and benefactor ... the sun that rises ... watch over us ... Lord Augustus, ... the son of Ammon ... God Caesar ... God Caesar Vespasian ... Lord Augustus Vespasian!' [author translation from text partially reconstructed in O. Guéraud et al., eds., *P. Fouad*, Les Papyrus Fouad I: Nos 1-89 (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939), 16 and corrected in Revel Coles, Angelo Geissen, and Ludwig Koenen, 'Some Corrections and Notes to P. Fouad', *ZPE* 11 (1973): 235-39 (235)]. This event is mentioned by Suetonius at *Vesp.* 7.1. See Brad Bitner on the types of 'pithy, rhythmic acclamations' usually used [*Paul's Political Strategy in 1 Corinthians 1-4: Constitution and Covenant*, SNTSMS 163 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 278].

¹²⁸ Roueché, 'Acclamations', 182.

Such an event was not uniquely Roman; ὑπάντησις ‘was the normal Greek expression used to describe the joyful reception of Hellenistic sovereigns into a city’.¹²⁹ However, while Brown adduces a second century BCE example, it is worth noting that, with the expansion of the Roman empire, an *adventus* would have more and more frequently occurred with the arrival of a specifically Roman dignitary. Josephus tells of similar behaviour in Antioch at the arrival of Titus in 70 or 71 CE (*J.W.* 7.5.2 §102-104).¹³⁰ Because these events were part of first- and second-century CE experience, John’s description of Jesus’ *adventus* into Jerusalem would resonate with his hearers.¹³¹ However, before discussing John 12 further, I want to dismiss one other passage that has sometimes been interpreted as an *adventus*.

In John 4:40-42, after the wise woman of Sychar has been told, and then suggested the possibility that Jesus is the Christ (vv. 25-26, 29), the men of the town come out to persuade Jesus to stay with them for two days.¹³² Craig Koester brings out the imperial connotations of this scene: ‘By going out of Sychar to meet Jesus, inviting him into their town, and calling him “savior”, the Samaritans gave Jesus a welcome similar to those granted

¹²⁹ Brown, *John*, 1.461-62; Schnackenburg, *John*, 2.374-75; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 343; Brant, *John*, 191.

¹³⁰ Zetterholm, *Formation*, 117-120. Josephus records that Vespasian was similarly welcomed into Tiberias (*J.W.* 3.9.8 §459). For other examples of *adventus*, see Josephus, *J.W.* 1.33.9 §670; 4.2.5 §112-113, 117; 7.4.1 §70-71. Some of these are also cited by Craig R. Koester, “The Savior of the World” (John 4:42), *JBL* 109.4 (1990): 665-680 (666); Keener, *John*, 1.627 n. 444; 2.868-69; Keener also points out the practice of going out to meet people without acclamations, 2.843 n. 80. Although not in the context of an *adventus*, acclamations are recorded in Alexandria and Ephesus as well. For Alexandria: *P. Oxy.* 25 2435; Victor Ehrenberg, and Arnold H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus & Tiberius*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), no. 320. These are translated in Robert K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 60-61. For a discussion of the welcome of Germanicus, see John Garrett Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, The Jerome Lectures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933), 10-13; Éric Perrin-Saminadayar, ‘La préparation des entrées royales et impériales dans les cités de l’orient hellénophone, d’Alexandre le Grand aux Sévères’, in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, ed. Agnès Bérenger and Éric Perrin-Saminadayar, De l’archéologie à l’histoire (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 67-90 (81). For the procession of Roman statues in Ephesus, see Christine M. Thomas, ‘At Home in the City of Artemis: Religion in Ephesus in the Literary Imagination of the Roman Period’, in *Ephesus, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, HTS 41 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 81-117 (110); Rogers, *Sacred*, 158-62.

¹³¹ For other mentions of acclamations, this time in Alexandria, see Wiedemann, ‘Nero’, 275 (in 19 CE and again in 66). For Vespasian’s acclamations in Alexandria and Judaea, see Griffin, ‘Flavians’, 4, 5 n. 18. For another description that connects architecture, Latin and an imperial acclamation, this time for Hadrian in Judaea, see Eck, ‘Language’, 140-43.

¹³² The designation ‘wise woman of Sychar’ is based on her conversation at the well where she shows herself to be ‘cooperative, open-minded, perceptive, initiating, responsive and a witness’ [Cornelis Bennema, *Encountering Jesus: Character Studies in the Gospel of John* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009), 92].

to visiting rulers'.¹³³ Warren Carter also brings out the imperial connotations of this scene. He lists references to σωτήρ in contexts related to Greek rulers and gods, Roman emperors and officials, Israel's God and even Josephus himself, welcomed as 'benefactor and savior' by the 'Galileans ... during the 66-70 CE war against Rome (*Life* 259)'.¹³⁴ Carter goes on to discuss 'five further factors' that enhance this passage's contrast between Jesus and the Roman emperor: (1) God is often called σωτήρ in the LXX specifically when he, like Jesus, is saving Israel from colonial oppressors; (2) citing Koester, the Samaritans enact an *adventus*; (3) the oppression of both Samaritans and Jews by Rome ushers in a time when Jesus can become a saviour for both, thus promoting peace between two formerly antagonistic groups; (4) Rome's oppression of Samaria means that Jesus might prove to be a 'true' saviour, unlike Rome, and (5) Jesus is saviour in that his rule over the world saves oppressed peoples from the rule of any nation styling itself ruler, in this case Rome.¹³⁵

The problem, however, is that while connections between Jesus and the Roman emperor might emerge in retrospect when the Roman encyclopaedia is opened in the trial narrative, it is hard to see how they would appear in the context of Samaria. To call John 4:40-42 an *adventus* requires the conflation of verses 40 and 42, and a collapse of the two intervening days. Furthermore, the text specifies that the title (ὁ σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου) is not given *to* Jesus, but is said *about* Jesus to the woman (*contra* 2).¹³⁶ Certainly there is a *rapprochement* between Jews and Samaritans, and Carter's insight that Samaritans needed saving *from* the Jews (ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων) as much as from Rome is pertinent. Yet Rome's role

¹³³ Koester, 'Savior', 666.

¹³⁴ Carter, *John*, 188, 201 n. 47. See, similarly, Michael Labahn, "'Heiland der Welt': Der gesandte Gottessohn und der römische Kaiser—ein Thema johanneischer Christologie?", in *Zwischen den Reichen: Neues Testament und römische Herrschaft: Vorträge auf der ersten Konferenz der European Association for Biblical Studies*, ed. Michael Labahn and Jürgen Zangenberg, Tanz 36 (Tübingen: Francke, 2002), 147-74 (149-52, especially inscriptional evidence for emperors on p. 151); Richey, *Roman*, 82-91. Bruce Winter lists an Alexandrian coin from 62-63 CE where Nero is named ὁ σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης [*Divine Honours for the Caesars: The First Christians' Responses* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 72].

¹³⁵ Carter, *John*, 189-91.

¹³⁶ These remarks are also *pace* Keener, *John*, 1.627; Richey, *Roman*, 89.

in this process must be inferred from history as it is not in the text (*contra* 3).¹³⁷ Allegorizing Rome as the wise woman of Sychar's "'man", who is not her husband' (v. 18), supports the proposal that Jesus is 'more truly Savior than the emperor', and, grounded like the rest of the passage, in the Jewish encyclopaedia (2 Kings 17:24; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.11.1 §288) provides a possible reading.¹³⁸ However, one might expect in this case a title such as 'saviour *from* the world' on the analogy of 'saviour *from* the Jews' (*contra* 1 & 5).

Many other proposals for interpreting this passage have been offered, but the element of interest in this section is the relation of the Roman imperial title to the Jewish context of the narrative.¹³⁹ Michael Labahn offers a nuanced discussion. On the one hand, ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου does not depend on a Roman encyclopaedia for its meaning. On the contrary, Labahn points out '[d]ie Bezeichnung Jesu als *Retter der Welt* hat folglich ihr Fundament in der johanneischen Christologie selbst.... [D]ie johanneische Semantik hinreichend Sinnbildungspotentiale bereithält'.¹⁴⁰ However, it does not follow that imperial connections are completely absent.¹⁴¹ Even though Labahn understands the phrase itself from within the universe of discourse of the Gospel grounded in the Jewish encyclopaedia, '[g]ehören die römischen Kaiser zu den σωτῆρες der religiösen Umwelt des johanneischen Christentums und wird ihre universelle Bedeutung als Rettergestalt gefeiert, wofür das inschriftliche Material in zeitlicher Nähe zur Abfassung des vierten Evangeliums spricht, so schließt der

¹³⁷ Carter, *John*, 190, emphasis original.

¹³⁸ Carter, *John*, 190.

¹³⁹ For some other proposals, see Duke, *Irony*, 103. For the specific allusions to betrothal scenes, see, e.g., Brodie, *Gospel*, 217-219, 225. Others who note the importance of abiding, thus separating the invitation from the acclamation in a way that precludes Koester's analysis, include Sandra M. Schneiders, *Written That You May Believe: Encountering Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed. (New York: Crossroad, 2003), 142-43; Dorothy Lee, 'Abiding in the Fourth Gospel: A Case Study in Feminist Biblical Theology', in *A Feminist Companion to John*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2003), 64-78 (69); Neyrey, *Cultural*, 66, 169.

¹⁴⁰ Labahn, 'Heiland', 155. Teresa Okure lists 3:16-17; 5:24; 12:47; 1:29; 8:12; 9:5; 12:46 and 6:33, 51 [Teresa Okure, *The Johannine Approach to Mission: A Contextual Study of John 4:1-42*, WUNT 2.31 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 176. See, more briefly, Labahn, 'Heiland', 152-53].

¹⁴¹ See Brown, *John*, 1.175; Robinson, *Priority*, 67; Koester, 'Savior', 666; Cassidy, *John's Gospel*, 35; Keener, *John*, 1.627-28 nn. 446-49.

Titel im Johannesevangelium dieses Ansprüche für den zeitgenössischen Leser aus'.¹⁴²

While I agree in general with this reasoning, I am further suggesting that the imperial connotations of the term ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου would not be fully 'blown up' until the Johannine trial narrative brought the Roman encyclopaedia into view.

The entry into Jerusalem, on the other hand, clearly echoes the Roman *adventūs* described above: 'On the next day, the great crowd that had come for the festival heard that Jesus was coming into Jerusalem. They took branches of palm trees and went out to receive him. They were shouting, "Hosanna!"' (John 12:12-13a, author translation).¹⁴³ Nevertheless, except for the action itself, the crowds, the festival, the city, the palm branches and the shout are all Jewish.¹⁴⁴ The palms in particular (v. 13) are also mentioned in 1 Macc. 13:51 in connection with peace and liberation from gentile rule.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, palm trees and palm fronds appeared on a long series of coins, some early ones from Palestine and others minted by Rome after the first and second Jewish revolts.¹⁴⁶ Palms were also used in the processions

¹⁴² Labahn, 'Heiland', 155. See also Koester, 'Savior', 674. Schnackenburg notes the 'special and exclusive' way that John uses this title but does not believe that it is meant to be exclusionary (*John*, 1.458). Although Cassidy pays little attention to the Roman cultural units of this phrase, he also concludes that John presents this title as exclusive to Jesus (*John's Gospel*, 34-35).

¹⁴³ Gerhard van den Heever, 'Space, Social Space, and the Construction of Early Christian Identity in First Century Asia Minor', *R&T* 17.3/4 (2010): 205-243 (235-36). Brodie rightly notes that 'the cry of "Hosanna, ..." a word which means "Save" ... had taken on the means of an exclamation of praise ("Salvation!")' (*Gospel*, 409). See also 'ὡσαννά', BDAG 1106. It is also relevant, as Michael Daise points out, that the Hebrew is transliterated rather than translated with a word suggested by the LXX ['Quotations with "Remembrance" Formulae in the Fourth Gospel', in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Gospel of John*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce G. Schuchard, SBL Resources for Biblical Study 81 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 75-91 (83)].

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Brodie offers an excellent summary of these connections, along with the question of where the palm branches might have come from. He connects them with 'the tree of life' (*Gospel*, 409-410). See also this passage's connections with 2 Sam 6:18; 14:4; 2 Kings 6:26; Zech 9:9; Zeph 3:16-17 in Brown, *John*, 1.457, 462. Menken adds 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms) 1 and Gen. 49:11 LXX (*Quotations*, 88-89, 93, 94-95). For the way ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου 'has already functioned as a messianic title', see Keener, *John*, 2.868. However, Keener goes too far when he asserts that 'the issue here is what kind of king..., not whose king' (2.868 n. 8). I shall show that it is both; see Section 7.1. Haenchen is incorrect when he states, 'The title for Jesus, "the king of Israel", which plays a large role in the Johannine passion narrative, appears here for the first time' (*John*, 93). The only other place where Jesus is called 'the king of Israel' is by Nathanael in John 1:49. In the passion narrative, he is either ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων or simply βασιλεὺς (18:33, 37, 39; 19:3, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21).

¹⁴⁵ Lincoln rightly connects the palm branches with 1 Macc. 13:51; 2 Macc. 10:7; *T. Naph.* 5.4; Ps 118:25-26; Zeph 3:15 (*Gospel*, 343).

¹⁴⁶ James F. Strange, 'The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Judaism', in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part One: The Literary and Archaeological Sources*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Boston: Brill, 2001), 64-114 (106-107).

of the feasts of Tabernacles and of the Dedication.¹⁴⁷ To Jewish Jesus-believers hearing the Gospel outside of Palestine, the evocation of such images would seem to connect with the Jewish rather than a Roman encyclopaedia.

Several scholars adduce the context of the Zechariah quotation (John 12:15; Zech 9:9) and, noting that the promise is that *all* people will come to Jerusalem (Zech 8:20-23; 9:7), argue that this is not a specifically Jewish scene.¹⁴⁸ However, in both the larger contexts of Zechariah and also Zephaniah (Zeph 3:14-16), which John 12:15 seems to cite as well, the scattered people being gathered are the people of Israel (Zech 9:8-16; 10:3-12, esp. 8-10; Zeph 3:9-10, 19-20) and what is promised to gentiles is vengeance and wrath (Zech 9:1-6, 13; 10:5, 11; Zeph 3:6, 8, 19).¹⁴⁹ John 12:15, then, echoes passages that express the hope of liberation of an oppressed people. It is unclear, therefore, in what way Thomas Brodie might be justified in characterizing ‘a nationalistic triumphal march’ as ‘superficial’.¹⁵⁰

Menken has suggested that the phrase $\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon$ (John 12:15) comes in response to Jesus’ power as a ruler and a miracle worker, who even raises someone from the dead: the people are not to fear him.¹⁵¹ This reassurance echoes ‘the contexts of theophanies ... and

¹⁴⁷ Brown, *John*, 1.460, 327. Later church fathers had other non-Roman ideas: ‘For Tertullian palms announce the triumph of martyrs over the Antichrist (*Scorpiace* 12.10), and Augustine takes the branches for songs of praise (*Homily* 51.2)’ [Mark Edwards, *John*, ed. John Sawyer, Christopher Rowland, and Judith Kovacs, Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 125].

¹⁴⁸ Bernard, *St. John*, 2.424; Brown, *John*, 1.462; Robinson, *Priority*, 232 n. 60; Menken, *Quotations*, 90-91; Ruth Sheridan, *Retelling Scripture: ‘The Jews’ and the Scriptural Citations in John 1:19-12:50*, *BibInt* 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 220, 224; Mary Coloe, ‘The Identity and Significance of the Hellenes John 12:12-43’ (paper presented at Johannine Literature Section of the Annual Meeting of the SBL, Atlanta, GA, 23 November, 2015). See also Bekken’s comments regarding Gen. 49:11 and the way that he understands that reference to imply a connection between the choice of the donkey as a mount and Judah’s rule over the gentiles (*Lawsuit*, 240). Note then that it is unclear in what way Bekken thinks the donkey corrects ‘an excessively nationalistic understanding of [Jesus’] kingship’ (240).

¹⁴⁹ For ‘Yahweh’s concern for Israel’ in the context of Zech 9:9, specifically in vv. 11-17 for ‘the Israelites who have been removed from their homeland, namely, the exiles’, see Carol L. Meyers, and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 162, 173-77. And for the Zephaniah passage, while verse 3:9 certainly portrays a ‘universal worship of the Lord, reminiscent of, or actually going beyond, the idea in 2:11’, the ‘remnant’ (v. 13), and the ‘restoration’ (v. 20), either of the captives in their land or more generally of Jerusalem’s ‘fortunate position’, are focused on Israel [Adele Berlin, *Zephaniah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman, AB 25A (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 133, 136, 148].

¹⁵⁰ Brodie, *Gospel*, 409.

¹⁵¹ Note that for those hearing the Gospel through Jewish lenses, the quotation might also connect with 3 Kingdoms 1 where Solomon’s legitimacy as David’s heir is affirmed by seating him on his mule. The

announcements of God's reign'.¹⁵² Yet, the question remains: what part does Rome play in such a Jewish scene?

The reference in verse 17 to the crowds who witnessed the raising of Lazarus might resonate for Roman-aware auditors with the growing importance of the healing powers of emperors, especially Vespasian's in Alexandria, in connection with his *adventus*.¹⁵³ There is one record from antiquity where a Roman emperor (Severus Antoninus), donkeys (ὄνοι), palm branches (βάις), a Roman prefect (Septimius Heraclitus) and a procession (ἀπάντησις) to meet him are all mentioned together. This was in 215 CE when the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Arsinoë, Egypt, recorded receipts for expenses incurred for a celebration (BGU 362). The occasion included the parading of the statues of the gods which, along with those in the temple, were polished and crowned. In this case, no one rode on the donkeys who instead carried the 'trees and palm branches' whose use is not specified. This late evidence is hard to interpret. There was a Jewish community at Arsinoë, but this celebration has no recorded connection to any nationalistic hopes of theirs—it celebrates both Egyptian and Roman gods and emperors.¹⁵⁴ Penelope Glare argues that this procession fits into the logical progression of the adoption of emperor worship in Egypt.¹⁵⁵ If this is so, it also demonstrates that palm branches might, by the third century CE, be used outside of Palestine in an *adventus* for a Roman official with no *necessary* Jewish resonances.

Yet, this report is unique and late. While some elements of John 12:12-19 cohere with Roman practices, the narrative seems more grounded in Jewish nationalism. And, if

donkey, then, for them would serve to affirm Jesus' kingship, not to counter or modify it (Menken, *Quotations*, 86-87, 93).

¹⁵² Lincoln, *Gospel*, 344-45.

¹⁵³ Trevor S. Luke, 'A Healing Touch for Empire: Vespasian's Wonders in Domitianic Rome', *Greece & Rome* 57.1 (2010): 77-106 (esp. 92 and 106).

¹⁵⁴ For a third century BCE synagogue (possibly even more than one) in Arsinoë/Krokodilopolis as well as evidence from 115-117 CE, see Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, trans. Robert Cornman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 88-89.

¹⁵⁵ Penelope Glare, 'The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe and the Imperial Cult', in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, ed. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994), 550-54 (552, 554).

Jewish elements are being set within an essentially Roman practice, there might be reason to interpret this narrative not just as an *adventus* but as a Roman triumph.¹⁵⁶ Jesus has just displayed his power over death and this, indeed, is what John says prompts the crowd to go out to meet him (12:17-18).¹⁵⁷ ‘The ensuing discourse makes clear that Jesus was in fact a warrior king, who had come to cast out “the ruler of this world” (John 12:31)’, as Koester correctly notes.¹⁵⁸ There is, certainly, an implicit rejection of Rome in welcoming a Jewish miracle worker as the King of Israel without Rome’s approval. Thus, categorizing this scene as a Roman triumph enacted *by Jerusalem* seems to make sense.

However, the distinctive elements of a triumph are missing.¹⁵⁹ Jesus has no special dress, there are no spoils of war, and the only possible reference to captives is in verse 19: Ἴδε ὁ κόσμος ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν ‘Behold, the world has gone after him’ (author translation). This cannot refer to captives for three reasons. First, ‘the world’ in John includes the people that Jesus came to save, not to take captive (e.g., John 3:16).¹⁶⁰ Secondly, when ἀπέρχομαι or ἔρχομαι are used with ὀπίσω and a nominal elsewhere, the expression can have the sense of becoming ‘an adherent/follower’ (Matt 16:24; Mark 1:20; Luke 9:23; 14:27 and, somewhat similarly 21:8 and Jude 7), not simply coming after, for example, in time (Matt

¹⁵⁶ E.g., Brant, *John*, 189-90.

¹⁵⁷ Brown, *John*, 1.462. Others making this connection include Nonnus of Nisibis from the ninth century CE [*Commentary on the Gospel of Saint John*, trans. Robert W. Thomson, ed. James T. Robinson, Writings from the Islamic World 1 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 271], as well as Schnackenburg (*John*, 1.374). Bultmann sees this connection as an afterthought and distinguishes the crowd of v. 17 (from v. 9) from that of v. 18 (from v. 12) (*John*, 417, 419).

¹⁵⁸ Koester, *Symbolism*, 111.

¹⁵⁹ Josephus, *J.W.* 6.9.2 §417; 7.5.4-6 §126-57; Badian, ‘triumph’, *OCD*; Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, OCM (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 34-35; Emma Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 76-77; Kaimio, *Romans*, 44; Rudolf Haensch, ‘L’entrée par la mer dans l’antiquité’, in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, ed. Agnès Bérenger and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, De l’archéologie à l’histoire (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 91-99 (96). For a royal entrance, it was often the dress of the crowd that was emphasized in descriptions; sacrifices were part of both events (Perrin-Saminadayar, ‘Préparation’, 70-72). Note however, that in Philo’s description of the mocking of Agrippa at Alexandria, it is the dress of Carabbas that is emphasized, and the usual installation of statues in the temple is transformed into an act of desecration in the synagogue (*Flacc.* 36-42).

¹⁶⁰ Barrett has pointed out that the world is ‘the scene of the saving mission of Jesus’, which ‘is grounded in the love of God for the world’ (*Gospel*, 161). For more on this categorization of the world, see Lars Kierspel, *The Jews and the World in the Fourth Gospel: Parallelism, Function, and Context*, ed. Jörg Frey, WUNT 2.220 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 155-213.

3:11; Mark 1:7; John 1:15, 27, 30).¹⁶¹ Thirdly, in a Roman triumph, at least, the captives would parade in front of the *imperator*, not follow behind.¹⁶²

Jo-Ann Brant claims to follow Tertullian (*Cor.* 13.2) in characterizing John 12:12-15 as a Roman triumph, despite the lack of the requisite elements described above.¹⁶³ Yet Tertullian does not actually mention a ‘triumph’; that word is only a function of the English translation that Brant used. The Latin, *Dominus tuus, ubi secundum scripturam Hierusalem ingredi uoluit, nec asinum habuit priuatum* (‘Your Lord, when according to Scripture he wanted to enter Jerusalem, had no donkey of his own’, author translation), does not use that word or even that concept. Furthermore, the use of *ὑπαντάω* in John 12:18, not usually noted, forms an *inclusio* with the nominal form of the word in verse 13. Together, they characterize the narrative as a welcome such as an *adventus*, not as a military triumph.

What is peculiar about this *adventus*, though, is Jesus’ choice of mount: a donkey. This is almost unparalleled in Roman history, as far as I have found, except for an explanation by Plutarch that women caught in adultery in Cumae were forced to ride donkeys (Plutarch *Moralia* [The Greek Questions] 291.2). Bultmann connects the donkey with Dionysus, but it was his companion, Silenus, who rode one (Lucian, *Dionysus* 2, 4; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.399; 3.735-62).¹⁶⁴ Certainly for some ancient people, riding on a donkey would be shameful. Josephus tells of Mithradates who mounted a captive ‘naked upon an ass, which is considered the highest disgrace by the Parthians’ (*J.W.* 18.9.6 §356 [Feldman, LCL]). Although the disgrace probably came primarily from the involuntary nakedness, being forced to ride on the ass seems to add something to the humiliation or else one imagines he would be made to walk instead. Both Terence (after the Gospel of John) and Cicero (before)

¹⁶¹ *ἀπέρχομαι*, BDAG 102; *ὀπίσω*, BDAG 716. Elsewhere in John, *ὀπίσω* is used in John 1:27, 30 in the sense of ‘later in time’ and in the phrase *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω* with the adverbial sense of ‘back’ or ‘behind’.

¹⁶² For the place of the captives in a Roman triumph, see Eder, ‘triumph’, PC and especially Beard, *Triumph*, 81.

¹⁶³ Brant, *John*, 190.

¹⁶⁴ Bultmann, *John*, 418 n. 5; van den Heever, ‘Space’, 236.

use *asinus* as a derogatory epithet, so for Romans, as well, the animal was not highly regarded.¹⁶⁵

That the recipient of an *adventus* rode in on a donkey would likely create some cognitive dissonance for a Roman auditor. Yet, although the donkey would be unexpected, a Roman *adventus* already mixed ‘les thèmes anciens de victoire, triomphe, et paix. Elle soulignait les qualités martiales de l'empereur, mais il commençait aussi, avec la nouvelle année, un âge de paix’.¹⁶⁶ Perhaps the choice of a donkey, which he mounts ‘*after* the crowd’s acclamation’, along with the enacted *recusatio* when the Johannine Jesus hides at the end of his speech (12:36), would simply emphasize Jesus’ modesty and thus his fitness to rule.¹⁶⁷

Cultural units from the Jewish encyclopaedia, however, do not suggest such an attenuation of Jesus’ supremacy. During the Amorite Period (2000-1600 BCE), in royal entrances in Mesopotamia, ‘[l]a mule reste ... l’animal royal’.¹⁶⁸ This was true for ancient Israel as well.¹⁶⁹ Thus John’s depiction is not that of a ‘nonviolent Jesus on the donkey’ unlike, for example, Luke, who makes explicit the donkey’s connotations of peace

¹⁶⁵ Terence, *Andr.* 935; *Eun.* 595; *Haut.* 875; Cicero, *Pis.* 30.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Ralph Mathisen, ‘L’*adventus* consulaire pendant l’Antiquité tardive’, in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, ed. Agnès Bérenger and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, De l’archéologie à l’histoire (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 139-56 (142). Note that this is a peace built on violence, which will be discussed in Section 7.1.2.

¹⁶⁷ Jey J. Kanagaraj, ‘Jesus the King, Merkabah Mysticism and the Gospel of John’, *Tyndale Bulletin* 47.2 (1996): 349-66 (353). Although Koester thinks these refusals concern the inappropriateness of a political kingdom, his analysis rightly notes the retreats at the end of both passages (‘Why’, 166-67). The second is usually not noted by commentators.

¹⁶⁸ Pascal Butterlin, ‘Entrées royales en Mésopotamie: les limites d’une démarche’, in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, ed. Agnès Bérenger and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, De l’archéologie à l’histoire (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 25-46 (35).

¹⁶⁹ Menken cites 2 Kgdms 13:29 (ἡμίονος); 16:2 (ὑποζύγιον); 3 Kgdms 1:38, 44 (ἡμίονος) (Menken, *Quotations*, 92).. Other references can be added: Judges 5:10; 10:4; 12:14; 2 Sam. 17:23; 19:26 (Bernard, *St. John*, 2.426).

(19:38).¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Jesus' actions do not seem to surprise the crowd.¹⁷¹ The effect intended for the auditors, then, might be the entrance of a Semitic king who saves by his power, rather than of a surprisingly humble Roman magistrate. It depends on the encyclopaedia most prominent in the auditor's abduction. This may explain the variety of interpretations attached to the scene.¹⁷² Yet, the correct encyclopaedia is given in the text. The narrator steps in to explain: he rides on a donkey in fulfilment of prophecy (12:14-15).¹⁷³

Ultimately, I return to Michael Labahn's conclusions discussed above. The context of John 12:12-15 is Jewish and the encyclopaedia that should inform its expressions is the Jewish one. Yet, once the Roman encyclopaedia is highlighted in John 18:28—37, Roman-aware auditors of the Fourth Gospel could reframe that previous narrative according to the claims of Jesus as a βασιλεύς. He is welcomed as a Roman ruler should be; he is acclaimed by the people as a Roman ruler would be, and he responds by accepting the acclamations in a demonstration of humility. And it is this very humility in the face of acclamations, as has already been discussed with respect to John 6:15, that characterizes Jesus, when seen from the vantage point of a hearer's abductive process through the Johannine trial narrative, as one virtuous enough to take up the mantle of Roman rule. In other words Jesus is finally depicted as a ruler in the Jewish encyclopaedia *and* in the Roman one.

¹⁷⁰ Crossan, *God*, 238. Ridderbos does not dichotomize between a political and some other kind of ruler, but notes that 'riding a donkey serves not as a criticism of and warning against nationalistic monarchy but as a message of salvation, the message that from such a king seated on a donkey the people can expect peace and well-being' (*Gospel*, 423). The dual nature of Jesus' kingship means that evaluations that 'Jesus intended to present himself as a king but ... to define his kingship as one of peace' (Keener, *John*, 2.868) have to be nuanced in view of the condemnation promised in such passages as John 3:18 [Adele Reinhartz, 'Love, Hate, and Violence in the Gospel of John', in *Violence in the New Testament*, ed. Shelly Matthews and E. Leigh Gibson (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 109-123 (114-19)]. Keener himself notes that the connections with rulers and victorious generals means that 'the observers might not understand the entry in peaceful terms' (*John*, 2.868). It is uncertain, then, why one might expect the disciples, the author(s) of John, or its hearers to do so.

¹⁷¹ William 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, SBL Resources for Biblical Study 81 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 47-74 (61); citing Brant, *John*, 191.

¹⁷² See, for example, the short summary of views in Daise, 'Quotations', 82 n. 21.

¹⁷³ Sheridan, *Retelling*, 219. Brown, for example, notes that the phrase from Zechariah that mentions humility is absent from John's quotation (*John*, 1.462).

4.4. Jesus as Caesar in John 18:38—19:22

Once Jesus has been connected with Caesar in the first ten verses of the Johannine trial narrative, two other terms in John 18:38—19:22 will reinforce that connection: υἱὸς θεοῦ (19:7) and ἐξουσία (19:10-11). Each one has a Roman cultural unit that will be blown up by the Roman *Haftpunkte* and the continuing Roman abduction through the Johannine trial narrative.

4.4.1. Jesus as *divi filius*

Already in this chapter, I have noted two examples of scenes where Roman and Jewish titles and trappings are presented together. The Samaritans, in a passage full of primarily Jewish-Samaritan referents, call Jesus the Saviour of the world, a Roman title for Caesar.¹⁷⁴ Jesus' entry into Jerusalem can be understood as a Roman *adventus* in which Jesus is acclaimed as a King of Israel.¹⁷⁵ Earlier in the Gospel (1:49), furthermore, Nathanael calls Jesus both the Son of God and the King of Israel.

These last two titles are also joined in Ps 2:6-7.¹⁷⁶ Schnackenburg argues that the reversal of their order from the Psalm (king-son) to the Gospel (son-king) speaks against any intended reference, and he contrasts this verse with John 11:27 where the order is Christ-son (taking 'King of Israel' in the Psalm as a Messianic reference).¹⁷⁷ I am not convinced that the order of the titles in 1:49 precludes an allusion. However, whether or not the Psalm reference is constitutive to either verse in the Fourth Gospel, the joining of these two titles at the beginning of the narrative sets up a son-king cultural unit in the universe of discourse of the Gospel that resonates within both Jewish and Roman encyclopaedias. This cultural unit is then repeated in the woman of Sychar narrative (Christ-saviour of the world) and

¹⁷⁴ Section 4.3.4.

¹⁷⁵ Section 4.3.4.

¹⁷⁶ Bernard, *St. John*, 64. Bultmann in fact saw 'Son of God' as a synonymous title added by the Evangelist to 'King of Israel' in the source (*John*, 104 n. 7; 107).

¹⁷⁷ Schnackenburg, *John*, 1.318.

perhaps in the entry into Jerusalem (whose only Roman element, however, is the entry itself). Such a conjoining occurs again in the trial scene when Jesus is dressed as a Roman emperor but called ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (19:2-5).¹⁷⁸

Besides containing appeals to multiple cultural units, these same verses define Jesus' identity in terms that include references to a 'Königsreichmetapher' or a 'Königstitel' and also all includes a phrase such as '[k]omm und sieh!' (1:46) in their contexts.¹⁷⁹ Busse lists John 1:46 and 12:20-22, but to these John 12:15 and 19:4, 5, 14 can be added.¹⁸⁰ So the very narratives that contain Signs from multiple encyclopaedias occur in passages that contain appeals to look at Jesus. The way this repeated multicultural appeal connects with the stated purpose of the Fourth Gospel (20:30-31) will be mentioned further in Chapter 6.¹⁸¹ In this section, I want to argue that the Johannine trial narrative blows up the Roman cultural unit of one of these titles, 'Son of God' in 19:7.¹⁸²

Of course, the topic of Jesus as the Son of God goes far beyond the five uses of the phrase (1:49; 5:25; 11:27; 19:7; 20:31) and encompasses all of the references to Jesus as the sent Son, and to God as his sending Father.¹⁸³ Furthermore, since the meaning of the Sign /Son of God/ has to be determined by the cultural unit blown up by the context, it does not necessarily refer to Caesar every time it occurs, despite the fact that he, too, was a son of a god.¹⁸⁴ In fact, Keener argues that because John's Gospel is so rooted in Jewish thought, 'an

¹⁷⁸ These verses will be the subject of Chapter 5.

¹⁷⁹ Busse, 'Metaphorik', 281-82.

¹⁸⁰ Busse, 'Metaphorik', 281-82. John 12:13 might be added as well in the sense that the people are going out to meet, and therefore to see, Jesus.

¹⁸¹ Section 6.1.1.

¹⁸² For other cultural units see, e.g., Keener, *John*, 1.291-97.

¹⁸³ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 65-66; Andrew T. Lincoln, 'A Life of Jesus as Testimony: The Divine Courtroom and the Gospel of John', in *The Divine Courtroom in Comparative Perspective* ed. Ari Mermelstein and Shalom E. Holtz, BibInt 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 145-66 (153). There is another use possible in 1:34 but that will not be debated in this thesis.

¹⁸⁴ Andrew Chester, 'High Christology—Whence, When and Why?', *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 22-50 (27). Note that in his list of titles, Pancaro classifies ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ purely within 'a Jewish setting' and confounds this with 'the messianic terminology of primitive Christianity' without discussing the extra-Jewish connections of some of the titles that John uses, and omitting discussion of ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου completely (Law, 244). Van Tilborg, on the other hand, notes that 'son of God, God, Lord, Saviour' are all 'practically exclusively reserved for the emperors' (*Reading*, 53).

originally non-Jewish Hellenistic understanding of the phrase is unlikely'.¹⁸⁵ Certainly father and son language is sometimes used in the Gospel to define and clarify Jesus' identity, with references from a Jewish encyclopaedia, such as those listed by Jewett: 2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7; 89:26-27; 4QFlor 1:10-11.¹⁸⁶ And in 19:7, one might think that the phrase should be read with a cultural unit from the Jewish encyclopaedia, since the accusation that Jesus is 'Son of God' is spoken by 'the Jews' who argue that the claim violates their own law.

Yet in 19:7, unlike in the four other uses of the phrase, the title has no articles: υἱὸς θεοῦ.¹⁸⁷ C. H. Dodd reasoned that 'John's readers in the Graeco-Roman world would understand that Pilate shared the superstitious regard entertained by many pagans for the θεῖος ἄνθρωπος'.¹⁸⁸ He therefore dismissed as 'unlikely' any connection to the *divi filius* used for the emperor in inscriptions because 'Pilate does not treat the claim to be θεοῦ υἱός as another form of the claim to be βασιλεύς in rivalry to Caesar'.¹⁸⁹ However, Chapter 6 will argue that 'the Jews' do bring up this claim to Pilate specifically for its Roman imperial cultural unit in order to incite him to action, and that it is, indeed, this comparison with Caesar that both causes fear in Pilate and references the theme of the entire trial narrative: loyalty.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Keener, *John*, 1.294.

¹⁸⁶ For Jewish cultural units for father-son language, see, e.g., discussions in Lincoln on John 1:51 and 8:33-44 (*Gospel*, 66, 270-74, see also 121). For Robert Jewett's list, see *Romans: A Commentary*, ed. Helmut Koester, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 104-105. Note that Jewett also cites 1QSa 2:11-12 but the text there is damaged and disputed [James H. Charlesworth, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 117 n. 64]. For some thoughts on broader cultural contexts of 'Son of God', see G. B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 194-96. However, Caird does not seem aware of the ancient rhetoric that allows for multiple divine fathers (195). On that, see below in this section. For the development within ancient Judaism of the king as Son of God, see Adela Yarbro Collins, and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 1-100.

¹⁸⁷ Dodd, *Tradition*, 114. For a discussion of the possibility that this is a Latinism, see Section 3.2.2.

¹⁸⁸ Dodd, *Tradition*, 114.

¹⁸⁹ Dodd, *Tradition*, 114 and 114 n. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Chapter 6, especially Section 6.2.2.3.

There is a somewhat parallel usage that Barrett notes in John 5:27.¹⁹¹ In that verse, in response to ‘the Jews’ who question him about working on the Sabbath, Jesus answers, within a longer speech, that God ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. The noun υἱός might still be definite in this sentence since it comes before the copula.¹⁹² And Barrett suggests that the absence of the articles points both to ‘son of Man’ in Dan 7:13 and also to a qualitative meaning emphasizing Jesus’ humanity, so that ‘the anarthrous phrase’ in 19:7 has a similar ‘qualitative sense’.¹⁹³ It is possible that some auditors of John’s Gospel would have heard the phrase υἱὸς θεοῦ as such, as an expression of Jesus’ essential deity. However, it is the Roman cultural unit of this phrase that is relevant to my analysis.

Adolf Deissmann noted, ‘υἱὸς θεοῦ is a translation of the *divi filius* which is ... frequent in Latin Inscriptions’ and it is to that cultural unit that Roman-aware auditors would be attuned.¹⁹⁴ Yet this conclusion is not without problems. ‘[S]on of god’, as Thatcher explains, ‘was the titular name of the first true Roman emperor, Caesar Augustus (Octavian), who had been proclaimed *divi filius* (son of the deified Julius Caesar) by the Roman senate in 27 BCE’.¹⁹⁵ This title was not unique to Augustus. Zeller has rightly disproved Tae Hun Kim’s assertion to that effect, and Zeller also emphasizes that ‘the title *divi filius* or θεοῦ υἱός

¹⁹¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 262.

¹⁹² ‘In der Mehrzahl der Fälle steht das Prädikatsnomen mit Artikel, wenn die Kopula vorausgeht; ohne Artikel steht es häufiger, wenn die Kopula folgt’ (BDR §273). Furthermore, the absence of an article for υἱός would likely entail the absence of an article for ἄνθρωπος, although Apollonius’ Canon does have exceptions [Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, Biblical Languages: Greek 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 111-12; Sanford D. Hull, ‘Exceptions to Apollonius’ Canon in the New Testament: A Grammatical Study’, *Trinity Journal* 7.1 (1986): 3-16]. Note that Winter misunderstands the grammar of the article (*Divine*, 71).

¹⁹³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 262, 542.

¹⁹⁴ Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*, trans. Alexander Grieve (Winona Lake, IN: Alpha, 1923), 167. As Keener rightly notes, Deissmann begins his discussion by saying that the expression ‘goes back to an “Old Testament” form’, but presumably he is distinguishing between historical transmission and authorial composition (*John*, 294; citing Deissmann, *Bible*, 166).

¹⁹⁵ Thatcher, *Greater*, 85. See also the excellent discussion of the Roman concept of *divi filius* in Michael Peppard, *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 46-85.

only legitimates the successor of a consecrated emperor without divinizing him'.¹⁹⁶ Only after apotheosis could emperors be called θεός, thus allowing each successive emperor to become 'Son of God' as well, as van Tilborg demonstrates from Ephesian inscriptions.¹⁹⁷ However, Mowery highlights a serious concern: only in Matthew does θεοῦ υἱός occur, the phrase with a 'prepositive genitive θεοῦ' that exactly corresponds to word order of the Latin *divi filius*.¹⁹⁸

Although this observation strengthens Mowery's argument for Roman resonances in Matt 14:33; 27:43, 54, it does not disprove them for υἱός θεοῦ in John and Mark—nor does Mowery argue that it does.¹⁹⁹ First, ancient use was not completely uniform, and Mowery himself offers a 'rare exception': *IGR* 4.1173 uses the dative to dedicate the inscription to Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεῷ, υἱῷ Θεοῦ. In Chapter 5, furthermore, I shall discuss the way in which textual markers that evoke other texts do not have to be exact quotations in order to function as literary allusions, and that insight applies to υἱός θεοῦ/*divi filius* as well. Also, the words υἱός and θεός do frequently occur in that order in inscriptions, although not as translations of *divi filius*, and with υἱός in the dative. One example is an inscription (*Iaph2007* 5.207) with a dedication to Tiberius, found in Aphrodisias and dated to the early second century CE. It reads, in part: Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ υἱῷ θεοῦ Νέρβα [υἱ]ωνῷ Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ ('to the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the god Trajan, grandson of the god Nerva' [author translation]). The word θεός appears twice: once in the phrase θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ υἱῷ ('son of the god Trajan') and once in the phrase

¹⁹⁶ Tae Hun Kim, 'The Anarthrous Υἱός Θεοῦ in Mark 15,39 and the Roman Imperial Cult', *Bib* 79.2 (1998): 221-41 (225, 230-38); Dieter Zeller, 'New Testament Christology in Its Hellenistic Reception', *NTS* 47.3 (2001): 312-333 (332 and 332 n. 109). Robert Mowery, too, contradicts Kim ['Son of God in Roman Imperial Titles and Matthew', *Bib* 83.1 (2002): 100-110 (104)].

¹⁹⁷ Tilborg, *Reading*, 41-47. For examples of emperors called 'Son of God' in Ephesus, see Tilborg, *Reading*, 39.

¹⁹⁸ Mowery, 'Son', 101, 109.

¹⁹⁹ Mowery, 'Son', 109.

θεοῦ Νέρβα [υἱ]ωνῶ ('grandson of the god Nerva'). However, because these phrases occur consecutively, υἱῶ and θεοῦ also appear adjacent to one another in that order. This is quite a frequent occurrence in the titles of later Roman emperors; indeed, the juxtaposition occurs in the nominative case as well: υἱὸς θεοῦ (e.g., *I Aph2007* 8.34; *AE* 1989, 0683; *IG* 7.69). The argument that a literate author who meant *divi filius* would translate it as υἱὸς θεοῦ because of a misreading of inscriptions is not a strong one, and would not be mentioned in this thesis except that υἱὸς θεοῦ and υἱῶ θεοῦ occur in precisely the social stratum of Roman retainers (such as stonecutters) posited as auditors of the Fourth Gospel.²⁰⁰ And because of the Roman *Haftpunkte* in the Johannine trial narrative as well as the lack of articles in this phrase (and also Pilate's fearful reaction), I shall blow up the Roman cultural unit for the meaning of υἱὸς θεοῦ in John 19:7 when I provide an exegetical interpretant in Chapter 6.

Warren Carter also argues that the term 'Son of God' creates an opposition between Jesus and the emperor.²⁰¹ However, he adds that there is also an opposition between fathers: one who has existed from the beginning of the world and one who was only recently deified.²⁰² Since, as Carter notes, '[a]ntiquity is authority', Jesus wins this agonistic competition.²⁰³ However, Carter's argument does not take into account the constructed lineages of Roman emperors.²⁰⁴ The deified Julius Caesar was not Augustus' only father, although he was one of them (*IG* 12.6.1.161).²⁰⁵ Horace prays, 'What the glorious descendant of Anchises and Venus asks of you with white oxen, may he obtain' (*Saec.* 49-

²⁰⁰ Section 3.1.4.

²⁰¹ Carter, *John*, 194-95.

²⁰² Carter, *John*, 195. The distinction between deified and divine is made relevant to this term also by Karl Galinsky, 'The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?', in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, ed. Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed, SBL WGRWSup 5 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 1-21 (17).

²⁰³ Carter, *John*, 195.

²⁰⁴ Peppard, *Son*, 48.

²⁰⁵ *IG* 12.6.1.161 is a 8-9 CE marble stele on the island of Samos that, reconstructed, in part states Αὐτο]-κράτωρ Κ[αῖσ]αρ [θεοῦ Ἰο]υλ[ίου υἱὸς Σεβαστός]. Dodd mentions this connection as well and Zanker shows the way Octavian was represented as *divi filius* on coins (Dodd, *Interpretation*, 250; Zanker, *Power*, 33-36). See also Sabine Grebe who connects Augustus' authority to his kingly forbears ('Authority', 51, 60).

51 [Rudd, LCL]). And Ovid, as he draws to the end of *Metamorphosis*, describes the deification of Julius Caesar in these terms:

Scarce had he [*genitor*, 15.807, in other words Jupiter] spoken when fostering Venus took her place within the senate-house, unseen of all, caught up the passing soul of her Caesar from his body, and not suffering it to vanish into air, she bore it towards the stars of heaven. And as she bore it she felt it glow and burn, and released it from her bosom. Higher than the moon it mounted up and, leaving behind it a fiery train, gleamed as a star. And now, beholding the good deeds of his son [Octavius], he [Julius] confesses that they are greater than his own, and rejoices to be surpassed by him. And, though the son forbids that his own deeds be set above his father's, still fame, unfettered and obedient to no one's will, exalts him spite of his desire, and in this one thing opposes his commands (15.843-54 [Miller & Goold, LCL]).

This passage demonstrates the connection between Jupiter, Venus, and the deified Julius Caesar and Octavius. (It also brings up value of humility as was described earlier in this chapter.²⁰⁶) Furthermore, Julius Caesar is not described as a 'dead emperor' (*pace* Carter), but as a living member of the heavenly witnesses to Octavius.²⁰⁷ A few lines later, Ovid describes the proper spheres of each: 'Jupiter controls the heights of heaven and the kingdoms of the triformed universe; but the earth is under Augustus' sway. Each is both sire (*pater*) and ruler (*rector*)' (858-60 [Miller & Goold, LCL]).²⁰⁸ Augustus' rule is thus made parallel to Jupiter's.

Helen Bond notes also that 'Greek and Roman mythology contains numerous examples of gods taking on human form or begetting children'.²⁰⁹ This extended the possibilities for the 'Son of God' reference beyond one's immediate or even adopted mother and father. Suetonius repeats the story that Augustus' mother was impregnated by Apollo (*Aug.* 994.4). In this way, Augustus could be *divi filius* in more senses than one, and his 'father' was not only the deified Julius, but also Apollo and his 'mother' was Venus.²¹⁰ The

²⁰⁶ Section 4.3.1.

²⁰⁷ Carter, *John*, 307.

²⁰⁸ See further on the connections between the emperor and the gods, Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 182, 185-88, 191, 196-206.

²⁰⁹ Bond, *Pilate*, 187.

²¹⁰ See further Zanker, *Power*, 33-37, 49-53.

deification of each Roman emperor, in turn, provided the rationale for the new emperor's own connections to his divinized father and his god-ancestors.²¹¹ That Jesus is said to have claimed the title υἱὸς θεοῦ does not in itself position him *above* Caesar. However, it does implicitly compare him to the emperor, strengthening the correlation begun in 18:33.²¹²

4.4.2. The ἐξουσία of Jesus

Another word with a Roman cultural unit also strengthens this correlation. The term ἐξουσία is especially highlighted in John 19:10-11 by its use three times in two verses. Although each time it is part of the phrase ἐξουσίαν ἔχω, its meaning cannot be reduced to what Barrett calls 'a Johannine idiom', 'to be able', since even Barrett interprets John 10:17 and the textual variant in 7:1 according to that idiom, but in 19:10 as *postestas* and in 19:11 as referencing (for him, in a theological-political contrast) the absolute authority of God.²¹³ A 'Johannine idiom' that is only applicable in two out of four instances cannot be called Johannine. Furthermore, in verse 11, the ἐξουσία that Jesus references is not that of God, but (as in verse 10) that of Pilate.

Instead, following the approach adopted in this thesis, a Roman encyclopaedia will be investigated to discover the way Romans conceived of ἐξουσία. When the word is used in the Greek version of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*, it translates the Latin *postestas* seven times (4.4; 6.1, 2; 10.1; 15:2; 34.1, 3) and *imperium* twice (8.3, 4; ὑπατικῇ ἐξουσίαι for *consulari cum imperio*).²¹⁴ Lewis and Short suggest, however, that *imperium* and *postestas* are practically synonyms in political domains so that may explain why ἐξουσία translates both

²¹¹ Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions*, trans. Brian McNeil (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 293, 309, 312.

²¹² See also Tilborg, *Reading*, 54-55.

²¹³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 310, 377, 542-43.

²¹⁴ Note that although by the late first century CE *imperium* could mean 'territorial empire', ἐξουσία could not refer to a territory (Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 27-28; Harrill, 'Paul', 289). On this, see also the variety of translations for *imperium* in Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.782 and 795, for which Fairclough uses 'empire' and Williams prefers 'power' and 'dominion' [Fairclough, LCL; Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. Theodore Chickering Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910)].

of these terms.²¹⁵ Another Latin term, *auctoritas*, translated as ἀξίωμα, is brought into the discussion by Lance Richey because Augustus makes it clear that while he rules by *auctoritas*, *potestas* is something different.²¹⁶ *Auctoritas* is grounded in the personal attributes of the ruler that demonstrate to the Roman people one's fitness to rule, thus gaining the consensus of the people discussed above.²¹⁷ However, *potestas* (and, see below, *imperium*) is delegated power.²¹⁸

With regard to its use in John 19:11, Jesus reminds Pilate that his ἐξουσία comes from above. This reference to a source for ἐξουσία corresponds best, then, to a cultural unit that emphasizes delegated power, particularly the Roman conception of *imperium*.²¹⁹ This is one of the possible cultural units of the Greek encyclopaedia as well, that is, what BDAG calls 'ruling power' or 'official power' (see, for example, Josephus, *J.W.* 2.8.1 §117 discussed below).²²⁰ This nuances somewhat Conway's definition of Jesus' power in the Fourth Gospel as always ἐξουσία, 'absolute, ruling, authoritative power—the kind of power reserved for men who have proved themselves as men'.²²¹ She does not connect this with either the Latin *potestas* or *imperium* nor mention delegation. Yet John characterizes Jesus as careful, throughout the Fourth Gospel, to ground his own authority in his sonship to, and sending by, God (5:27; 10:18; 17:1-3).²²² And in John 19:10-11 in particular, the Gospel describes a scene in which Jesus and Pilate contrast their sources of authority: Caesar and God.²²³

²¹⁵ 'potestas', *LD*, 1408. See Mason, *Greek Terms*, 133-34.

²¹⁶ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 271-72; Richey, *Roman*, 29-34.

²¹⁷ Section 4.3.4.

²¹⁸ 'potestas', *OLD*, 1559-60; Grebe, 'Authority', 45-46; Harrill, 'Paul', 289.

²¹⁹ Others who translate ἐξουσία as 'authority' in John include Barrett, *Gospel*, 163, 542; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 468. Tolmie, too, emphasizes the delegated aspect of ἐξουσία in this passage [D. Francois Tolmie, 'Die vertaling van ἐξουσία [eksousia] in Johannes 1:12', *HvTSt* 68.1 (2012) 5/7].

²²⁰ 'ἐξουσία', BDAG 353.

²²¹ Conway, *Behold*, 151.

²²² Although he uses the word 'power' rather than 'authority' in his discussion, Koester provides a similar analysis ('Why', 73-74).

²²³ This contrast will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Richey's discussion on this issue is helpful, but he goes too far when he suggests that the use of the word ἐξουσία produces an implicit *contrast* with 'authority'.²²⁴ Greek, Latin and English cultural units are somewhat muddled in his discussion. If the contrast between *auctoritas* and *potestas* was 'in Roman political thought, if not always in texts', it is hard to understand how it might be implicitly evoked in the Fourth Gospel by the use of only ἐξουσία, especially since he asserts that 'the most frequent meaning of exousia is imperium'.²²⁵

Furthermore, the Gospel of John does not always contrast virtuous influence with delegated power since it presents Jesus to Roman-aware auditors as one who does have some of the virtues that would lead to *auctoritas*, such as his humble willingness to give up power (*recusatio*).²²⁶ It is true, as Richey notes, that in John, Jesus' ἐξουσία is not said to *flow* from his 'personal influence', but he then argues against translating ἐξουσία as 'authority' on the basis of John's Christology, rather than deriving John's Christology from word use in the text.²²⁷ In fact, when he brings the *TDNT* definition into the argument to demonstrate that Jesus' ἐξουσία is independent and absolute, he is committing an 'illegitimate totality transfer', the mistake of adducing word meaning by importing cultural units from *all* of the encyclopaedias in which it is used.²²⁸ He thus finds himself arguing against the Gospel text itself that describes Jesus' ἐξουσία as delegated by the Father (5:26-27; 10:18; 17:1-2).²²⁹

²²⁴ Richey, *Roman*, 78-79. Richey uses ἀξίωμα as the Greek equivalent of *auctoritas*, but this is a second century development related in particular to the office of bishop (*Roman*, 73 n. 13). Also, Richey argues against 'authority' rather than *auctoritas* which tends to confuse the argument because in this case it is the Roman concept of *auctoritas* that he is referring to (77 where his 'transferable possession' should reference 35). Finally, Richey is incorrect when he argues for the absence of this contrast in any New Testament text (Richey, *Roman*, 80-81; Harrill, 'Paul').

²²⁵ Richey, *Roman*, 76; Mason, *Greek Terms*, 133.

²²⁶ Section 4.3.2.

²²⁷ Richey, *Roman*, 77.

²²⁸ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 218.

²²⁹ See similarly Schnackenburg who imports the concept of 'conferred by God' from its use in the LXX into the meaning of the word (*John*, 2.302). Instead, as in Chapter 2, this contributes only one of the cultural units of the word and its presence in any given text must be defended through abduction (Section 2.1.1).

Finally, although ἐξουσία ‘comes closest to being a precise and technical term’ for translating *imperium*, this Roman concept is not discussed by Richey at all.²³⁰

Jesus’ words reminding Pilate of the source of his delegated authority would come as no surprise to Roman-aware auditors. They simply replicate the Roman encyclopaedia of delegated power in a conversation with one such delegate.²³¹ The discussion is about the formal rank and concomitant rights granted to a person by ‘governmental magistracies, social rank, or family name’.²³² And Jesus’ reminder that Pilate’s ἐξουσία is ἄνωθεν (v. 11) fits well with Roman conceptions of power, since *imperium* was delegated power also.²³³ Piper misses this possibility when he declares of Pilate, ‘for a purported authority he lacks real authority’.²³⁴ One can have authority—in other words delegated power—without having ultimate power. Josephus, for example, tells of Coponius who is sent to Judaea, ‘Entrusted by Augustus with full powers (ἐξουσία), including the infliction of capital punishment’ (*J.W.* 2.8.1 §2.117 [Thackeray, LCL]).²³⁵ Pilate’s power, like that of Coponius, is delegated to him from Caesar.²³⁶ Jesus’ power is delegated to him from God (5:26-27; 10:18; 17:1-2).²³⁷ So what is the relationship between the two?

A reference to the authority given to Pilate by Caesar does not preclude a reference to god—either the gods who legitimated the Romans’ authority or the God who legitimated Jesus. Both are delegated power, an important element of the cultural unit of *imperium*. The

²³⁰ Mason, *Greek Terms*, 134. See Schnackenburg: ‘In Jn 19:10 ἐξ[ουσία], has, in Pilate’s terms, the meaning first of (delegated) authority and official power, roughly in the sense of *imperium*’ (*John*, 3.452 n. 81). *Pace* Schnackenburg, however, Jesus does not restrict Pilate to the ‘freedom and ability to act’. It is uncertain, in any case, how ‘freedom and ability to act’ could preclude ‘the actual exercise of power’ (3.452-53 n. 81). Instead, he reminds Pilate of the source of his power, Caesar.

²³¹ Harrill, ‘Paul’, 297.

²³² Harrill, ‘Paul’, 296-97.

²³³ Matthew L. Skinner, *The Trial Narratives: Conflict, Power, and Identity in the New Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2010), 15-16.

²³⁴ Ronald A. Piper, ‘The Characterisation of Pilate and the Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel’, in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 121-62 (159).

²³⁵ Bultmann, *John*, 662 n. 1.

²³⁶ *Pace* Brown who thinks that there is ‘[o]bviously’ no reference here to Caesar (*John*, 2.878).

²³⁷ The disciples, too, are sent with *imperium* (20:21-23).

imperium sine fine was given by Jupiter to the emperor, the *princeps* of the Roman people, and Pilate was given *imperium* by Caesar over ‘the Jews’.²³⁸ Thus, Lincoln is correct when he points out that the ‘Roman trial is here put in cosmic perspective’, although he only discusses the cosmic perspective rooted in the Hebrew Bible. Rome has a cosmic perspective as well, with prophecies and mandates from the gods, just as Israel does.²³⁹ However, although Roman-aware auditors would recognize Caesar and the Roman gods as referents for Pilate’s authority, this does not preclude the more usual interpretation of John 19:11 as a reminder that Pilate’s power comes from God.²⁴⁰

Matthew Skinner suggests that Pilate’s authority limited by Jesus in verse 11 ‘refers not to the authority vested in the governor’s office, but to Pilate’s particular authority over Jesus in this instance, authority to release or to crucify him’.²⁴¹ This is because ‘[t]he neuter participle *δεδομένον* in 19:11 reveals that Jesus is not talking about political authority (*ἐξουσία*, a feminine noun) in a general sense’.²⁴² I am not convinced that the neuter participle has this effect. However, the word order in 19:11, where *κατ’ ἐμοῦ* is between *ἐξουσίαν* and *οὐδεμίαν*, does keep the focus on authority over Jesus specifically, not authority in general.

This nuances claims such as Jason Ripley’s that ‘John’s Jesus subverts the Roman imperial theology’.²⁴³ John 19:11 does not set up a ‘confrontation’ that ‘revolves around the

²³⁸ Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.279. Susan Braund suggests that this refers to an absence of limits of either time or space [‘4. Analysis of Aeneid Books 7-9 (January 30, 2007)’, in *Virgil’s Aeneid: Anatomy of a Classic*, Stanford on iTunes U (2007)]. This phrase cannot be conflated with Rom 13:1 (Brown, *John*, 2.892-93). Pace, e.g., Bernard and others who sees this as a reference to the concept that all power is delegated by God such as is expressed in Rom 13:1 (Bernard, *St. John*, 2.619; Barrett, *Gospel*, 543; Keener, *John*, 2.1127; Carter, *John*, 308; Meye Thompson, *John*, 385). Also pace Blinzler who, rather than looking to Rom 13:1, suggests this as a reminder not of Pilate’s responsibility to God but of his powerlessness before the will of God (*Trial*, 232). Note that Blinzler somehow does not exonerate ‘the Jews’ in the same way but holds them to be more guilty than Pilate (19:11) because they ‘are striving for the death of the Messiah purely out of hate and wickedness’ (232). If this is the meaning of the text then the Gospel of John is inherently anti-Semitic, but another reading will be proposed in Chapter 7. On these proposals, I simply note that although Romans understand Caesar to be appointed by the gods, Pilate is more immediately responsible to Caesar than to the gods. Van Tilborg notes this as well, even though he ultimately sees a reference to God’s power over all (*Reading*, 172, 216).

²³⁹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 132. See Chapter 7 for more on the Roman cosmic perspective.

²⁴⁰ For the more usual interpretation, see, e.g., Brown, *John*, 2.892-93; Duke, *Irony*, 133-34; Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 98; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 468; Carter, *John*, 308.

²⁴¹ Skinner, *Trial*, 100.

²⁴² Skinner, *Trial*, 179 n. 32.

²⁴³ Ripley, ‘Behold’, 231.

issue of who has authority', as Stan Harstine similarly proposes.²⁴⁴ To suggest that the central question is whether 'Pilate [will] accept Jesus' authority as king' is to raise the question of whether Pilate might develop faith in Jesus, a question that I shall suggest is not of interest in this Gospel.²⁴⁵ Rensberger goes farther and suggests that Jesus 'in the end strips [Pilate] of the authority he thinks is his'.²⁴⁶ Instead, the argument in this section has suggested that the Johannine Jesus reminds Pilate of Caesar, while at the same time John reminds his hearers of God. The two are not in stark opposition to each other; the peace of Rome is not, as Carter claims, 'contrary to that from God mediated by Jesus'.²⁴⁷ Rather Pilate's authority can stand (19:11); it has been granted to him. God has, for his own purposes, authorized Caesar's authorized agent.²⁴⁸ And at the same time, he has authorized Jesus as God's. Yet in this dual authorization a difference does emerge. To be authorized by Caesar is, for example, to be his imperial governor. To be authorized by a god is to be the emperor himself.

4.5. Conclusion

To read the Johannine trial narrative through the lens of the Roman encyclopaedia highlights the ambiguity of the cultural referent of what seems to be the main question debated by Pilate, 'the Jews', and Jesus: Is Jesus a βασιλεύς, and if so, of what kind? The cultural unit of the word within the Roman encyclopaedia includes the emperor, a local ruler, or a tyrant. And a good ruler, particularly the emperors as they sought to construct themselves as such,

²⁴⁴ Stan Harstine, 'The Fourth Gospel's Characterization of God: A Rhetorical Perspective', in *Characters and Characterization in the Gospel of John*, ed. Christopher W. Skinner, Library of New Testament Studies 461 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 131-46 (139).

²⁴⁵ Section 6.1.1; Harstine, 'Fourth', 139.

²⁴⁶ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 98.

²⁴⁷ Warren Carter, 'Social Identities, Subgroups, and John's Gospel: Jesus the Prototype and Pontius Pilate (John 18.28-19.16)', in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 235-51 (244).

²⁴⁸ Although van Tilborg discusses the opposition between Jesus and the emperor, he does not seem to see clearly the portrayal of Jesus as emperor (*Reading*, 172-73). See also his later discussion where he says, 'Jesus is made the king of Israel and against the background of the competition with the Roman emperor he is preferred' (213). Note that in this statement van Tilborg does not differentiate between the titles 'king of Israel' (John 1:49, 12:13) and 'king of the Jews' (in the Johannine trial before Pilate narrative).

demonstrated humility and rejected any appearance of grasping at power so that they might be seen to rule according to the consensus of the people and the gods.

John 18:33-37, when particularly verses 36 and 37 are read within a Roman encyclopaedia, suggests that Jesus has a claim to an imperial throne. And, noting the difficulty of abduction, I am suggesting that the Roman cultural units of two previous descriptions of Jesus would be brought in to aid in an understanding of Jesus as βασιλεύς: John 6:15 as a *recusatio* and John 12:12-19 as an *adventus*. This interpretation is not to be taken as providing the primary references of these passages—thus, previous interpretations grounded in the Jewish encyclopaedia still stand. However, once the Roman encyclopaedia is opened in John 18, Roman-aware auditors would recognize the relevance of those previous narratives. The *recusatio* in 6:15, rather than being in tension with Jesus' later acceptance of the title of βασιλεύς, combines with the acclamations of the people in the *adventus* and the approval of God to provide just the qualifications demanded by the Roman understanding of fitness to rule.²⁴⁹ And once Jesus has been introduced as an emperor, the imperial title 'Son of God' and the authorization for his rule are referenced in the subsequent narrative.

Although only briefly touched upon in this chapter, the differences between Jesus' rule and that of the emperor will be explored further in Chapter 7. First, however, I shall provide an interpretant for John 19:5 within the context of another section of the trial before Pilate (John 19:2-5) that references both Jewish and Roman cultural units. In so doing, I hope to show that an allusion to Vergil's *Aeneid* in John 19:5 elucidates further John's depiction of Jesus as βασιλεύς.

²⁴⁹ Heath describes tension between, for example, John 6:15 and 6:20 ('You Say', 241).

5. Presenting Jesus as Caesar in John 19:2-5

In Chapter 4, I argued that βασιλεύς has a cultural unit in the Roman encyclopaedia that refers to the emperor rather than to a king. This Roman cultural unit creates ambiguity in a narrative with Roman *Hauptpunkte* and blows up, for Roman-aware auditors, the possibility that Jesus is being presented as an emperor. Once this possibility is raised, previous passages (notably John 6:15 and 12:12-15) could be reinterpreted to emphasize Jesus' fitness to rule according to Roman standards, with humility, the consensus of God, and the consensus of the people.

Although other scholars have likened John 19:2-5 to an 'enthronement', I shall argue that instead these verses continue to use Roman cultural references to describe Jesus, and that Romans did not practise enthronements.¹ First, these verses mimic Roman troops who, by pledging their loyalty to their commander and calling him *imperator*, raise him as a contender for the office of *princeps*. The scene is made more vivid as well as more Roman by Jesus' purple robe and crown of thorns that reflect the accoutrements of a Roman triumph which, by the second century CE, were used by emperors in a variety of settings. This Roman mimicry is clothed in ironic mockery, thus veiling in a hidden transcript the image of Roman soldiers pledging loyalty to Jesus in the same way as they would pledge loyalty to the emperor. This suggests that one's loyalty to the Roman empire could have been another axis of intersectionality among the auditors of the Gospel of John.

The image of Jesus as Caesar is repeated in verse 5, as a Roman governor references the presentation of Augustus in the *Aeneid* to describe Jesus: Ἴδον ὁ ἄνθρωπος. I shall conclude this chapter with a semiotic analysis of this literary allusion that argues that the battered Jesus is not being humiliated by sarcastic comparison with the emperor, nor simply

¹ For van Tilborg, this is an 'enthronement' which seems quite odd since there is no throne (*Reading*, 214).

being equated with the emperor in a claim to power or status. Instead, John 19:2-5 communicates to Roman-aware auditors that, like Caesar, Jesus is a proper object of fidelity.

5.1. Pledging Faith: John 19:2-3

The scene in which Jesus and the Roman soldiers interact is usually taken to begin in 19:1.² I shall argue for a different structure in Chapter 6, but I note at this juncture that even if verse 1 is taken together with vv. 2-3, the beating itself is hardly discussed. It has been suggested on account of both the choice of words (*μαστιγῶ* as opposed to *φραγελλῶ*) and the position of the account midway through the trial that this is not as severe as the flagellation described by Matthew (27:26) and Mark (15:15).³ Most, however, agree that this flogging is just as severe.⁴ Furthermore, even a mild beating in the Roman world would be quite harsh.⁵ Regardless, the brief mention of the event, condensed even further by the causative use of a verb that combines Pilate's orders and the soldiers' actions into one (*ἐμαστίγωσεν*), contrasts with the much more extensive description of the mocking that follows.⁶ This has the effect of minimizing a treatment fit only for a slave, which would describe Jesus neither as *imperator* nor as glorified.⁷ As Dauer says: 'Doch auch hier verweilt Johannes nicht länger,

² See Section 6.2.

³ On the meaning of *μαστιγῶ*, see BDAG where it is equated with Luke's use of *παιδεύω* (23:16, 22) ('*μαστιγῶ*', BDAG, 620); Dodd, *Tradition*, 102. Sherwin-White, however, sees Luke's term as less severe. On the different kinds of Roman beatings, see A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, The Sarum Lectures 1960-1961 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1963), 27-28. Burkill is right to note, however, that Sherwin-White omits any discussion of Greek translations of *fustes*, *flagella* and *verbera* ['The Condemnation of Jesus: A Critique of Sherwin-White's Thesis', *NovT* 12.4 (1970): 321-42 (329)]. Brant (*John*, 245) equates *μαστιγῶ* with *excoriare*, which Sherwin-White does not discuss.

The possibility that *μαστιγῶ* (v. 1) and *ῥάπισμα* (v. 3) echo Is 50:6 will not be discussed in this thesis but these connections would likely be relevant for Jewish-aware auditors. See further Brown, *John*, 2.874, 836; Pancaro, *Law*, 349 n. 142; Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.254; Ridderbos, *Gospel*, 599 n. 102; Bond, *Pilate*, 183 n. 74.

⁴ Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 275, 275 n. 835; Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.254; Bond, *Pilate*, 182-83; Koester, 'Why', 164 n. 3.

⁵ Keener, *John*, 2.1118-20.

⁶ The causative use of verbs will be discussed in Section 6.2.2.4. This is *pace* Moore who both recognizes the causative use of the verb but still concludes that '[l]anguage itself, then, thrusts the lash into the prefect's hand' (*Empire*, 59). Certainly, *double entendres* are frequent in John, but Chapter 7 will argue that the point of the passage is not to emphasize the violence of Rome.

⁷ This minimizing becomes especially apparent when reading commentaries that describe first-century practices in detail. See, for example, Jerome Neyrey's short but effective description of the shame of a judicial flogging as well as Keener's description of its physical effects (Keener, *John*, 2.1119-20; Neyrey, *Cultural*, 426). Note that this minimization occurs in Matthew and Mark as well—in those two Gospels the flogging

da es für seine Theologie ohne Belang ist; deswegen nur die kurze Notiz'.⁸ Thus, although Glancy is correct to characterize the event as torture intended to extort a confession, the narrative highlights not the scourging but the mocking.⁹ Three elements of this mocking will be highlighted in this section: the background of the act of being acclaimed by Roman soldiers, Jesus' triumphal attire (v. 2), and the specific words used by the soldiers (v. 3) which, except for the *Χαῖρε*, have no Roman cultural unit, and thus function to veil the reference in a hidden transcript.

5.1.1. Roman soldiers' acclamations

The fact that Jesus is being saluted by *Roman soldiers* must be recognized and highlighted from the outset.¹⁰ Even though, historically, Pilate's men were not legionnaires but auxiliary soldiers, the Fourth Gospel describes them with details that highlight them as Romans.¹¹ Even scholars who have noted the Romanness of this scene and mentioned connections with imperial ritual, however, have not carried this discussion all the way through the Johannine trial narrative.¹² Anti-imperial readings of the Fourth Gospel, on the

(φραγελλῶν) is only mentioned as a preface to the crucifixion [Arthur Merrill Wright, Jr., 'The Governor and the King: Irony, Hidden Transcripts, and Negotiating Empire in the Fourth Gospel' (PhD thesis, Union Presbyterian Seminary, 2014), 200 n. 126].

⁸ Dauer, *Passionsgeschichte*, 262. See also Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 160-61, 281.

⁹ Glancy, 'Torture', 108. See, similarly, Dodd, *Tradition*, 102-103; Moore, *Empire*, 61-63; Skinner, *Trial*, 97-98. For Moore, the central position of this passage serves to highlight Rome's power (62).

¹⁰ Davies and Allison note this facet of the Matthean trial narrative as well, citing Cyril of Jerusalem: 'Every king is proclaimed by soldiers' [*Catechetical Lectures* 13.17; W. D. Davies, and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, ed. J. A. Emerton, C. E. B. Cranfield, and G. N. Stanton, ICC, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), 598]. For the contexts within which acclamations could occur, see Section 4.3.4. In this chapter, I shall focus on acclamations by Roman soldiers.

¹¹ Millar, *Roman*, 44; Bond, *Pilate*, 13. Furthermore, '[t]he emperor Claudius (41-54 C.E.) began the practice of granting Roman citizenship to non-Roman auxiliary soldiers when they retired, an added incentive to participate in imperial life. Military service inevitably resulted in greater exposure to Roman ideas and the spread of citizenship' (Maas, 'People', 15). Note that scholars often mix one reference to Rome with many to Greek or simply general royal imagery. Craig A. Evans, for example, discerns, in John 19:1-5, aspects of 'the homage paid to Caesar', other stories of mockery, a Roman triumph as well as 'the attire of Hellenistic kings of an earlier period' ['Death and Burial of Jesus', in *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Craig A. Evans (New York: Routledge, 2008), 143-50 (146)]. Note that Mary Coloe suggests for this passage that '[s]ymbolism does not require exact correspondence' but does not elaborate on this comment [*God Dwells with Us: Temple Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2001), 204]. Augustus as a symbol would provide an interesting avenue of research that, however will not be pursued in this thesis.

¹² Peder Borgen, for example, mentions the 'decisive involvement of the Roman authorities' [Peder Borgen, *The Gospel of John: More Light from Philo, Paul and Archaeology: The Scriptures, Tradition, Exposition, Settings, Meaning*, ed. M. M. Mitchell and D. P. Moessner, NovTSup 154 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 273]. See also the references to the 'Roman cross', Roman courage in the face of death, the Roman trial

other hand, recognize the Roman context of this scene, but usually focus more on a clash of sovereignties, a ‘direct and oppositional interaction between Jesus and the empire’ rather than bringing out all of the Roman cultural units of the narrative.¹³ Yet the Roman aspects of this scene are especially important since the soldiers are alone: ‘Hier verschwindet für einen Moment (19,2f) der sonst in sämtlichen Szenen anwesende Pilatus, so daß sich das Geschehen ganz auf die Handlungen der Soldaten an Jesus zuspitzt’.¹⁴ And the soldiers’ mock salutes and acclamations (v. 3) parody the *appellationes imperatoriae* that, especially after 60 BCE, began to be practised as soldiers demonstrated their approbation of their superior officer’s command due to his demonstrated worthiness.¹⁵ ‘En quelque sorte, cette cérémonie prend le caractère d’une nouvelle investiture du commandant, qui ne se référerait plus au cadre légal et juridique de la *res publica*—le commandant avait déjà reçu l’*imperium*—, mais exprimait le *consensus* de l’armée, qui le déclarait *imperator* non pas seulement en droit, mais en valeur et en mérite’.¹⁶ Appian, writing at the end of the second century CE records that Curio in the mid-first century BCE ‘landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as *Imperator* by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands’ (*Bell. civ.* 2.44 [White, LCL]). Appian explains that ‘This title is an honour conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders’. In the later Republic, to receive an *appellatio imperatoria* by one’s soldiers suggested (but did not

procedures and Roman patronage in Brant, *John*, 21, 247; Neyrey, *Cultural*, 196; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 159.

¹³ Carter, *John*, 289. Cassidy and Richey contrast Roman power with Jesus; Rensburger sees a rejection of the sovereignty of Rome. Neither scholar engages with the details of the Roman referents of the trial scenes (Cassidy, *John's Gospel*, 40-53, esp. 49; Richey, *Roman*, 153-84, esp. 163-64; Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 99). The nuancing of powers will be discussed further in Section 7.2.1.

¹⁴ Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 161.

¹⁵ Pierre Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles perspectives sur le titre d’*imperator* et l’*appellatio imperatoria* sous la République’, *RBPH* 90 (2012): 111-42 (128-34). Frank Gardner Moore points out that ‘[t]his (though not mentioned by Livy as such) is the earliest known instance of a commander being saluted as *imperator* by his troops’ (Livy, *History of Rome* 27.19.4 n. 1 [Moore, LCL]). However, this conclusion ignores evidence that Livy was influenced, in his description, by the imperial practices of his day (Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles Perspectives’, 120).

¹⁶ Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles Perspectives’, 131.

require) that the Senate ought to honour the commander with a ceremony of thanksgiving to the gods called a *supplicatio*, which then might also be followed by a triumph.¹⁷ Starting with Octavian, however, *imperator* became an imperial title, and for subsequent rulers, to receive an *appellatio imperatoria* by one's soldiers constituted the first step in a march towards being appointed emperor.¹⁸

Vespasian, for example, received 'his proclamation by his soldiers as Emperor against his will' (*J.W.* Preface 9; 1 §24 [Thackeray, LCL]) and this combination of acclamation and modesty is rightly characterized by Béranger as 'une scène authentiquement romaine'.¹⁹ Tacitus describes the event in more detail. Vespasian is 'called to the *imperium*' by Mucianus, governor of Syria (*Hist.* 2.76-77, author translation), one whose voice is sanctioned by evidence of the gods' support (2.78).²⁰ His election is also put into place by the acclamation of the troops: 'The whole act was carried through by the enthusiastic soldiery without any formal speech or regular parade of the legions....[A]s Vespasian stepped from his quarters, a few soldiers who were drawn up in their usual order to salute (*saluto*) him as their Legate (*legatus*), saluted (*saluto*) him as Emperor (*imperator*). Then the rest ran up and began to call him Caesar and Augustus; they heaped on him all the titles of an emperor (*principatus*)' (79-80).²¹ This was the event that Vespasian later chose to celebrate as his *dies imperii*.²²

¹⁷ Anne Viola Siebert, 'Supplicatio', PC; Assenmaker, 'Nouvelles Perspectives', 134-38.

¹⁸ Beard, *Triumph*, 243; Assenmaker, 'Nouvelles Perspectives', 132, 138-40.

¹⁹ Béranger, 'Refus', 181.

²⁰ See Section 4.3.3.

²¹ The term *principatus* was also used for the *princeps* ('*principatus*', OLD 1604). Note that emperors were acclaimed on an ongoing basis during their reigns as well; see Bitner, *Paul's*, 279. Acclamations by troops might simply promise allegiance to a ruler already appointed. Herod's will named Archelaus as his successor and the latter 'was instantly hailed with acclamations and congratulations; and the troops advancing by companies, with the people, made promises of allegiance' (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.33.9 §670 [Thackeray, LCL]). Note in each case that when troops salute it is not only in joy or approval but also in a pledge of loyalty.

²² Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 81; Griffin, 'Flavians', 12-13. The *dies imperii* was the 'day of assuming power, usually also the official recognition of the ruler by the Senate or the army'. On a yearly basis, on that day, 'the *tribunicia potestas* of the ruler was renewed' (Strothmann, 'Dies imperii', PG). Ando elucidates: 'Individuals then repeated their prayers for the emperor's safety and renewed their oaths of loyalty on the reigning emperor's *dies imperii*. Some cities sent annual embassies to congratulate the emperor on that day, no doubt mentioning their own displays of *pietas* loudly and often in their messages' (*Imperial*, 360).

Acclamations such as these can occur in a variety of settings. The acclamation of Vespasian happened at the time of the morning *salutatio*, the morning greeting of clients and patrons.²³ When Titus was acclaimed by his soldiers, it suggested that he was worthy of a triumph in Rome (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.6.1 §316; 7.5.3-6 §122-57). That triumph was celebrated in 71 CE, with an *adventus* for Vespasian (7.4.1 §68-69), one for Titus (7.5.3 §122) and a military acclamation for both (7.5.4 §126) along the way.²⁴ These models are difficult to separate clearly. First of all, ‘dozens and dozens of triumphal ceremonies must have matched up to [a] standard template in only some respects’.²⁵ Yet also, as the practice developed, ‘in glaring contrast to the republican pattern, aspects of triumphal dress in the Principate did regularly appear outside the context of the triumphal procession’.²⁶ Regalia of early Roman monarchs intermingled with triumphal insignia, ‘in ... various attempts to find ways of presenting (and dressing up—literally) one-man rule’.²⁷ The toga worn for the *adventus*, for example, was eventually replaced by the military attire of the triumph.²⁸ Thus, while I shall discuss elements of the triumph, this is because ‘significant elements of the emperor’s costume, on certain ceremonial occasions at least, were identical to those of the triumphing general (or they were presented as such by Roman writers)’.²⁹ Symbols were re-used for a variety of occasions. Vespasian, for example, in Cancellaria Relief A is pictured bare-headed as befits an *adventus*, yet a personified ‘Victory can just be seen hovering behind [him] holding a laurel wreath over his head’.³⁰

²³ Rolf Hurschmann, ‘Salutatio’, PC.

²⁴ Walter Eder, ‘Triumph, Triumphal Procession’, PC; Mathisen, ‘L’*adventus*’, 139.

²⁵ Beard, *Triumph*, 82.

²⁶ Beard, *Triumph*, 275.

²⁷ Beard, *Triumph*, 276.

²⁸ Christophe Badel, ‘*Adventus et salutatio*’, in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, ed. Agnès Bérenger and Eric Perrin-Saminadayar, De l’archéologie à l’histoire (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 157-75 (169); Mathisen, ‘L’*adventus*’, 142.

²⁹ Beard, *Triumph*, 275.

³⁰ Steven L. Tuck, *A History of Roman Art* (Chichester: Wiley, 2014), 203. This intermingling occurred with the funeral rites of an emperor as well (Beard, *Triumph*, 233-38). Thus, ‘l’*adventus*, le triomphe et le *funus* ne cessèrent de s’emprunter mutuellement des éléments jusqu’à en devenir parfois difficilement distinguables’ (Badel, ‘*Adventus*’, 157).

The scene in the Fourth Gospel also displays ambiguity, using the crown and purple robe of a triumph and the salutation and salute of an acclamation (see next section).³¹ Therefore, the connections that I propose between John 19:2-3 and Roman practices are those suggested not only by Roman cultural units, but the particular Roman cultural units that abduction of the entire Gospel of John blows up. When Roman troops are ‘making’ an emperor in an *appellatio imperatoria*, they are demonstrating, based on his character, their own willingness to be led by him (particularly in a triumph but also more generally), promising him their loyalty.³² So while, on the one hand, this scene parodies this practice, on the other hand, based on the overall emphasis on believing and abiding in the Gospel (1:7;), the affirmation of loyalty in a *salutatio* that the Roman soldiers mockingly display is the very faithfulness to which the Gospel calls its auditors. This message, which I shall argue in Chapter 6 is part of the hidden transcript of John 18:28—19:22, is presented in this passage along with some images of triumph, particularly the crown and the purple robe.³³ It is to those that I now turn.

5.1.2. Jesus’ triumphal attire

Helen Bond brings out the connection between Jesus’ attire and imperial practice, noting that ‘[t]he presence of the purple garment, the crown, which may represent the imperial laurel wreath, and the greeting of the soldiers all suggest that Jesus is ridiculed here as a mock-Emperor’.³⁴ I shall discuss the crown and robe each in turn, noting especially the

³¹ T. E. Schmidt, ‘Mark 15.16–32: The Crucifixion Narrative and the Roman Triumphal Procession’, *NTS* 41.1 (1995): 1-18 (7).

³² Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles Perspectives’, 131. Those who term this homage include Blinzler, *Trial*, 227; Blank, ‘Verhandlung’, 73. The term ‘homage’ is fine as long as it is understood to include a pledge of loyalty and is not uniquely a gesture of respect. Neyrey, among other scholars, notes the levels of meaning in 19:1-5, although without calling it a hidden transcript (*Cultural*, 427).

³³ For a similar analysis of Mark, see Schmidt, ‘Mark’.

³⁴ Bond, *Pilate*, 183-84. Bill Salier makes this connection as well, but immediately reverts back to the theme of ‘kingship’ [‘Jesus, the Emperor, and the Gospel According to John’, in *Challenging Perspectives on the Gospel of John*, ed. John Lierman, WUNT 2.219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 284-301 (297)]. See also Koester, ‘Savior’; Musa W. Dube, ‘Reading for Decolonization (John 4:1-42)’, in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 7 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 51-75 (65-66). Although Lincoln mentions John’s use of the term ‘περιβάλλειν, to array, for the dressing up of Jesus’ (*Truth*, 315), BDAG does not seem

Roman cultural units for these elements, which are often missing from discussions on this passage.³⁵

As an example of a laurel crown, Josephus describes Vespasian and Titus who, for their triumph into Rome, ‘issued forth, crowned with laurel and clad in the traditional purple robes’ (*J.W.* 7.5.4 §124 [Thackeray, LCL]).³⁶ Aulus Gellius provides a list of a great many kinds of ‘military’ crowns, made of gold, laurel, grass, oak or myrtle (*Noct. att.* 5.6). For a triumph, the ‘crown in ancient times was of laurel, but later they began to make them of gold’ (5.6.7 [Rolfe, LCL]).³⁷ Laurels were also used more generally for a victory in games, or simply for decorations during an *adventus* or a triumph.³⁸ Because of the connection with Augustus, laurels continued afterwards to signify the ‘imperial rank’.³⁹ It is possible, then, that Jesus’ crown of thorns was meant to parody an imperial crown of laurels, signaling through irony to Roman-aware auditors of the Fourth Gospel that Jesus is still victor even in the midst of apparent defeat.⁴⁰

to support this translation. Compare Luke 12:27, where the regal implications come from the context, to Mark 14:51 and Matthew 25:36 where there are none (‘περιβάλλω’, BDAG, 799). However, the verb φορέω used in verse 5 can be so translated; see Section 5.2. *Pace*, e.g., Schnackenburg for whom ‘the crown is probably meant to represent only the crown (sign of lordship) of the Roman vassal kings. Also, there is certainly no connection with the crown of victory of war leaders’ (*John*, 3.451 n. 61).

³⁵ Some who note only images of kings and royalty in Jesus’ attire without mentioning the emperor include Keener, *John*, 2.1122; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 465.

³⁶ Note Revell goes too far when she asserts that these images of the emperor were so sacred that ‘[t]o harm one was tantamount to harming the emperor himself’ (*Roman*, 84). This can be shown first, by the story she adduces in support of her thesis where Thecla was thrown to the wild beasts not because she dared to throw the magistrate’s crown to the ground (as Revell argues) but because she embarrassed him (Acts Paul 26). Secondly, the existence of stories where people are mocked by dressing them in these very images show that they were not completely off limits for such buffoonery.

³⁷ See also *Res gest. divi Aug.* 21.3

³⁸ During the Republic, the honoree in a triumph ‘tenait dans ses mains ... une branche de laurier’ (Mathisen, ‘*L’adventus*’, 139). Laurel might be used to decorate the *fasces* (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 6.21). Augustus says that he ‘deposited the laurel from my *fasces* in the Capitoline temple, in fulfillment of the vows which I had taken in each war’ (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 4.1; Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 62). Laurels might be sent from a general as an announcement of his victory (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.77). Victorious soldiers might wear laurel crowns (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.5.4 §126). Laurels were also held by the people during a ceremony to propitiate the gods in the Republic (Livy, *History of Rome* 40.37.3) and worn by the crowd when Augustus entered the theatre in Rome (Suetonius, *Aug.* 58.1).

³⁹ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 264.

⁴⁰ Segovia, ‘Gospel’, 188-89.

Another possibility exists, however. The crown of thorns might instead represent the crown or wreath of oak, the *corona civica*.⁴¹ This crown is the one, Gellius explains, ‘which one citizen gives to another who has saved his life in battle, in recognition of the preservation of his life and safety’ (*Noct. att.* 5.6.12 [Rolfe, LCL]). It was given to Julius Caesar (Suetonius, *Jul.* 2) and refused by Tiberius (*Tib.* 26.2). Augustus lists a combination of laurels and oak among his awarded honours: ‘my entranceway was publicly crowned with laurels, and the oak wreath which is given for saving fellow citizens was set up above the gateway of my house’ (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 34.2).⁴² The oak crown was not awarded to Augustus because he saved the life of one person in a military engagement. Instead, ‘[t]he senate had bestowed the *corona civica* upon Augustus as the “father” of the Roman people, because Augustus had saved the collective life of the *res publica* in the battles of the civil wars’.⁴³ This association of an emperor with a crown of oak leaves carried through to Augustus’ successors, as can be deduced from various depictions.⁴⁴ A portrait of Augustus with this crown has been found in Ephesus.⁴⁵ Other emperors depicted with oak crowns include Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian and Hadrian.⁴⁶ Indeed, in North

⁴¹ Pace, e.g., Craig A. Evans who, with many commentators, only mentions the laurel wreath [‘King Jesus and His Ambassadors: Empire and Luke-Acts’, in *Empire in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, McMaster Divinity College Press New Testament Study Series 10 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 120-39 (123 n. 8)].

⁴² This is Cooley’s translation from the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* that makes explicit the meaning of *corona civica* (*Res Gestae*, 26-27, 99). See also Zanker’s discussion, although the use of the term ‘monarchical’ (‘monarchisch’ in the original) and the translation ‘monarch’ (‘Alleinherrscher’ in the original) for Augustus’s rule seems misplaced in light of the Roman cultural unit of *rex* discussed in Section 4.1 [Zanker, *Power*, 93; Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München: C.H. Beck, 1987), 99].

⁴³ Harrill, ‘Paul’, 306. See also Gradel, *Emperor*, 49.

⁴⁴ Zanker, *Power*, 216.

⁴⁵ Maria Aurenhammer, ‘Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial Portraits from Ephesos’, in *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor: Proceedings of the International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Italian Excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia, Held on May 24-26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce)*, ed. F. D’Andria and I. Romeo, JRA Supplementary Series 80 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 2011), 101-115 (105-106). See the example of the Gemma Augustea as well as an image of Augustus’s heirs in Zanker, *Power*, 231, 223, 359.

⁴⁶ Some of these must be reconstructed after a *damnatio memoriae* [Eric R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*, ed. H. F. Mussche, Monumenta Graeca et Romana 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), e.g., 24, 27-30, 33-35, 50, 53, 60, 63, 69, 130]. For Vespasian, see also Anne E. Haeckl, ‘Fragment > < Image: The Hartwig-Kelsey Fragments Rejoined’, in *Images of Empire: Flavian Fragments in Rome and Ann Arbor Rejoined*, ed. Elaine K. Gazda and Anne E. Haeckl (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma with The University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1996), 26-33 (26, 28, and cat. no. 12). These portraits exist outside

Africa, '[f]rom the time of Trajan ... Roman rulers are often depicted heroically nude or draped like Jupiter with a heavy wreath of laurel or oak with medallions'.⁴⁷ Perhaps for the meaning of the crown of thorns it is not necessary to choose: the oak and the laurel's meanings—saviour and victor, respectively—were often conflated.⁴⁸

Bekken has recently suggested that the crown of thorns 'might ... have mimicked the ceremony of *corona graminea*, which was the highest mark of honour to be awarded a Roman commander'.⁴⁹ Gellius also describes this crown: 'The "siege" crown is the one which those who have been delivered from a state of siege present to the general who delivered them. That crown is of grass (*Ea corona graminea est*), and custom requires that it be made of grass which grew in the place within which the besieged were confined' (*Noct. att.* 5.6.8-9 [Rolfe, LCL]). Bekken curiously goes on to call it a 'laurel wreath' and then claims, citing Versnel, that only this crown was awarded by the soldiers to their commander, from subordinate to officer.⁵⁰

Versnel is echoing Pliny the Elder who notes that '[n]o crown indeed has been a higher honour than the crown of grass among the rewards for glorious deeds given by the sovereign people, lords of the earth. ... The other crowns have been conferred by commanders, this alone on a commander by his soldiers' (*Nat.* 22.4 [Jones, LCL]). Yet the same difficulty in determining absolute standards for varying practices discussed above with regard to triumphs applies to this crown as well. Pliny, in the very next section, records that the grass crown was given to Felix 'by the Senate and People of Rome' (22.5).⁵¹ And he concludes that 'Augustus himself, in the consulship of Marcus Cicero junior, was on the

of Rome as well. See for example the statue of Claudius as Jupiter from Leptis Magna in North Africa as well as images on coins (Zanker, *Power*, 318, 93). For an example with Hadrian, see next note.

⁴⁷ François Baratte, and Nathalie de Chaisemartin, 'North Africa', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, ed. Elise A. Friedland, Melanie Grunow Sobocinski, and Elaine K. Gazda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 504-521 (511).

⁴⁸ Zanker, *Power*, 276. Harrill discusses both oaks and laurels as well (Harrill, 'Paul', 305).

⁴⁹ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 245.

⁵⁰ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 245; Versnel, *Triumphus*, 376.

⁵¹ See, similarly, Gellius, *Noct. att.* 5.6.10.

13th September presented with the siege crown by the Senate; so inadequate was the civic crown thought to be. Nobody else at all, I find, has received this distinction' (22.6). Thus, it seems to *not* only have been awarded by soldiers to their commander, and it also seems to have fallen out of use by the late first century CE. This crown seems unlikely, then, to be parodied by Jesus' crown of thorns. Auditors with other encyclopaedias could make other decisions. If the scene was heard by those with only a Jewish encyclopaedia available, it is also probable, as Andrew Chester points out, that diaspora Jewish practices of honouring benefactors with crowns might be blown up in the abduction of the narrative.⁵² However, with the Roman *Haftpunkte* of the Johannine trial narrative, especially when combined with the theme of salvation (e.g., 3:17, 36; 4:21-23; 5:39; 10:9-10; 12:47) found throughout the Fourth Gospel, the crown of thorns would parody either the laurel or the oak crown, or both, heightening his comparison with the emperor and highlighting Jesus as one who saves his people (e.g., 3:15-16; 11:50) for Roman-aware auditors.⁵³

Turning next to the purple garment, I note that there were two Roman togas that had purple on them.⁵⁴ The first, the *toga praetexta*, was for citizens; the purple was only a stripe, but the width of the stripe indicated the office held by its wearer. The completely purple toga, whether with gold embroidery (*toga picta*) or with a palmette design (*tunica palmata*), was, during the Roman empire, only worn by the emperor himself, although under the

⁵² Andrew Chester, 'Jewish Inscriptions and Jewish Life', in *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 21.-24. Mai 2009, Leipzig*, ed. Roland Deines, Jens Herzer, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 274 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 383-441 (387-94). Adeline Fehribach has suggested a symbolic connection with the attire of a bridegroom as well ['The "Birthing" Bridegroom: The Portrayal of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel', in *A Feminist Companion to John*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2003), 104-129 (121)].

⁵³ For discussions on salvation in the Fourth Gospel, see Brown, *John*, 1.CXV-CXVI; Barrett, *Gospel*, 78-82; Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, 235-38; Keener, *John*, 1.281; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 62-64; Brant, *John*, 39-41.

⁵⁴ Polybius, *The Histories* 6.53.7-8; Shelley C. Stone, 'Toga', *OEAGR*; Geoffrey S. Sumi, 'Triumph', *OEAGR*; Rolf Hurschmann, 'Ceremonial Dress', PC; '*purpura*', *OLD* 1676. Bekken does not distinguish between these two tunics in his descriptions and thus, for the connection between purple, crowns, and triumphs he cites Suetonius first in a description of Tiberius (*Tib.* 17) that only mentions the toga of citizenship and next in a description of Nero (*Nero* 25) where he is wearing the purple robe of the triumph (*Lawsuit*, 245 n. 74).

Republic it had been assumed by anyone celebrating a triumph.⁵⁵ Even when worn by persons other than rulers, purple still referred to the emperor. In the second century CE, in Lycia, provision was made for a ‘gold crown and a purple robe’ to be worn by the agonotheite, the president of, in this case, a ‘music festival’ in honour of the emperor and the gods. The gold crown would ‘carr[y] relief portraits of the emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus and our leader the ancestral god Apollo’.⁵⁶ Thus the purple in this case carried imperial connotations even though its wearer was not the emperor himself.

Dio Cassius, on the other hand, reports that ‘an old man in purple-bordered toga and vesture and with a crown upon his head’ is the way ‘the senate is represented in pictures’ (*Roman History* 68.5.1), so it must be noted that the imagery in the Johannine trial narrative is far from open to only one interpretation. That said, to represent Jesus as the Senate does not seem to cohere in any way with the isotopy of the Gospel of John. I shall concentrate instead on images that do seem to be confirmed by the rest of the text.

Purple, both in contemporary encyclopaedias and in ancient ones, is also associated with kings. Indeed, to dress a ruler in purple was not unique to the Romans. In the first century BCE, Gaius Papilius got Numidians to desert from Sextus Caesar’s army by taking a son of their king, ‘putting royal purple on him (περιθεὶς αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικήν), and displaying him to them’ (Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.42, author translation). Purple was an indication of royalty that even non-Roman, non-Greek peoples recognized.⁵⁷ And because of this, the imperial reference implicit in the purple cloak is often missed, or only mentioned briefly.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Larissa Bonfante Warren, ‘Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph’, *JRS* 60 (1970): 49-66 (64). For more on the vicissitudes of purple through the Roman republic and empire, including its popularity as a status symbol, attempts to restrict its use, and its unique associations with the emperor, see Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, ed. Léon Herrmann and Marcel Renard, Collection Latomus 116 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1970), 37-61, esp. 56 and 59-60. For the connection of purple with the triumph, see also Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 59.17.3.

⁵⁶ Stephen Mitchell, ‘Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor’, *JRS* 80 (1990): 183-93 (185). For another similar example, see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.4.2 §84.

⁵⁷ See, too, the Jewish example offered in Carter, *John*, 314 n. 34.

⁵⁸ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 416.

The connection of purple with the triumph can be extended to connect with divinity.⁵⁹ Gradel mentions purple, the ‘golden wreath’, the scepter (possibly supplemented by a laurel branch) and a ‘face ... painted red’ with ‘the image of Capitoline Jupiter’.⁶⁰ However, the association of a red face with the triumph and with the statue of Jupiter has been shown to rest on unfounded assumptions and precarious connections.⁶¹ Yet, this does not preclude the association of the triumph with divinity.

The Roman triumph was said to have originated with Father Liber, also known as Bacchus or Dionysus.⁶² He ‘invented the emblem of royalty (*regius*), [that is] the crown, and the triumphal procession’ (Pliny, *Nat.* 7.56.191 [Rackham, LCL]).⁶³ Dionysus’ triumph was specifically connected with the conquest of India after the victories of Alexander the Great.⁶⁴ His popularity waned in the early first century CE but made a comeback beginning with Trajan in conjunction with ‘new inspirations of conquest and world empire’.⁶⁵ This connection with Dionysus and the triumph will be brought up again in the second half of this chapter. At this junction, the abductive threads gathered thus far suggest that Jesus is dressed as a victor, worthy to rule, as the saviour of his people. So, how do the soldiers’ acclamations fit within that picture?

⁵⁹ Beard, *Triumph*, 233.

⁶⁰ Gradel, *Emperor*, 34-35; Greg Woolf, ‘Divinity and Power in Ancient Rome’, in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, ed. Nicole Brisch, Oriental Institute Seminars 4 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008), 243-59 (244); Zanker, *Power*, 230-34. Additionally, Warren Carter has assembled an extensive list of evidence of emperors who took the title *pater patriae*, a title specifically associated with Jupiter. Many of these include the oak leaves representative of him as well [‘God as “Father” in Matthew: Imperial Intersections’, in *Finding a Woman's Place: Essays in Honor of Carolyn Osiek, R.S.C.J.*, ed. David L. Balch and Jason T. Lamoreaux (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 81-102 (89-90 with footnotes)]. See also the depiction of the triumph of Tiberius (Beard, *Triumph*, 48).

⁶¹ Beard, *Triumph*, 231-33.

⁶² Renate Schlesier, ‘Dionysus, Religion’, PC.

⁶³ See further discussion of the origins of this connection at Beard, *Triumph*, 315-318.

⁶⁴ Glen Bowersock, ‘Dionysus as an Epic Hero’, in *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*, ed. Neil Hopkinson 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1994), 156-66 (157).

⁶⁵ Bowersock, ‘Dionysus’, 159, as well as 160. On the way this influenced Roman writers, for example Livy, see Glen Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 109.

5.1.3. The soldiers' words and actions

While I am proposing that John 19:2-3 parodies the acclamation of an emperor by his soldiers, it is not such an acclamation as van Tilborg suggests. He connects this scene with the kind of consensus discussed in Chapter 4, one where the choice of a ruler is dependent upon the will of some portion of the people as well as the gods. He contends that throughout the Johannine trial narrative, Jesus is acclaimed as 'king ... by the soldiers, the people, and the Senate'.⁶⁶ However, although there is an acclamation by the soldiers, the presentation to the people produces only negative acclamations (vv. 6, 15). Since the very point of acclamations is to promote by approval, one would have to read the cry of 'the Jews' for crucifixion in the context of the Johannine equation of the cross with glory in order to characterize the cries in verses 6 and 15 as acclamations. In that case, one could only conclude that the Johannine 'Jews', rather than bearing any blame, instead would carry the commendation for the cross.⁶⁷ This seems unlikely given the use of the word *ἁμαρτία* in verse 11.⁶⁸ Furthermore, that Pilate supports Jesus' claim to rule or 'declares that Jesus is innocent and recognizes Jesus as king' it quite unlikely.⁶⁹ His character will be explored further in Chapter 6, where he will be described as contemptuous and concerned about his loyalty to Rome.⁷⁰

One other element of a Roman triumph helps to clarify the scene. The acclamations of the soldiers were not always positive. The soldiers following the chariot hailed the triumph, wore laurels, and sang songs 'directed at the general, part in praise, part in ribaldry'.⁷¹ Thus, the mocking of the one being honoured provides another connection to the

⁶⁶ Tilborg, *Reading*, 213.

⁶⁷ For more on the way the enemies in the Gospel of John further its narrative goals, see Section 7.1.5.

⁶⁸ See Section 6.2.2.2. The cries of 'the Jews' for Jesus' crucifixion could, however, function as parallels to the mocking of the soldiers in a triumph; see next paragraph.

⁶⁹ Tilborg, *Reading*, 213. For related concerns about Tilborg, see Keener, *John*, 2.1122-23. John's characterization of Pilate will be discussed further in Sections 6.1.2-4.

⁷⁰ Bond, *Pilate*, 185.

⁷¹ Beard, *Triumph*, 244-29, 245. The connections I am making between the 'victorious general' and the mocked Jesus are *pace* Blinzler, *Trial*, 228 n. 26. Blinzler objects to Jesus as victor based on the title given

triumph itself. In the Gospel, the soldiers exclaim: χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. I argue in Section 5.1.4 below that this title, odd as a Roman acclamation, is used in order to veil John's message in a hidden transcript and, in Chapter 7, that it participates in the blurring of ethnicities active throughout the Johannine trial narrative. At this juncture, it provides a further reflection of a Roman triumph. Whereas the cries of 'the Jews' for Jesus' crucifixion cannot, in my view, be acclamations because they are negative, this pledge of the soldiers can be categorized as such because it is not overtly negative.

The parody can be seen further in the blows (ράπισματα) that the soldiers give Jesus, described in verse 3. This act may be understood as a caricature of their usual salutes.⁷² Information on the specifics of this gesture are sparse, but Martin Winkler has demonstrated that Roman salutes should not be portrayed as the stiff-armed salutes of the Nazis.⁷³ Yet the bent-armed and perhaps especially open-handed salutes that Winkler documents can be turned into blows to the face, parodying the salutes of the troops to their commander or their *imperator*.⁷⁴

This assessment of John 19:2-3 as parodying a salute of loyalty given to one in triumphal garb contradicts previous analyses that have focused their comparisons on royal enthronements alone, such as that provided by Josef Blank (and taken up for example by Duke, Stibbe and Gniesmer).⁷⁵ Blank describes a four-step 'Königs-Epiphanie' in the

to Jesus (to be discussed below), the nature of the wreath (which is open to multiple interpretations), and the lack of armed followers of Jesus. Sections 6.1.5 and 7.2.2 will discuss this last topic.

⁷² This seems to be Lindars' point when he says that 'the mock homage appears to consist of coming up as if to swear allegiance and suddenly hitting Jesus instead' [*John*, 565; see similarly Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of John*, The Passion Series 4 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 85].

⁷³ Martin M. Winkler, *The Roman Salute: Cinema, History, Ideology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2009).

⁷⁴ Note that the spitting mentioned by the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 15:19; Luke 18:32; Matthew 27:30) could parody the kisses regularly offered by patrons, including the emperor. Blinzler, although he does not mention Roman practices, says that 'the kiss of homage' was 'customary in the East' but it is unclear to when and where he is referring [Blinzler, *Trial*, 227; Christophe Badel, 'L'audience chez les sénateurs', in *L'audience: Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*, ed. Jean-Pierre Caillet and Michel Sot, THEMAM (Paris: Picard, 2007), 141-64 (151, 164); Badel, 'Adventus', 162-64].

⁷⁵ Duke, *Irony*, 132; Mark W. G. Stibbe, *John*, Readings: A New Biblical Commentary (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 191; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 282.

narrative referring primarily to Eichmann's *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*.⁷⁶ Yet these steps imagine antiquity along the lines of modern and mediaeval Western practices. Indeed, Blank refers to Eichmann because '[d]ie Arbeit von Eichmann zeigt übrigens deutlich, daß sich das vom Orient herkommende Königs-Ritual mit geringfügigen Abwandlungen bis zur abendlande Kaiserkrönung durchgehalten hat'.⁷⁷ Yet Eichmann indicates that these particular steps come 'aus den Königsbüchern der Bibel' and comprise particularly 'der Akt des Regierungsantritts des *israelitischen* Königs'.⁷⁸ Furthermore, they do not quite cohere with the analysis of the passage in John. Especially the last step is different: while Blank sees in John a 'Königsakklamation durch das Volk (σταύρωσον, σταύρωσον)', Eichmann has, 'Der König besteigt den Thron und ergreift so von seinem Amte Besitz'.⁷⁹ Since there is no throne (Blank does not connect this with John 19:13, as some have), it does not seem that Eichmann supports Blank's analysis.⁸⁰

Jerome Neyrey similarly interprets John 19:1-5 as a 'coronation', but relies on Alföldi.⁸¹ After summarizing the actions in these verses, he claims that '[e]ach of these ritual gestures has been shown to be a characteristic element in the honoring of Persian and Roman rulers'.⁸² He then lists 'elements of a coronation' according to Alföldi: '*proskynēsis*/bending the knee; acclamation, especially as *dominus*; crown; clothing; scepter; throne'.⁸³

⁷⁶ The four steps are: (1) proclamation; (2) enthronement and investiture; (3) presentation to the people and (4) acclamation (Blank, 'Verhandlung', 62).

⁷⁷ Blank, 'Verhandlung', 76 n. 39.

⁷⁸ Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kirchlichen Rechts, der Liturgie und der Kirchenpolitik*, vol. 1 (Würzburg: Echter, 1942), 11.

⁷⁹ Blank, 'Verhandlung', 62; Eichmann, *Kaiserkrönung*, 11-12.

⁸⁰ Blank, 'Verhandlung', 80-81. Ignace de la Potterie, for example, suggests that 19:13 is Jesus' 'intronisation royale' (*Vérité*, 1.108). For more on 19:13, see Section 6.2.2.4.

⁸¹ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 427. Francis Moloney calls this instead 'a coronation, a clothing, and an ironic proclamation of the truth' [*The Gospel of John*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, SP 4 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 495]. I agree only with the proclamation of the truth; see Section 5.1.4.

⁸² Neyrey, *Cultural*, 426-27.

⁸³ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 427; Andreas Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 11-16, 45-70, 38-45, 209-10, 17-18, 128-29, 263-67, 143-56, 175-84, 268-70, 156-57, 228-35, 140-41, 159-61.

Indeed, Alföldi does mention all of these elements. However, they are (1) not for the most part ceremonies but images or trappings of ancient rulers, (2) nor are they connected as elements of a coronation and (3) they arbitrarily leave out a host of other elements described by Alföldi such as the kiss of greeting and the entrance of the ruler into a city.⁸⁴ The cultural unit of a coronation, furthermore, is not Roman; the reign of a Roman emperor started with his *dies imperii*.⁸⁵ The Romans had a purple robe and several kinds of crowns but no ceremony at the beginning of an emperor's reign, with an accession to a throne, such as a coronation implies—that was a later development.⁸⁶ So to portray Roman soldiers enacting such a ceremony would be profoundly anachronistic.⁸⁷ Instead of a coronation, a comparison with Roman practices reveals Jesus as a recipient of a Roman acclamation in the garb of a triumph.

Besides a coronation, John 19:1-5 is sometimes connected, in the context of the crucifixion, with the Roman celebration of Saturnalia.⁸⁸ In 1898, Paul Wendland made this claim, saying, 'Wenn die römischen Legionäre Christus zu einem Saturnalien-Könige ausstaffirten [*sic*], so lag ihnen jedenfalls auch der Gedanken nahe, dass er das Schicksal dieses Königs theilte; denn nach der Maskerade wird er sofort zur Kreuzigung abgeführt'.⁸⁹ Yet Wendland based this assertion on the then recently published *Acts of Saint Dacius* and

⁸⁴ Alföldi, *Repräsentation*, 40-42, 88-100.

⁸⁵ Griffin, 'Nerva', 85-86; A. R. Birley, 'Hadrian to the Antonines', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132-94 (134). See above, footnote 22.

⁸⁶ The coronation ceremony developed only slowly from Roman to mediaeval times. It began in the fourth century CE in Byzantium and in the eighth-ninth century CE in the West [See Michael McCormick, 'Coronation', *ODB*; Joachim Ott, 'Coronation', in *Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 494-95]. Philip Alexander also notes the differences between early imperial practices and those that developed later ['The Family of Caesar and the Family of God: The Image of the Emperor in the Heikhalot Literature', in *Images of Empire*, ed. Loveday Alexander, JSOTSup 122 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 276-97 (290)]. In the Hebrew Bible, the beginning of a reign was marked by an anointing (e.g., 1 Sam 10:1).

⁸⁷ Romans did not bow either, but since John, unlike Mark (15:19), does not mention bowing that will not be discussed in this thesis.

⁸⁸ Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, ed. T. A. Burkill and Géza Vermès, ed. E. L. Ehrlich, 2nd ed., SJ 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 147 n. 7. See also Brown, *John*, 2.888; Koester, *Symbolism*, 189. Note that the 'scratchings' that Brown mentions have been shown to be later than Jesus' day [Simon Goldhill, *Jerusalem: City of Longing* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2008), 182].

⁸⁹ Paul Wendland, 'Jesus als Saturnalien-König', *Hermes* 33.1 (1898): 175-79 (178).

the subsequent analysis by Léon Parmentier, when it was assumed that the Romans regularly killed the Saturnalian king at the end of their celebration.⁹⁰ However, it is quite unlikely that the killing of a mock-king in the Babylonian festival of Sacaea was also practised in the festival of the Saturnalia as it was celebrated in the Roman army.⁹¹ Francesca Prescendi rightly points out that the general Roman abhorrence of human sacrifice, practised only rarely, should caution against such unlikely connections.⁹²

Another example of the mockery of a king often brought into discussions of John 19:1-5 is that in Alexandria when a ‘madman’ was dressed up as a king (Philo, *Flacc.* 36-39 [Yonge, Hendrickson]).⁹³ On this topic, Wendland correctly points out an essential difference between the two instances: in Alexandria, the king ridiculed is not the same person as the mock king who is dressed up.⁹⁴ Indeed, King Agrippa is being mocked by implying that a madman is as good as he.⁹⁵ Yet, in the Johannine trial narrative, it is not Caesar who is mocked, but Jesus.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the question that the Fourth Gospel asks is similar—is one man the same as the other?

⁹⁰ Wendland, ‘Jesus’, 177 n. 2; Franz Cumont, ‘Les Actes de S. Dacius’, *AnBoll* 16 (1897): 5-16; Léon Parmentier, ‘Le roi des Saturnales’, *RevPhil* 21 (1897): 143-53; Francesca Prescendi, ‘Le sacrifice humain: une affaire des autres! A propos du martyre de saint Dasius’, in *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions: mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud*, ed. Francesca Prescendi and Youri Volokhine, Religions en perspective 24 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2011), 345-57 (347-55). Note that Haenchen simply mentions Wendland and Cumont’s discussion as an ‘attempt ... to find a historical kernel in this scene’ (*John*, 180-81).

J. G. Frazer carried this connection forward in *The Golden Bough*, particularly its second edition where, as Ackerman described, he uses ‘the Persian Sacaea, the Roman Saturnalia and the Babylonian Zakmuk’ to demonstrate a ‘stage of mental evolution’ where a ‘priest-king ... is sacrificed to ensure the fertility of the land and the health of the kingdom’ [Robert Ackerman, *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 167-68; James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (London: Macmillan, 1900), 186-200]. This allows Frazer to place both Judaism (through Purim) and Christianity (through Jesus) within the same stream of ‘widespread bloody worship of the procreative principle’ (Ackerman, *Frazer*, 169). See also René Girard’s critique of Frazer [*Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde* (Paris: Grasset, 1978), 190-92].

⁹¹ Prescendi, ‘Sacrifice’.

⁹² Prescendi, ‘Sacrifice’, 345-47, 357.

⁹³ E.g., Evans, ‘Death’, 146; Koester, *Symbolism*, 189. Brown is mistaken when he says that this incident ended with beating the man in question; I have been unable to find any reference to such an event, either in Philo or in Loisy whom he quotes (*John*, 2.856).

⁹⁴ Wendland, ‘Jesus’, 176.

⁹⁵ Winter, *Trial*, 148.

⁹⁶ For the scene to mock Caesar, there would need to be some obvious antithesis between Jesus and him, and the Gospel has not presented Jesus as ordinary or simple or powerless or mad. Sometimes ordinary people were dressed up as kings for simple or more sinister amusement, without pointed mockery but because human beings tend to find outrageous juxtaposition amusing. For such examples, see Winter, *Trial*, 147-49;

To mock Jesus as an emperor might, to the Johannine soldiers, suggest that, even with purple robes and a crown, he is the antithesis of Caesar.⁹⁷ However it is important to note that John (unlike Mark and Matthew) does not specify that this is a mockery.⁹⁸ Thus, the scene highlights the true seriousness of what it is saying: ‘For John, the soldiers really do crown and hail the King of the Jews’.⁹⁹

5.1.4. Irony, hidden transcripts, and truth

Despite the lack of explicit mention of mockery as in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 27:29, 31; Mark 15:20; Luke 22:63; 23:11), there is no question about the ironic intent of this passage. In his discussion of irony, specifically its function ‘to heighten narrative claims’, James Resseguie notes that ‘[t]here is no finer example of this function of irony than the soldiers’ salute, “Hail, King of the Jews!” (Matt. 27:29; Mark 15:18; John 19:3). With verbal irony they mock Jesus as a dismal failure and a pretend king, while dramatic irony accents the truth’.¹⁰⁰ The irony of the soldiers’ acclamations highlights two points that the narrative makes about Jesus: he *is* βασιλεύς, and hearers ought to pledge him their faith (20:31).¹⁰¹

In the verbal irony of the soldiers’ words, ‘Hail, king of the Jews’, a ‘contradiction occurs between what is expressed and what is implied’, and the Johannine soldiers are aware

Brant, *John*, 246. Haenchen lists these and other such historical parallels that have been collected (*John*, 180-81), but note the caution about Wendland and Cumont above.

⁹⁷ James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 68.

⁹⁸ Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 69.

⁹⁹ Bart D. Ehrman, ‘Jesus’ Trial before Pilate: John 18:28—19:16’, *BTB* 13.4 (1983): 124-131 (128); see, similarly, Dauer, *Passionsgeschichte*, 263; Jean Zumstein, *L’evangile selon saint-Jean (13-21)*, CNT 4b (Geneve: Labor et Fides, 2007), 230. See, also, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Sermon on the Paralytic* 12.

¹⁰⁰ Resseguie, *Narrative*, 74. See, similarly, Trond Skard Dokka, ‘Irony and Sectarianism in the Gospel of John’, in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel, Aarhus, 1997*, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 83-107 (95). Skinner notes that irony is a frequent element in trial scenes (*Trial*, 27-28). See below for discussion of ‘truth’.

¹⁰¹ For some discussions of faith in the Fourth Gospel, see Schnackenburg, *John*, 1.558-75; Keener, *John*, 1.325-28; Schneiders, *Written*, 51-53. For the connection between faith and faithfulness, particularly the Roman cultural unit for *fides*, see Andrew T. Lincoln, ‘Reading John: The Fourth Gospel under Modern and Postmodern Interrogation’, in *Reading the Gospels Today*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, McMaster New Testament Studies (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 127-49 (131-32); Carter, *John*, 264-73, 303.

of the incongruity.¹⁰² Although Resseguie does not note the Roman connection, the words echo those of any soldier to the Emperor: *Ave, Caesar*.¹⁰³ Yet the dramatic irony communicates something different from the narrator to the reader.¹⁰⁴ At this level, the character is ignorant of the actuality of Jesus' rank that is being conveyed.¹⁰⁵

The 'identity of Jesus' is a particular 'object of irony' in the Fourth Gospel, as Alan Culpepper has pointed out.¹⁰⁶ While he mentions Pilate as the victim of irony in the Johannine trial narrative, in 19:2-3 the victims are more specifically the soldiers.¹⁰⁷ The auditors of the Gospel, in contrast with the Johannine soldiers, know Jesus' identity (1:49); they are thus invited to share the narrator's perspective.¹⁰⁸ Jesus is the ultimate sovereign to whom John's hearers have given their faith.¹⁰⁹

Donald Senior suggests that 'the trappings of human sovereignty' in their entirety are co-opted to communicate Jesus' identity.¹¹⁰ In contrast, I have described parallels with a Roman imperial *acclamatio*. The narrative does not reject all human rule, nor even Roman rule, but it does use Roman imperial cultural units to describe Jesus. The sedition that Senior notes, however, *is* present, expressed as a hidden transcript.¹¹¹ This sedition has sometimes gone unnoticed by those assessing the Gospel as an antilanguage. Malina and Rohrbaugh, for example, see only 'Challenge and Riposte' within the narrative, and the 'ironic

¹⁰² Resseguie, *Narrative*, 68.

¹⁰³ Evans, 'King', 123 n. 8; Bernard, *St. John*, 2.615; Blinzler, *Trial*, 227.

¹⁰⁴ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 172. For the way this passage also subverts tragedy in comparison with the *Bacchae*, see Mark W. G. Stibbe, *John as Storyteller: Narrative Criticism and the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. N. Stanton, SNTSMS 73 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 139-47.

¹⁰⁵ For the description of situational or dramatic irony, see Resseguie, *Narrative*, 68. For the references to Jesus as 'Messiah, the King of Israel' that also function with a similar combination of verbal and dramatic irony, see Resseguie, *Narrative*, 69.

¹⁰⁶ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 171.

¹⁰⁷ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 179.

¹⁰⁸ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 180.

¹⁰⁹ See, somewhat similarly, Tilborg, *Reading*, 214. Others who see this as a mock pledge of allegiance include Lincoln, *Truth*, 130; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 285. The idea that Jesus is mocked as the king that John really believes him to be has been stated by many including Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 94.

¹¹⁰ Senior, *Passion*, 85.

¹¹¹ Senior, *Passion*, 85.

demonstration that Jesus is in fact the authentic king of Israel'.¹¹² The concept of hidden transcripts takes the analysis farther.

Hidden transcripts function in two specific ways of relevance at this juncture. First, hidden transcripts perform 'a labor of neutralization and negotiation'.¹¹³ The truth of the dominant is negotiated and neutralized for those it leaves shamed, honourless or powerless.¹¹⁴ This produces a different truth, one where the power structure is reversed so that the powerless are seen to have true power.¹¹⁵ This truth is expressed not only with irony, but with any figure of speech that will leave room for plausible deniability.¹¹⁶

Jerome Neyrey connects such language techniques as 'lying', deception', 'ambiguity', 'evasion', 'riddles and parables', 'double-meaning words', 'misunderstanding', and 'irony' with the negotiation of secrets in the Gospel of John.¹¹⁷ Like a hidden transcript, 'extra-group secrecy is employed in an atmosphere of fear or distrust'.¹¹⁸ Jesus, for example, lies (by omission at least) to his brothers about his visit to Jerusalem (7:1-10).¹¹⁹ Only in the Farewell Discourse does he begin '[s]peaking "plainly" and no longer "in figures" (16:25-30)' to his disciples at least.¹²⁰

Neyrey's use of the word 'espionage' for these speech practices is disconcerting because the cultural units associated with it in English are so far from the Johannine world. For example, Neyrey suggests that in John 7:15 'the Jews' who question the source of Jesus' learning 'engage in espionage to find out his secrets or to discredit him'.¹²¹ Furthermore, espionage tends to imply organized intent, which does not seem to be present in 7:1-15 where

¹¹² Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 258-59.

¹¹³ Scott, *Domination*, 111.

¹¹⁴ Scott, *Domination*, 111-14.

¹¹⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 114-15.

¹¹⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 152-54. See discussion of 'euphemisms' below.

¹¹⁷ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 260-63.

¹¹⁸ Scott, *Domination*, 136-38; Jerome H. Neyrey, 'The Sociology of Secrecy and the Fourth Gospel', in *"What Is John?" Volume II: Literary and Social Readings of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia, SBL Symposium Series 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 79-109 (84).

¹¹⁹ Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 107.

¹²⁰ Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 102.

¹²¹ Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 91.

Jesus' brothers, the crowds and 'the Jews' all express different opinions with different intentions. The focus on secrecy that Neyrey highlights, however, is quite helpful as it 'gathers neglected aspects of the document and differently highlights data which have been regularly examined by commentators'.¹²² In particular, the tension between the efforts of outsiders to learn secrets that are guarded and carefully exchanged among insiders coheres with the 'control and surveillance' from both above and below that the hidden transcript, as a resistant truth, also demands.¹²³

This resistant truth can be expressed within hearing of those in power with a variety of techniques of disguise, one of which is 'Euphemisms'.¹²⁴ Euphemism describes 'what happens to a hidden transcript when it is expressed in a power-laden situation by an actor who wishes to avoid the sanctions that direct statement will bring'.¹²⁵ Thus, '[w]hat is left in the public transcript is *an allusion to profanity without a full accomplishment of it*; a blasphemy with its teeth pulled'.¹²⁶ Scott continues: 'In time the original association between the euphemism and the blasphemy that it mimics may be lost altogether, and the euphemism becomes innocuous'.¹²⁷ This evolution may explain why the imperial references in John 18:28—19:22 no longer seem to reference the emperor but only a king.¹²⁸

In John 19:2-3, Roman-aware auditors see Roman soldiers pledging their loyalty to ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, attired as a Roman emperor, saviour of his people.¹²⁹ Yet, although the clothes, the crown, and the Χαῖρε from the soldiers create a Roman picture of the acclamation of the emperor, the title ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων remains problematic for a

¹²² Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 105.

¹²³ Neyrey, 'Secrecy'; Scott, *Domination*, 124-34.

¹²⁴ Scott, *Domination*, 152.

¹²⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 152.

¹²⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 153, emphasis original.

¹²⁷ Scott, *Domination*, 153.

¹²⁸ For another example of possible imperial references that were lost over time, see Alexander, 'Family', 287.

¹²⁹ A scholar such as Brown is able to minimize the contrast between Jesus and Rome only because he sees 'Pilate ... as favorable to Jesus' and thus concludes that '[t]he malevolence of "the Jews" remains the dominant note' (*John*, 2.863).

Roman interpretant. Caesar was never *imperator Romanorum*, much less king of the Jews.¹³⁰ Indeed, throughout the *Res gestae divi Augusti*, Augustus made it clear that he held his power not *over* but *from* the *senatus populusque Romanus*.¹³¹ Yet, rather than a title such as αὐτοκράτωρ or Καῖσαρ that would unambiguously refer to the emperor, Jesus is given a title identical to Herod's, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.3.6 §282). It is with this title that the teeth of the blasphemy are pulled.¹³² With setting, characters, actions and costume, Jesus is proclaimed as emperor. Only the title veils the proclamation.

The veiling of Jesus as emperor occurs even in contemporary studies despite the Roman clues. Why, for example, would Craig Evans discuss 'the contrast between king Jesus and king Caesar' rather than the contrast between Jesus Augustus and Caesar Augustus?¹³³ This unwillingness to use imperial terms throughout 18:28—19:22 likely occurs because imperial references in the Gospel itself are usually veiled, often, as was noted above, by combining references to Jesus' identity as a Jewish king with titles or in sections that present him as a Roman ruler as well (1:49; 4:4-42; 6:15).¹³⁴ Yet, since the Gospel regularly (although almost shyly) does describe Jesus in imperial terms, it seems reasonable to posit a hidden transcript to explain this persistent but reticent identification, in 19:2-3, through irony.

Irony, a well-known characteristic of the Gospel of John, is useful to express hidden transcripts, because it is 'capable of two readings, one of which is innocuous'.¹³⁵ Both are

¹³⁰ For an example of χαῖρε as a greeting to the Roman emperor, in this case Claudius, see Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 61.4. The greeting, *Ave!*, was not restricted to the emperor. It, along with *vale* and *salve*, were used in a variety of general circumstances (Badel, 'L'audience', 156 and n. 90).

¹³¹ Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 39.

¹³² Somewhat similarly, for Kierspel 'the title reveals Jesus' royal office in a concealed manner' (*Jews*, 73).

¹³³ Evans, 'King', 123. Van den Heever, similarly, writes in detail about 'Jesus's trial [which] is presented as the installation of a Roman imperial pretender', but immediately reverts to a discussion of 'Rome's dealings with its client kings' ('Space', 235-36).

¹³⁴ Even van Tilborg who recognizes that 'the emperor is involved in the story of Pilate and Jesus', still uses the word king more often than not (*Reading*, 165-219).

¹³⁵ Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge*, 91; Scott, *Domination*, 157. Art Wright comes to a similar conclusion ('Governor', 54-56). The importance of truth in the Fourth Gospel can be assessed in part by the number of articles and monographs that address the topic. See, e.g., de la Potterie, *Vérité*; Yu Ibuki, *Die Wahrheit im Johannesevangelium*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Heinrich Zimmermann, BBB 39 (Bonn: P. Hanstein,

used ‘to build community’; both are ‘often meant to communicate one thing to those in the know and another to outsiders and authorities’.¹³⁶ This use of a hidden transcript implies two groups of listeners to John’s Gospel: first, those ‘outsiders and authorities’ who understand the ironic behaviour and words of the soldiers as well as the dramatic irony that implies the Jewish kingship of Jesus but who are not aware of any opposition to Rome; secondly, those ‘in the know’ who believe that Jesus the Jew is, for those who give him their loyalty, *imperator* and Saviour of the world.¹³⁷ These two groups are not necessarily antagonists—they simply do not share the same encyclopaedia.¹³⁸ It is, I believe, a sense of the different encyclopaedias at play in the Fourth Gospel that makes the solution of an antilanguage so appealing. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, if the Gospel of John were written in an antilanguage, that would render its language impervious to all except insiders. Hidden transcripts that use irony allow for cultural encyclopaedias that intersect across John’s hearers and his world.¹³⁹ One may or may not understand Jesus to be sovereign and pledge him faith. Yet furthermore, one may or may not be aware and free to express his rule in terms usually reserved for other sovereigns, specifically Rome’s. Thus, auditors of the Gospel could be divided not only into two distinct categories: those ‘of the truth’ and those not ‘of the truth’ (18:37).¹⁴⁰ There might also be other differences intersecting across the auditors: those before whom it is not safe to describe Jesus in imperial terms and those before whom it is.¹⁴¹

1972); Dennis R. Lindsay, ‘What Is Truth? Alētheia in the Gospel of John’, *ResQ* 35.3 (1993): 129-145, as well as those discussed in this section of the thesis (see, e.g., n. 144).

¹³⁶ Resseguie, *Narrative*, 74; Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge*, 85; Scott, *Domination*, 128-35, 184.

¹³⁷ The second group is posited by, for example, Thatcher, *Greater*, 4.

¹³⁸ Although not using Eco’s terminology, see Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge*, 85, 90-91.

¹³⁹ See discussion of Moxnes in Section 1.2.3. See also Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge*, 96.

¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., Bond, *Pilate*, 172.

¹⁴¹ While not suggesting the particular difference that I am describing, Dokka also points out the possibility that a lack of understanding of the irony of the Gospel might be ‘a product of, a cause for, or a separation of an entirely different kind’ (‘Irony’, 94, 96, 102). Hutcheon, while recognizing the possibility of two kinds of auditors, argues against the necessity of a group of people who do not understand (*Irony's Edge*, 90). This also allows for less discrete categories with more intersectionality. For another example of an intersectional division, see R. Alan Culpepper, ‘Anti-Judaism in the Fourth Gospel as a Theological Problem for Christian Interpreters’, in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*,

What is particularly interesting about a hidden transcript is that it expresses the discourse, i.e. the truth, of a community.¹⁴² It is their local encyclopaedia.¹⁴³ Truth in John's Gospel has been much discussed, and I do not plan to engage with the whole of that conversation in this thesis.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, most important for a semiotic analysis such as this is not the definition of truth but the conventions of truth in a narrative.¹⁴⁵ And Jesus' emphasis on and Pilate's ignorance of truth (18:37-38) describe precisely the relationship between oppressed and oppressor that subordinated communities experience. Such a situation of conflict or oppression has often been posited for the community out of which the Gospel of John was produced.¹⁴⁶ The Dead Sea Scrolls emphasize truth in a similar way, and Thiselton points out that 'many of their uses of the word "true" articulate a polemical claim'.¹⁴⁷ The trial motif throughout the Fourth Gospel also reveals an inherently confrontational viewpoint.¹⁴⁸ And whether John's hearers were oppressed (by Jews or Romans) or not, certainly the retainer Jesus-believers posited in Chapter 3 would have developed some sort of discourse resistant to their employers/owners.¹⁴⁹

ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, Jewish and Cristian Heritage Series 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 61-82 (68-69).

¹⁴² Scott, *Domination*, 208. Van den Heever also notes that truth in the Gospel of John is the expression of the truth of a community [“From the Pragmatics of Textures to a Christian Utopia”: The Case of the Gospel of John], in *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, JSNTSup 195 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 297-334 (309)].

¹⁴³ Eco, *Semiotics*, 83-84.

¹⁴⁴ See, e.g., Thiselton, 'Truth', *NIDNTT* 889-94 and Ignace de la Potterie, 'L'arrière-fond du thème johannique de vérité', in *Studia Evangelica: Papers Presented to the International Congress on 'the Four Gospels in 1957' Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1957*, ed. Kurt Aland et al., Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur 73 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), 277-94. Thiselton lays to rest the artificial distinction between Hebrew and Greek notions of truth (877-82, 884, 885-86, 889), and de la Potterie equates truth not to the opposite of falsehood but to revealed mystery. For a different approach to truth with quite different conclusions, see Casey, *True?*, 218-29. For truth as related to persuasion, see Martin Warner, 'The Fourth Gospel's Art of Rational Persuasion', in *The Bible as Rhetoric: Studies in Biblical Persuasion and Credibility*, ed. Martin Warner, Warwick Studies in Philosophy and Literature (London: Routledge, 1990), 153-77 (177).

¹⁴⁵ Lincoln, 'Reading', 133-38.

¹⁴⁶ E.g., Brown, *Community*, 59-91; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 420-21; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 82-83; Borgen, *Light*, 273.

¹⁴⁷ See, similarly, his comments on the Pastorals and 1 & 2 Peter (Thiselton, 'Truth', *NIDNTT* 883, 887, 888).

¹⁴⁸ This will be developed further in Chapter 7. As just one example from Lincoln's work, see 'Reading', 140-43.

¹⁴⁹ Section 3.1.4.

For insiders, their truth is God's truth and they rely on it.¹⁵⁰ 'Everyone on the side of truth listens to [Jesus]' (18:37). The community understands the truth because the 'Spirit of truth' (14:17; 15:26; 16:13) enlightens them.¹⁵¹ This truth, as Lincoln shows, is expressed through the trial narrative, proclaimed by Jesus and trusted by those who believe.¹⁵² It is, in other words, the truth of a particular group of people in a context in which others disagree (e.g., 3:20-21; 5:31-40).¹⁵³ It is only those who have this Spirit, who 'can understand in what sense Jesus has a kingdom and is a king'.¹⁵⁴ However, given the interpretation of the hidden transcript posited in this thesis, I would say that they can understand in what sense Jesus has an empire and is an emperor.

5.1.5. Mid-chapter conclusions

Although Chapter 6 will challenge the chiasmic structure typically proposed for the Johannine trial narrative, thus ousting John 19:1-5 from its usual central position, the mocking of Jesus is nevertheless an important moment in the development of events. Yet the lack of explicit reference to mockery challenges Evans' assertion that the scene is set in the centre of the narrative unit 'deliberately in order to make the element of mockery central'.¹⁵⁵ What the analysis undertaken in this first half of Chapter 5 brings to the fore, however, is that John 19:2-3 highlights Jesus' *acclamatio* as *imperator* where Jesus is the saviour of his people and Roman soldiers pledge him their loyalty. John uses the Roman cultural units of Caesar to portray Jesus, a technique that will continue in the next verse. While the tone is clearly mocking, the irony of the scene and the substitute title are part of

¹⁵⁰ Zumstein, *L'evangile*, 226-27.

¹⁵¹ Thiselton, 'Truth', *NIDNTT* 892; Daise, 'Quotations'.

¹⁵² Lincoln, *Gospel*, e.g., 7, 10, 12, 38, 48, 61, 63, 90-91.

¹⁵³ Thatcher, *Greater*, 28-31. Adele Reinhartz also addresses this notion of truth as apprehended by a variety of readers with her 'compliant', 'resistant', 'sympathetic' and 'engaged' readings of the Gospel (*Befriending*, esp. 49-50, 158-59). See also Dunn's definition of truth as significance (Dunn, *Neither*, 337).

¹⁵⁴ Brown, *John*, 2.869. See also Howard Clark Kee, 'Knowing the Truth: Epistemology and Community in the Fourth Gospel', in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, NovTSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 254-80. The concept of Jesus' kingship known by the Gospel's audience in some hidden sense is also brought out by Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.241, 255, 257.

¹⁵⁵ Evans, *Explorations*, 59. See also similarly Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 93.

the communication of what is true for Jesus-believers in the face of some sort of opposition—either unbelievers, or Roman officials, or both.

Arguments that Jesus is portrayed as emperor usually take this characterization as implicitly anti-imperialistic or as a way to elucidate the Gospel's Christology.¹⁵⁶ And while these conclusions can be drawn, for the purpose of this study these analyses move too far too fast. Thus, with Brown, I shall not argue for a 'direct confrontation with Rome' nor for 'a clash between the religious and the secular' which, in any case, is a division that cannot be maintained.¹⁵⁷ I want to pause instead to examine how the Fourth Gospel portrays Jesus as an emperor using concepts familiar to Roman-aware auditors. Jesus and Caesar are 'analogues rather than equated', as Aeneas and Augustus are in Vergil's *Aeneid*.¹⁵⁸ This view sidesteps the 'greater than' and 'instead of' arguments usually made; it focuses instead on the way the Fourth Gospel communicates the identity of Jesus to Roman-aware auditors.¹⁵⁹

5.2. *Aeneid* Allusion in John 19:5

As the narrative moves from John 19:3 to 19:4, Pilate leads Jesus outside, and the connection with *imperator* is repeated with the reference to his robe and crown in verse 5. The image is emphasized by '[t]he Greek verb used to speak of Jesus "bearing" the insignia', φορέω, that 'indicates a habitual and long-term wearing of clothes or insignia, often associated with a sense of pomp'.¹⁶⁰ When Pilate speaks to 'the Jews' he begins with, Ἰδε ἄγω, which I shall

¹⁵⁶ E.g., Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 64; Cassidy, *John's Gospel*, 84-85; Bond, *Pilate*, 193; Glancy, 'Torture', 136; David Reed, 'Rethinking John's Social Setting: Hidden Transcript, Anti-Language, and the Negotiation of the Empire', *BTB* 36.3 (2006): 93-106 (103); Carter, *John*, 176-203; Thatcher, *Greater*, 4-11. Thatcher, however, also sees John 'build[ing] on imperial logic' (15). For further discussion, see Sections 1.1 and 7.2.1.

¹⁵⁷ Brown, *John*, 2.863.

¹⁵⁸ Cairns, *Epic*, 4.

¹⁵⁹ For the term 'Roman-aware auditors', see Section 3.1.4 and the beginning of Chapter 4. Furthermore, analyses such as Rensberger's focus on the affront to the Jews and thus interpret the 'royal epiphany' only as that of a Jewish king. Neyrey rightly separates the reaction of the Jews at the narrative level from the understanding of the hearers of the Gospel (Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 93-94; Neyrey, *Cultural*, 426-27).

¹⁶⁰ 'φορέω', *BDAG*, 1064. Francis J. Moloney, *Love in the Gospel of John: An Exegetical, Theological, and Literary Study* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 144. Pace Bernard, *St. John*, 2.616.

suggest is part of a literary allusion. Then in verse 5, the tempo slows down.¹⁶¹ Pilate announces that Jesus is coming out, but narrative time is stretched out through three long phrases: ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔξω, φορῶν τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, before Pilate presents Jesus with a flourish: Ἴδου ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

It must be noted at this juncture of the discussion that some Greek, Latin and Coptic textual witnesses omit καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. The earliest of these is the Greek Papyrus Bodmer II (P⁶⁶), usually dated to *ca.* 200 CE but recently pushed back possibly to the fourth century CE.¹⁶² The scribe first wrote the verse without the last six words. The page is quite damaged, however, and Gordon Fee's cryptic assertion that '[i]n the margin somewhere the scribe has undoubtedly added' the missing words becomes clear when one finds Comfort and Barrett's footnote after ἱμάτιον reporting that an '[i]nset mark follows'.¹⁶³ Comfort and Barrett assign this correction to the second hand at work on the manuscript—the one who paginated the first hundred pages and offered the first series of corrections, possibly using 'a different exemplar to make his emendations'.¹⁶⁴ The omission made by the original scribe fits with the practice used by that hand throughout the manuscript of 'attempting to trim the text of whatever he perceived to be unnecessary'.¹⁶⁵

Several Old Latin texts also omit the end of the verse.¹⁶⁶ Burton groups Codex Vercellensis (fourth century CE, second half), Codex Palatinus (fifth century CE), and Codex Usserianus (*ca.* 600 CE) together as part of the "first European" version of John'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 160, 288-89.

¹⁶² Brent Nongbri, 'The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P. Bodmer II (P66)', *MH* 71 (2014): 1-35.

¹⁶³ Gordon D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics*, ed. Jacob Geerlings, Studies and Documents 34 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), 97; Philip W. Comfort, and David P. Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 449.

¹⁶⁴ Comfort, and Barrett, *Complete*, 376-77, 449.

¹⁶⁵ Comfort, and Barrett, *Complete*, 374.

¹⁶⁶ P. H. Burton et al., 'Vetus latina Iohannes: The Verbum Project: The Old Latin Manuscripts of John's Gospel', (2015), <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/> (accessed 1/5/2016).

¹⁶⁷ Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language*, ed. Gillian Clark and Andrew Louth, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 17, 21, 23, 74.

He puts Codex Corbeiensis (fifth century CE) in the ‘second European version’ along with the Vulgate.¹⁶⁸ Since Corbeiensis includes a correction of the lacuna, the witnesses with the missing phrase are all part of the same tradition.¹⁶⁹ Other manuscripts that are part of the first European version, such as Codex Sarzanensis (early sixth century CE) and Codex Monacensis (ca. 600 CE) contain the phrase so the evidence is not univocal.¹⁷⁰

The other manuscript in which the end of the verse is missing is a Coptic version, specifically in the sub-Achmimic dialect, also known as Lycopolitan.¹⁷¹ There is one witness to this tradition, and it is dated to the second half of the fourth century CE.¹⁷² Thompson argues that ‘the Achmimic remains represent the version in its earliest form’.¹⁷³ Although the sub-Akhmimic dialect ‘stands between Achmimic and Sahidic’, these dialects existed simultaneously in different regions, and the sub-Achmimic text seems to be an offshoot from the Achmimic rather than a step on the way to the Sahidic.¹⁷⁴ Thompson believed that the various omissions testified to a bilingual (Latin-Coptic) or trilingual (Greek-Latin-Coptic) transmission, but since the omissions do not all occur in Old Latin manuscripts from the same version (see above) this possibility is far from supported.¹⁷⁵

What conclusions can be drawn from this evidence? Brown notes that these manuscripts form ‘an important combination’ but does not elaborate further or draw any conclusions.¹⁷⁶ Comfort and Barrett suggest the possibility that the first scribe of \mathfrak{P}^{66} ‘took exception to Jesus being presented by Pilate as a mere man’.¹⁷⁷ Bart Ehrman goes further.

¹⁶⁸ Burton, *Old Latin*, 20, 74.

¹⁶⁹ Burton et al., ‘Vetus’; Burton, *Old Latin*, 20, 74.

¹⁷⁰ Burton et al., ‘Vetus’; Burton, *Old Latin*, 21, 24, 74.

¹⁷¹ D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁷² Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John According to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1924), XIII.

¹⁷³ Thompson, *Gospel*, XXI.

¹⁷⁴ Thompson, *Gospel*, XX; Rodolphe Kasser, *L'évangile selon saint Jean et les versions coptes de la Bible*, Bibliothèque théologique (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1966), 37, 44.

¹⁷⁵ Thompson, *Gospel*, XVI; Burton, *Old Latin*, 74.

¹⁷⁶ Brown, *John*, 2.875.

¹⁷⁷ Comfort, and Barrett, *Complete*, 374.

Noting the absence of an article in Vaticanus (ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος), a parchment witness from the fourth century CE, Ehrman suggests that the resulting phrase be translated ‘See, he is mortal’.¹⁷⁸ If Vaticanus represents a textual tradition that ‘once had a wider currency’, then Ehrman suggests the words may have been ‘excised’ to prevent an expression that seems to reduce Jesus to ‘a mere mortal’.¹⁷⁹

This seems quite a broad conclusion to base on the supposition that the lack of an article in one manuscript, Vaticanus, represents a textual tradition known by scribes writing in three languages. Especially the evidence of P⁶⁶ where the correcting scribe evidently wanted the words included seems to argue against Ehrman’s reconstruction. Although it is possible that scribes in each of three languages omitted the phrase because of Christological concerns, an early textual tradition in which the phrase was missing is equally possible, although equally speculative. Another possibility is that ‘already early interpreters were puzzled about the import of this enigmatic statement’.¹⁸⁰ What is important to note for the purposes of this thesis is simply that textual traditions that included καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος existed both before and after the witnesses that do not contain this phrase, and that reading was much more broadly spread and adopted. Thus, the versions that end the verse after ἰμάτιον can be set aside as interesting but anomalous, and an analysis based on the majority reading pursued.

Although Rensberger interprets John 19:2-5 as a ‘bitter burlesque of Jewish royalty’, this section will argue that ‘Behold the man’ alludes to Vergil’s presentation of Augustus (*Aeneid* 6.791) and thus, once again, presents Jesus in terms that usually refer to Caesar.¹⁸¹ In order to support this proposal, the steps proposed by Ben-Porat for the functioning of an

¹⁷⁸ Parker, *Introduction*, 71-72; Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 111.

¹⁷⁹ Ehrman, *Orthodox*, 111.

¹⁸⁰ Brown, *Death*, 827 n. 13.

¹⁸¹ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 94, emphasis mine.

allusion, as they were presented in Chapter 2 of this study, will be followed but now expanded to five: (1) become aware of the presence of a marker (awareness); (2) recognize the text it evokes (recognition); (3) understand the context of the marked element in the evoked text (understanding); (4) interpret the marker in the alluding text (interpretation), and (5) re-interpret the greater context of the alluding text based on connections with the evoked text (re-interpretation).¹⁸² Adding step 3 makes explicit the analysis of the marker of the literary allusion in its original context, a step that Ben-Porat mentions but does not list as a separate step.¹⁸³ Finally, the allusion will be discussed through the lens of semiotics to demonstrate that the literary allusion that presents Jesus in Signs usually used for Caesar is not a simple comparison nor an opposition, but a nuanced analogy that will require further analysis in Chapters 6 and 7.¹⁸⁴

5.2.1. Awareness

At the outset, one becomes aware of a literary allusion based on a marker in the alluding text. A marker is defined by Ben-Porat as ‘an element or pattern belonging to another independent text’.¹⁸⁵ The general Romanness of both the parade of heroes in *Aen.* 6.788-89, which focuses on the rulers of Rome throughout history, and the Johannine trial narrative (with the Roman location, the Roman governor, the Roman soldiers and their Roman salute) point to the analogous universes of discourse of the two texts.¹⁸⁶ A specific

¹⁸² See Section 2.3, especially 2.3.1.

¹⁸³ Others, such as Brian Abasciano, also make this step explicit [*Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 10-14]. Ben-Porat follows these steps in her analyses as well, although in connection with her diagrams rather than in numbered format (‘Poetics’, 112-116). Furthermore, Ben-Porat’s fourth step, the re-interpretation of the broader context of the alluding text, is often implicit in others’ analyses. Abasciano, citing Hays, Dodd and Hollander, suggests that the ‘broader context’ of the allusion may reveal connections with the passage in which the allusion is found (*Romans 9:1-9*, 6, 7, 9, 17). This fourth step of Ben-Porat’s might also fruitfully be connected with Porter’s comments about thematic studies that eventually move into textual analyses (‘Further’, 101-102).

¹⁸⁴ The term ‘Sign’ throughout this chapter refers to Peircian signs, not Johannine signs; see Sections 1.2.2 and 2.1.

¹⁸⁵ Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 108.

¹⁸⁶ See Section 5.1 of this chapter for the Roman referents of John 19:2-3. See Sections 5.2.4-5 in this chapter for a more detailed comparison and contrast of the two contexts.

marker in the Gospel, however, is needed to activate the allusion.¹⁸⁷ That marker, in this case, is a pattern, one that mirrors the same pattern in the *Aeneid*. Its elements consist of:

- the specific phrase in John 19:5, ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος (*Aen.* 6.791)
- the presentation of a ruler in a proleptic account (John 19:2-5; *Aen.* 6.791-807)
- a context focused on rulers (John 18:33, 37, 38; 19:2-3, 5; *Aen.* 6.765, 808-810)
- a context focused on a kingdom or empire (John 18:36; *Aen.* 6.770)
- deictic words with aural similarities

The chief marker to Vergil's *Aeneid* are the words that the Johannine Pilate utters when he presents Jesus: ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. This phrase points to Anchises's presentation of Augustus Caesar: *hic vir, hic est* (*Aen.* 6.791). Yet would not a marker for *hic vir, hic est* require a more literal οὗτος ἀνὴρ, οὗτος ἔστιν to activate the allusion? That is not necessary, because the 'identification [of the marker] does not depend on formal identity. A distorted quotation or a unique noun in a new declension are examples of markers that are recognizable as belonging to a certain system in spite of a new form'.¹⁸⁸ Ancient quotations often exhibit just such variations, including the quotations of Scripture in the Gospel of John itself.¹⁸⁹ Ancient writers quote the *Aeneid* in a variety of media such as graffiti and in Seneca the Younger's letters, and sometimes the 'texts emerge from the memory strangely confused'.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, the *Satyricon* describes a Jewish slave who was taught to recite the

¹⁸⁷ Brown, *John*, 2.875; Keener, *John*, 2.1122. Other connections could be drawn, such as both heroes bringing order out of chaos (e.g., John 1:1), having connections with divinity (e.g., 18:36), as well as initial misunderstandings of oracular pronouncements (e.g., 12:16), and the cosmic oppositions (especially 'the powers of good and evil, of light and darkness, of heaven and hell'), but these seem to fit more broadly into the common antiquity of the two texts rather than constituting specific markers. On these elements in the *Aeneid*, see Grebe, 'Authority', 36, 38, 47, 49, 51, 57-60; Nicholas Horsfall, 'Aeneas the Colonist', *Vergilius* 35 (1989): 8-27 (11); Hardie, *Aeneid*, 268. Finally, both Palinurus and Jesus die, *unum pro multis* 'one life for many' (Vergil, *Aen.* 5. 815 [Fairclough, LCL]), εἷς ἄνθρωπος ... ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ 'one man for the people' (John 11:50). This too cannot be explored at this juncture. For one approach to this impulse to sacrifice that includes a concomitant analysis of Vergil's *Aeneid*, see Cesáreo Bandera, *The Sacred Game: The Role of the Sacred in the Genesis of Modern Literary Fiction* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

¹⁸⁸ Ben-Porat, 'Poetics', 110.

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, the discussions in Menken, *Quotations*, e.g., 71. The Romans 2:24 citation of Isaiah 52:5, mentioned in Section 2.3.1, is another example of an inexact quotation.

¹⁹⁰ Nicholas Horsfall, 'Aspects of Virgilian Influence in Roman Life', in *Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio: Mantova, Roma, Napoli, 19-24 settembre 1981*, ed. Marco Beck (Milan:

Aeneid, but acquitted himself of the task with many mistakes not only of declamation but also of memory (Petronius, 68). Although this is not to be taken as a direct reflection of reality, it at least suggests that slaves were taught to recite for their masters' amusement, and the *Aeneid* was probably among the texts used for that purpose.¹⁹¹

Furthermore, the text in this case is not only remembered but translated. The ancient world recognized that translation was not necessarily centred on individual words. Word-for-word translations are only (1) probable if the original language has some prestige and (2) viable if there are bilinguals present who can explain the odd constructions in the translated texts.¹⁹² There is a 'psychological effect' to these choices as well: 'In very general terms the *sensus de sensu* approach can be seen as bringing the original to the reader, whereas in the *verbum e verbo* translation . . . the reader [is brought] to the original'.¹⁹³ And as anyone who has attempted translations is aware, to tie oneself to a word-for-word methodology 'n'est pas simplement se proposer une œuvre impossible, c'est en fait s'interdire de traduire'.¹⁹⁴ Thus, in the ancient world as in contemporary practice, translations varied according to need. In both the Greek Bible and the *Res gestae divi Augusti* the Greek is sometimes influenced by the source language but also includes alterations for the sake of the Greek readers.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, one can either emphasize or de-emphasize an allusion in

Mondadori, 1984), 47-63 (48). Note that Horsfall cites a study by Consoli on Seneca for his 'citations from memory, unverified and full of error and transposition', but the majority of the Seneca quotations that Consoli lists are perfectly accurate. See however Consoli's discussion on 'interferenze mnemoniche' in Section c on p. 463-64, as well as Section e, 465 and Section V, 465-67 [Santi Consoli, 'Reminiscenze virgiliane nelle prose di L. Anneo Seneca', *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 49.4 (1921): 456-67]. For more examples of quotations, see Section 5.2.2 below.

¹⁹¹ For more such examples, see Section 5.2.2.

¹⁹² Sebastian Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20.1 (1979): 69-87 (74-75).

¹⁹³ Brock, 'Aspects', 73. For a discussion of the Roman focus on rhetoric in translation, see Rita Copeland, 'The Fortunes of "non verbum pro verbo": Or, Why Jerome Is Not a Ciceronian', in *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages. Papers Read at a Conference Held 20 - 23 August 1987 at the University of Wales Conference Centre, Gregynog Hall*, ed. Roger Ellis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), 15-35 (20).

¹⁹⁴ Jean-Louis Mourgues, 'Écrire en deux langues: Bilinguisme et pratique de chancellerie sous le Haut-Empire romain', *DHA* 21.2 (1995): 105-29 (124-25).

¹⁹⁵ David N. Wigtill, 'The Translator of the Greek *Res gestae* of Augustus', *AJP* 103.2 (1982): 189-194 (192); Law, *When*, 170-71. On the pull towards word-for-word translations, see, e.g., Copeland, 'Fortunes', 31; Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 127. Rajak emphasizes the development of Septuagint Greek as an expression of

translation.¹⁹⁶ If John 19:5 is, as suggested above, part of a hidden transcript, then there might be reason to obscure the allusion.¹⁹⁷ However, Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος is not a particularly obscure translation of *hic vir, hic est*.

A second element in the marker is that in both texts the presentation of the ruler plays with the hearers' sense of time. Jesus and Augustus are foundational figures for each intended audience. Their rule is foretold in these narratives set in the past, and that rule is understood to extend over the present of the hearers (e.g., *Aen.* 6.854-86; 8.675-88; John 20:29). 'The *Aeneid* achieves much of its grandeur by looking forward ... to what, for the original Roman reader as for us, has already happened'.¹⁹⁸ This serves to legitimate Augustan Roman imperialism.¹⁹⁹ Similar prolepses occur in the Fourth Gospel, and these, as Adele Reinhartz notes, may 'serve to express the self-understanding of [the] community.... It may even be the case that at least some of the prolepses coincide rather directly with the experience of the community'.²⁰⁰ Although Reinhartz does not include the Johannine trial narrative in her examples, it does repeatedly present Jesus as βασιλεύς in the midst of his trial, flogging, and crucifixion.²⁰¹ Thus, his future reign is proleptically invoked in John 18:28—19:22. The context of both phrases (John 19:5 and *Aen.* 6.791) authenticate the present experiences of their communities in a narrative from the past.²⁰²

Jewish diaspora identity and in that context points to some choices that diverge from the Hebrew (*Translation*, 134-35, 144, 153, 177, 190).

¹⁹⁶ Peter Oakes, 'Quelle devrait être l'influence des échos intertextuels sur la traduction?', in *Intertextualités: La Bible en échos*, ed. Daniel Marguerat and Adrian Curtis, *Le Monde de la Bible* 40 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000), 251-87 (e.g., 265).

¹⁹⁷ Andrew Wilson, although discussing the concept of truth from a very different perspective, also recognizes the interplay of truth revealed as well as concealed in John 19:1-6 ['"Beholding the Man": Viewing (or Is It Marking?) John's Trial Scene Alongside Kitsch Art', *BibInt* 24 (2016): 245-64 (257-59)].

¹⁹⁸ William Fitzgerald, *How to Read a Latin Poem: If You Can't Read Latin Yet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 160.

¹⁹⁹ Grebe, 'Authority', 35.

²⁰⁰ Adele Reinhartz, 'Jesus as Prophet: Predictive Prolepses in the Fourth Gospel', *JSNT* 36 (1989): 3-16 (11). For the assumptions inherent in this conclusion, see Reinhartz, 'Prophet', 16 n. 34, citing Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 67-68, but see also more generally 53-70.

²⁰¹ See Chapter 4.

²⁰² K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: The Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison, 2nd ed., *Landmarks of World Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7. Note that this is not unique—Patrick Chura, for example, looks at the interplay between narrative present and authorial present in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* and demonstrates the way the proleptic elements of the narrative contributed to its relevance at the time of

Both phrases also occur in passages where rulers and empires are the main focus of the discussion. In Book 6 of the *Aeneid* Anchises shows his son Aeneas a procession of the souls who will one day rule in Rome. The line of rulers begins with Silvius, a ‘king and the father of kings’ (*regem regumque parentem*, 1.765); the second king after Romulus is mentioned as well, Numa, ‘the king of Rome who will first found the city on a basis of law’ (*regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem*, 1.810). And in the central position in the cortege comes Augustus, ‘culminating’ the ‘future heroes of Rome’.²⁰³ Such ‘[c]entral elements of descriptions ... are crucial in Virgil’.²⁰⁴ The importance of Augustus is made clear as the narration pauses to effuse, among other things, over the expansion of the empire that he will bring: *super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium* (1.795).²⁰⁵ The presentation of Jesus in the Johannine trial narrative is slightly less dramatic, in part because he is the focus of the whole Gospel. Nevertheless, the topic of ruler (βασιλεύς, 18:33, 37, 38) and empire (βασιλεία, 18:36) are clearly central to this narrative, and are particularly repeated in the verses leading up to Jesus’ presentation by Pilate.

This element of presentation, the sense of *voilà*, also permeates both John 19:5 and *Aen.* 6.791. In the *Aeneid*, this is true of the whole section of ll.756-886 which is punctuated by words of presentation such as *hi* (e.g., 773, 774) and *ille* (e.g., 836) as the kings move by one after another. Anchises, who is speaking, begins the presentation passage with, *Nunc age...* (‘Now come’, 1.756) and then, four lines later, as the first youth appears, he announces, *Ille, vides* (‘See that one’, 1.760). Similarly, when Pilate comes out to present the flogged Jesus to the Jews, he starts his speech with the words, ἴδε ἄγω (19:4). His words point to the Latin presentation words in the *Aeneid*, the first semantically (*see!*), but also, for both,

publication [‘Prolepsis and Anachronism: Emmet Till and the Historicity of *To Kill a Mockingbird*’, *Southern Literary Journal* 32.2 (2000): 1-26].

²⁰³ Gransden, *Virgil*, 4.

²⁰⁴ James E. G. Zetzel, ‘*Romane memento*: Justice and Judgment in Aeneid 6’, *TAPA* 119 (1989): 263-84 (265). See further on the order of the heroes, Grebe, ‘Authority’, 50-51.

²⁰⁵ Nicholas Horsfall, ‘Virgil, History and the Roman Tradition’, *Prudentia* 8 (1976): 73-89.

phonetically (*vides*–ἴδε and *age*–ἄγω).²⁰⁶ To recognize a phonetic marker, however, would require more than a Roman-aware auditor. It would require the auditor to have heard the passage in Latin and to have understood at least the gist of the scene, in other words to be passively bilingual.²⁰⁷ This would be part of the experience of Roman retainers serving at table.²⁰⁸ However, the words are both in a different order and too common in both languages to assert an allusion based on the phonetic similarity alone. Yet, especially in the context of a Roman presentation, the deictic words are a part of the marker to the *Aeneid* scene.

These deictic words have been studied as early as 1890, when Karl Sittl assembled a collection of words used in conjunction with hand gestures such as pointing including δεικτικῶς, *hic homo*, *hic*, ὅδε, δε, *ce*, *sic(e)* and *ecce*.²⁰⁹ Two of Sittl's primary references, both from the first century CE, are relevant to the *hic vir*, *hic est*.²¹⁰ Persius notes, 'It's splendid to be pointed out and to hear people say: "That's him!"' (*hic est!*; *Sat.* 1.28 [Braund, LCL]). And Martial argues that although he is poor, 'I am much read all the world over and people say "It's he"' (*hic est*; *Epigrams* 5.13.3 [Bailey, LCL]).²¹¹ This deictic use of *hic* occurs starting in *Aeneid* 6.789, where Anchises points out, 'Here is Caesar and all Iulus' descendants, about to pass under the great vault of heaven' (*hic Caesar et omnis Iuli progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem*; 6.789-90).²¹² Horsfall notes 'Anch[ises]'s eager pointing finger here, as he moves from *gens* to Julius to Augustus' which is 'energetically

²⁰⁶ Both *ago* and ἄγω have *to lead* as their first gloss, and both were used in the imperative in the sense of *come on!* In these instances, ἄγω is used in the first sense, *age* in the second (ἄγε, ἄγετε, LSJ 7; 'emporium', OLD 89; 'ago', OLD, 24). On the importance of sound for allusions, see James F. McGrath, 'On Hearing (Rather Than Reading) Intertextual Echoes: Christology and Monotheistic Scriptures in an Oral Context', *BTB* 43.2 (2013): 74-80.

²⁰⁷ For a definition of passive bilingualism, see Section 2.2.1.

²⁰⁸ For one way that Vergil's *Aeneid* was brought into public and private spaces, see van den Heever, 'Space', 209-210.

²⁰⁹ Karl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), 51-53.

²¹⁰ Sittl, *Gebärden*, 52 n. 2.

²¹¹ See, similarly, Ovid: 'Oft someone points with finger to the bard as he passes, and says: "He, he is the one fierce Love is burning up!"' (*hic, hic est*; *Amores* 3.1.20 [Showerman and Goold, LCL]).

²¹² Horsfall, *Aeneid* 6, 55.

appealing’.²¹³ This same deictic use, although not mentioned by Sittl, can be found for ἰδοῦ, used for example by Epictetus in the early second century as a way to draw attention to the actions of a philosopher in public: ‘See what the philosopher is doing’ (ἰδοῦ ὁ φιλόσοφος τί ποιεῖ; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.8.5 [Oldfather, LCL]). Thus in order to create a marker for those immersed in a multilingual context, ἰδοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος could be an allusion to *hic vir, hic est*.²¹⁴

That this marker is intentional seems probable, both because of the several elements included in the pattern and because the phrase in John 19:5 has been difficult to interpret without noting the allusion.²¹⁵ The proposals have been extensive:

First, in the fifth century CE, Nonnus made the verse simply highlight Jesus’ innocence.²¹⁶ Secondly, several contemporary scholars take ‘Behold, the man’ as an expression of pity, a bid for sympathy, or a reminder of Jesus’ true humanity.²¹⁷ Thirdly, and somewhat similar, is the suggestion that it refers to Jesus’ suffering, perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate that this man cannot be a ruler.²¹⁸ Charles Panackel agrees with this as a primary meaning, but then derives the ultimate meaning of the phrase from a study of ἄνθρωπος throughout the Gospel and concludes that it constitutes an ‘emphasis of Jesus’

²¹³ Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 6: A Commentary*, vol. 2: Commentary and Appendices (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 539.

²¹⁴ For more on the use of word-for-word translations in later years and in legal documents, see Brock, ‘Aspects’, 80-87.

²¹⁵ For a detailed look at interpretations of this verse before 1988, including a listing from throughout church history, see Charles Panackel, *Ἰδοῦ Ὁ Ἀνθρώπος (Jn 19,5b): An Exegetico-Theological Study of the Text in the Light of the Use of the Term Ἀνθρώπος Designating Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 251 (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1988), 312-25. For a somewhat similar collection of views, but with only one reference in the twenty-first century, see Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 212-16.

²¹⁶ Nonnus, *Paraphrase* 19.25: ἡνίδε ποικιλόνωτος ἀνάιτιος ἵσταται ἀνὴρ, ‘See there, with multi-coloured back, innocent, stands a man’, author translation. Blinzler similarly suggests that ‘Pilate’s prime motive is to demonstrate the harmlessness of the alleged pretendant to the throne’ (*Trial*, 229). See also Bennema, *Encountering*, 186. Bennema also suggests that the phrase could refer to the ‘Son of Man’ (186 n. 15).

²¹⁷ Bultmann, *John*, 659; Bernard, *St. John*, 2.616; Haenchen, *John*, 181; François Genuyt, ‘La comparation de Jésus devant Pilate: Analyse sémiotique de Jean 18,28—19,16’, *RSR* 73.1 (1985): 133-46 (140); Stibbe, *Storyteller*, 108; Cassidy, *John’s Gospel*, 46; Kierspel, *Jews*, 119, 129; Zumstein, *L’evangile*, 231-32. On Jesus as ‘man’, see Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 12.4 and Koester, *Symbolism*, 187; Keener, *John*, 2.1123.

²¹⁸ Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.255-56; Panackel, *Ἰδοῦ*, 329-38, 338; Ridderbos, *Gospel*, 600-601; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 291.

humanity and the affirmation of Jesus' status as Son of God'.²¹⁹ This suggests, fourthly, that the pronouncement is 'a disguised confession of Christ'.²²⁰ Fifthly, some scholars draw explicitly theological conclusions, such as Sevenster who sees 'the man who has profoundly absorbed himself into the life of human sin, accomplishing with obedience a work of redemption in bearing the load others should bear'.²²¹ Sixthly, Skinner suggests that this reference to Jesus as a man raises 'the question of whether he is indeed God's authorized agent' asked in other passages calling Jesus *ἄνθρωπος*, such as 7:46; 9:16; 10:33; 11:47.²²² However, Jesus is also called *ἄνθρωπος* in 7:51; 11:50; 18:14, 29 without reference to this question, so the connection seems unlikely. Lastly, a variety of allusions have been proposed, some of them explicitly eschatological: to Zech. 6:12; to 1 Sam 9:17 LXX; to Genesis 3:22 and *Vita* 13:3; or to Num 24:7 LXX (with Philo, *Mos.* 1.290; *Praem.* 95).²²³ Ultimately, the question remains open.²²⁴

After the acclamation by the soldiers, Brown mourns, 'this would have been the perfect moment to have had Pilate say, "Behold the king!" (as in vs. 14). Instead there is the enigmatic "Behold the man!"'.²²⁵ Perhaps it is just this contrast between a divine emperor and a human man that the Johannine Pilate mocks.²²⁶ He borrows the phrase Vergil uses to

²¹⁹ Panackel, *Ἰδού*, 329-38, 338. Others come to similar conclusions, such as Frédéric Manns, *John and Jamnia: How the Break Occured between Jews and Christians: c. 80-100 A.D.* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1988), 58-60; Herman C. Waetjen, *The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple: A Work in Two Editions* (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 389.

²²⁰ Bond, *Pilate*, 186; Dodd, *Interpretation*, 437; Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 172; Duke, *Irony*, 106-107; Carter, *John*, 305-306.

²²¹ G. Sevenster, 'Remarks on the Humanity of Jesus in the Gospel and Letters of John', in *Studies in John: Presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Karel Hanhart, NovTSup 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 185-93 (193).

²²² Skinner, *Trial*, 98, 178 n. 26.

²²³ Zech. 6:12: Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 70; Lindars, *John*, 566; Barrett, *Gospel*, 541. 1 Sam 9:17 LXX: Lincoln, *Gospel*, 466; Thompson, *John*, 383. Genesis 3:22 and *Vita* 13:3: Matthew David Litwa, 'Behold Adam: A Reading of John 19:5', *HBT* 32.2 (2010): 129-43 (142). Num 24:7 LXX (with Philo): Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 246-47. Note that Bekken's descriptions of the Roman imperial imagery in Philo are marred by vague references (e.g., to 'some details') and an analysis where any Roman referents disappear behind the Hebrew (e.g., to the lion of Judah) and the common (e.g., the qualities of a ruler) (*Lawsuit*, 227-33).

²²⁴ For a brief reception history that includes Augustine, Nietzsche, Rembrandt and Dürer, see Edwards, *John*, 176-77.

²²⁵ Brown, *John*, 2.890.

²²⁶ Bond, *Pilate*, 185.

introduce Augustus, not so much because Augustus is a god (although that, certainly, is part of his characterization in the context of 6.791) but because Augustus' status is so far above that of the beaten man standing before Pilate, despite their similarity in dress. Before further examining the way in which a literary allusion to the *Aeneid* clarifies the identity of Jesus, the case must be made for claiming that the evoked text is recognizable.

5.2.2. Recognition

The step of recognition, Ben-Porat suggests, 'seems to be trivial'.²²⁷ Yet, certainly a literary allusion cannot be activated if the addressees do not know or do not recognize the text being alluded to. However, there is ample evidence of the popularity of the *Aeneid* throughout the Roman world.²²⁸ First, naturally, it spread among Latin speakers. Horace referenced it in his *Ode* 4.15, specifically 'the parade of heroes in *Aeneid* 6'.²²⁹ Silius Italicus, in the first century CE, echoed Vergil's *hic vir, hic est* with *hic ille est* (*Punica* 13.763).²³⁰ Quintillian advised that boys be taught both Homer and Vergil (*Inst.* 1.8.5). While this broad reference to Vergil could include any of his works, to pair him with Homer suggests that he is thinking of the *Aeneid*, which, indeed, 'was taught in the schools of Rome from an early date, perhaps even during Vergil's own lifetime'.²³¹ Thus, from the time of Augustus

²²⁷ Ben-Porat, 'Poetics', 110.

²²⁸ For an overview of analyses of the *Aeneid* through the twentieth century CE, see S. J. Harrison, 'Some Views of the *Aeneid* in the Twentieth Century', in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1-20.

²²⁹ Brian W. Breed, 'Tua, Caesar, aetas: Horace *Ode* 4.15 and the Augustan Age', *AJP* 125.2 (2004): 245-53 (246).

²³⁰ Antony Augoustakis, 'Silius Italicus, a Flavian Poet', in *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*, ed. Antony Augoustakis (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3-23 (6); Ben Tipping, 'Virtue and Narrative in Silius Italicus' *Punica*', in *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*, ed. Antony Augoustakis (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 193-218 (215 n. 91).

²³¹ Harrison, 'Views', 2. Vergil was used in schools even before the publication of the *Aeneid* [Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 4th ed. (Paris: Seuil, 1958), 351, 373]. For a full anthology covering the influence of Vergil in his day and beyond, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, and Michael C. J. Putnam, eds., *Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). See also Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke, Princeton Paperbacks (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 24-29. On the connections between Vergil and education, see further Armando Petrucci, 'Virgilio nella cultura scritta romana', in *Virgilio e noi: Nove giornate filologiche genovesi 23-24 febbraio 1981*, Pubblicazioni Dell'istituto di Filologia Classica e Medievale 74 (Genova: Università di Genova, 1981), 51-72.

onwards, ‘un Romain cultivé est un homme qui possède son Virgile’.²³² It makes sense, then, that ‘[i]n Latin literary survivals among papyri, far more texts of Virgil, especially the *Aeneid*, survive than of anything else’.²³³ Although the survival of any papyrus is due to chance, the numerous papyri testify at least to the popularity of the *Aeneid*. However, Virgil was not only for the élite.

The *Aeneid* was scribbled on the walls of Pompeii and taught in Egypt as well.²³⁴ A legionary at Masada copied out ‘a very elegantly written line of Virgil’, *Aen.* 4.9, on papyrus (*P. Masada* 721).²³⁵ And ‘[a]s early as the second century Virgil’s writings may have been used in a form of sortilege: questions were asked of them, and the answers interpreted in oracular fashion’, although the reliability of this date is uncertain.²³⁶ By the third century CE, Minucius Felix was using the *Aeneid* to proof-text Christianity, preparing the way for later centos, ‘poems made up entirely of verses lifted, verbatim or with only slight modification, from Virgil, if they are Virgilian centos, or from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, if Homeric centos’.²³⁷ Virgil’s popularity beyond Latin Roman circles is specifically tied to the *Aeneid*:

What makes the reception of Virgil unique among roman poets is the pervasive quality of his influence, which is visible both at the level of popular culture and of official ideology. This broader effect is almost entirely linked to Virgil’s authorship of the *Aeneid*. Had Virgil written only the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, his place in the front rank of Latin poets would still be assured, but his fame would not have spread as widely as it did beyond

²³² Marrou, *Histoire*, 341.

²³³ Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 113 n. 89.

²³⁴ ‘Virgil’, *OCD*; Ziolkowski, and Putnam, *Virgilian*, 42-44; Horsfall, ‘Aspects’, 51. Rochette judges that those who learned Latin in Egypt were ‘de la classe moyenne’ but he seems to base this evaluation on the number of mistakes which does not seem to be a good basis on which to judge status in antiquity, since teachers were often slaves (*Latin*, 333-34). For evidence from Rome and Pompeii, see also Robert Marichal, ‘Quelques apports à la tradition ancienne du texte de Virgile’, *Revue des études latines* 35 (1957): 81-84 (6-7). Morgan rightly notes that in Pompeii, [h]alf of [the graffiti], however, quote the first line of Book One and another quarter the first line of Book Two’, perhaps ‘reflect[ing] habits of reading, or what was taught’ (*Literate*, 106).

²³⁵ Cotton, Geiger, and Thomas, *Masada II*, 28.

²³⁶ Ziolkowski, and Putnam, *Virgilian*, xxxiv, 829-30.

²³⁷ See David S. Wiesen, ‘Virgil, Minucius Felix and the Bible’, *Hermes* 99.1 (1971): 70-91 (125-26 with cautions at 176); Karl Olav Sandnes, *The Gospel ‘According to Homer and Virgil’: Cento and Canon*, NovTSup 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2011). For the definition of a cento, Sandnes continues: ‘A cento is thus a poem or a poetic sequence made up of *recognizable* lines from one or more existing poems, usually highly valued literature. The literary name for this genre is taken from Latin *cento*, meaning a patchwork garment’ (107).

cultivated literary circles. Verses and characters from his poetry appear in wall-paintings and graffiti, mosaics and sarcophagi, even the occasional silver spoon, in locations ranging from Somerset to Halicarnassus'.²³⁸

However, despite this widespread popularity among all levels of social status as well as geographical diffusion, the *Aeneid* does not always emerge as the most popular of Vergil's works when other evidence is counted, such as Pompeian graffiti or epigraphs.²³⁹ Book 6, for example, the source of the quotation of interest to this thesis, is not represented in Pompeii. Furthermore, artwork representing scenes that Vergil depicts in the *Aeneid* may come from narrations of these stories anterior to his.²⁴⁰ This means that what looks at first like evidence for the spread of the *Aeneid* could instead be evidence for the spread of smaller scenes from the epic, or for the spread of the stories on which the *Aeneid* is based.

On the other hand, Tacitus says that Vergil's poetry was recited in the theatres to great applause (Tacitus, *Dial.* 13.1-2), although this may not refer specifically to the *Aeneid*.²⁴¹ Further, he notes that listeners demand that orators in general be poetic:

The general audience, too, and the casual listeners who flock in and out, have come now to insist on a flowery and ornamental style of speaking; they will no more put up with sober, unadorned old-fashionedness in a court of law than if you were to try to reproduce on the stage the gestures of Roscius or Ambivius Turpio. Yes, and our young men, still at the malleable stage of their education, who hang round our public speakers in order to improve themselves, are eager not only to hear but also to take home with them some striking and memorable utterance; they pass it on from mouth to mouth, and often quote it in their home correspondence with country towns and provinces, whether it be the flash of an epigram embodying some conceit in pointed and terse phraseology, or the glamour of some passage of choice poetical beauty. For the adornment of the poet is demanded nowadays also in the orator, an adornment not disfigured by the mouldiness of Accius or Pacuvius, but fresh from the sacred shrine of a Horace, a Virgil, a Lucan (*Dial.* 20.3-6 [Hutton, Peterson, Ogilvie, Warmington and Winterbottom, LCL]).

²³⁸ R. J. Tarrant, 'Aspects of Virgil's Reception in Antiquity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56-72 (56-57); for the specifics of this evidence, see Nicholas Horsfall, 'The Non-Literary Evidence', in *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, ed. Nicholas Horsfall, Mnemosyne Supplements 151 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 249-55.

²³⁹ Horsfall, 'Aspects', 49-52.

²⁴⁰ Horsfall, 'Aspects', 52-53, 57.

²⁴¹ Horsfall, 'Aspects', 47. Horsfall similarly cites Petronius, *Satyricon* 39 citing *Aen.* 2.44; 68 citing *Aen.* 5.1 (49). Other ancient references, although later than the Gospel of John, include Lucian *Salt.* 46 (see below); Tertullian *Praescr.* 39.3-5; Augustine *Conf.* 1.14 (23), as well as frequently in *Civ.*, e.g., 7.27.

The reference to the general audience and to those who flock in and out hints at retainers or lower élite not among the orator's primary audience. Furthermore, the pleasure of knowing these quotations and vignettes meant that 'imitations of the epics can be found in literature intended for more popular audiences, such as Josephus, the book of Tobit, and the romances'.²⁴² This kind of language convergence towards upper registers as a claim to status was also noted in Chapter 3.²⁴³ Such claims partially explain the appropriation of the *Aeneid* by lower status groups, although since not all élite works were similarly adopted, the stories themselves must also have been attractive and retold in whatever language intersection the storyteller spoke.²⁴⁴ The *Aeneid* was part of 'a largely non-literate world where even literary written texts were memorized (often using the help of written copies) and performed. They echo and interweave vast worlds of discourse, including almost certainly exclusively oral discourse (in a primarily non-literate society!), to which we have limited (or no) access'.²⁴⁵

There is, furthermore, an example of a quotation from the *Aeneid* used in a public assembly. Suetonius reports that Augustus 'endeavoured also to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans; and upon seeing once, in an assembly of the people, a crowd in grey cloaks, he exclaimed with indignation, "Behold them, *en Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!*" And he directed the aediles never again to allow anyone to appear in the Forum or its neighborhood except in the toga and without a cloak' (Suetonius, *Aug.* 40 [Rolfe, LCL]). The quotation is from *Aeneid* 1.282: 'the Romans, lords of the empire and people of the toga' (author translation). This early quotation confirms that in Rome at least, 'Vergil's line had achieved iconic status within a generation of its composition'.²⁴⁶ It

²⁴² Matthew Ryan Hauge, *The Biblical Tour of Hell*, ed. Mark Goodacre, LNTS 485 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 54.

²⁴³ Section 3.1.4. On language convergence towards upper registers, see Edwards, *Multilingualism*, 82; Giles, 'Ethnicity'; Turner, and Brown, 'Social Status'; Lalonde, and Silverman, 'Behavioral'.

²⁴⁴ The story of Dido was especially popular; see Kirby Flower Smith, 'The Later Tradition of Vergil', *Classical Weekly* 9.23 (1916): 178-182 (179).

²⁴⁵ Carr, 'Many', 517.

²⁴⁶ Fitzgerald, *How*, 164.

expresses the Roman ideal that they were ‘to be both conquerors of the world and men of peace’.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, the way in which Suetonius describes Augustus’s use of the *Aeneid* to comment ironically on what he saw as poor examples of Romans, parallels the way the Fourth Gospel describes Pilate’s use of a different passage of the *Aeneid* to comment ironically on Jesus as a poor example of a βασιλεύς. The *Aeneid*, then, was known and quoted, even ironically, in the Western Roman empire in Latin, among the élite and in the presence of retainers. What evidence is there, however, to suggest that the *Aeneid* was known in the East, in Greek?²⁴⁸

Six Latin works are known to have been translated from Latin into Greek in antiquity, although the list is reduced to two when restricted to the first and second centuries CE: Polybius translated Vergil, and Zenobius translated Sallust.²⁴⁹ The evidence for Vergil comes from both literary texts and papyri.²⁵⁰ These may be anything from partial glossaries, through word by word lexical presentations, to more sense-driven phrases.²⁵¹ I have included direct evidence for, or references to, either Vergil in general or the *Aeneid* specifically, in a Greek context, omitting both specific references to Vergil’s other works and literary evidence for Vergil’s influence on Greek authors.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Fitzgerald, *How*, 163.

²⁴⁸ Rochette’s discussions, while helpful especially for their ancient references, sometimes draw conclusions that go beyond the evidence, for example when he claims that ‘l’œuvre de Virgile, surtout l’*Énéide*, considérée très tôt par les Orientaux comme le modèle de la littérature de langue latine, était diffuse dans les provinces de langue grecque’ (*Latin*, 269).

²⁴⁹ Simon Swain, ‘Arrian the Epic Poet’, *JHS* 111 (1991): 211-14 (211).

²⁵⁰ Although Rochette cites Diodorus 40.6.1.1 (first century BCE) as one who references Vergil in Greek, this is incorrect (*Latin*, 269). The specific quotation is: Μέμνηται μὲν Βιργίλιος ταύτης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, Λουκιανὸς καὶ Γαληνὸς καὶ Πλούταρχος σὺν τοῦτοις, Διόδωρος, Γεώργιος ὁ χρονικὸς σὺν ἄλλοις, ‘This Cleopatra is mentioned by Virgil, Lucian, Galen, along with Plutarch, and by Diodorus and George the chronicler among others’ (Walton, LCL). As might be inferred from the mention of Diodorus himself, these are not Diodorus’s words, but a reference to him passed on by another, John Tzetzes from the twelfth century (*Hist.* 2, 31-33). Tzetzes records that Diodorus mentioned Cleopatra, and parenthetically (or perhaps primarily, given the μὲν as well as the emphatic position of Βιργίλιος) that Vergil also mentioned her (*Aeneid* 8.626-728). This citation, then, cannot be used to support a mention of Vergil by Diodorus.

²⁵¹ For a list of textual witnesses to the *Aeneid* more generally, including those only in Latin, a good place to start would be Armando Petrucci, ‘Papiri’, in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, ed. Francesco della Corte (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1987), 964-65.

²⁵² For a summary of the latter, see Johannes Irmscher, ‘Vergil in der griechischen Antike’, *Klio* 67 (1985): 281-85 (285). Over time, the glossaries have been listed (and often renumbered) in various publications, and these lists are often used as references, with some authors preferring one or another numbering system, depending on the time and language of publication. This makes it more and more difficult

Already in the first century CE (c. 43), Seneca was referring to a translation of Vergil into Greek made by Polybius (*Polyb.* 8.2; 11.5). Rochette and Reiff caution against taking this reference at face value both because Seneca is a Roman (Reiff) and because he is writing a *consolatio* (Reiff and Rochette).²⁵³ However, while he may be exaggerating about the scope of the intended audience and the implied extent of Polybius' work, the references cannot be completely dismissed.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the multilingual environment of the Roman empire, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that even those doing translations simply for language practice (rather than for dissemination) would choose sections of Vergil's *Aeneid* on which to hone their skills, since the text was widely used in education.

Also from the first century CE, on the back of the Latin *acta diurna* of a Roman legion possibly stationed near Alexandria, are five lines in Greek and Latin usually described as a writing exercise (PSI 13.1307 [verso]).²⁵⁵ The first line is in Greek: ἄρ' ἐστὶ πάσης πράξεως ἀνθρωπίνης ὁ καὶ[ρός] 'What do you think is common to all activity? Common to all human activity is time' (author translation). This riddle is written in capital letters and is

as time goes by and referencing systems multiply to determine whether or not two authors using different systems have identical lists. Stepping into this stream means choosing one of these systems, or creating a new one and taking the risk of adding to the confusion. Thus, I have listed synonymous references for each ancient text in the footnotes. Further bibliographical resources can be obtained from the online databases maintained by the Université de Liège, and by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. For the two databases, see MP³, LDAB, and TM numbers within each entry. Articles referencing and commenting on these witnesses, with some additions or subtractions, include Richard Seider, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Paläographie der antiken Vergilhandschriften*, ed. Ernst Heitsch, Reinhold Merkelbach, and Clemens Zintzen, ed. Herwig Görgemanns and Ernst A. Schmidt, *Studien zum antiken Epos* 72 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1976), 157-65; Bruno Rochette, 'Les traductions grecques de l'Énéide sur papyrus', *Études classiques* 58 (1990): 333-346 (although on 333 n. 2, 2950 [P.Oxy. 8.1099] is incorrectly listed as 2590); Paolo Radiciotti, 'Manoscritti digrafici grecolatini e latinogreci nell'antichità', *Papyrologica lupsiensia* 6 (1997): 107-46 (123-27); Radiciotti, 'Virgilio', 93-95; Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, 'Tra ecdotica e performance: per un *corpus papyrorum Vergilianarum*', *APF* 56.1 (2010): 130-48 (139-41). (There is a typo on p. 143 of Scappaticcio where PSI 13.1307v is incorrectly listed as PSI 11.1307v.) Note that in general Radiciotti dates witnesses later than does Scappaticcio. In this list, I have chosen a middle ground, relying on MP³ especially.

²⁵³ Arno Reiff, 'Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio: Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern' (PhD thesis, Universität Köln, 1959), 116 n. 20; Rochette, *Latin*, 271 n. 53.

²⁵⁴ Whether or not this was a particularly good translation is immaterial to its existence. On the implications of Seneca's wording for the quality of the translation, see Siobhán McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 14 (New York: Routledge, 2013), 164-65.

²⁵⁵ J. F. Gilliam, 'Notes on PSI 1307 and 1308', *CP* 47.1 (1952): 29-31. On the dating, Robert Marichal suggests, 'il y a donc quelque chance pour que le texte soit un fragment des *Acta diurna*, non d'une légion, mais du camp de Nicopolis et date exactement du milieu du 1^{er} s[ècle]' ['Paléographie Précaroline et Papyrologie (1): III (1949-1954)', *Scriptorium* 9 (1955): 127-49 (132)].

followed, in the second line, by a few of the letters from the first re-drawn in either capital or minuscule.²⁵⁶ The last three lines are in Latin and seem to refer to the *Aeneid* although these words are not found in this specific sequence anywhere in Vergil's text:

I]ULI
AE]NEASDARDANIAE[
AE]NEASDARDANIAE[

Palaeographers do not specifically attribute the Greek and the Latin to the same hand, but variously call it 'un esercizio di calligrafia' or 'una *exercitatio scribendi* ad opera di un discente alle prime armi e dal *ductus* fortemente incerto'.²⁵⁷ This is not evidence for the *Aeneid* in Greek but for an *Aeneid*-like reference used as a writing exercise on a papyrus that was both connected with the army and on which Greek writing was also being practised.²⁵⁸

Similar to the previous example, *P. Oxy.* 50.3554 shows not that the text but that the papyrus on which it was written travelled between Greek and Latin writers in the first century CE. On one side is a list of Greek names, as in a registry (*P. Oxy.* 50.3587), and on the other are lines 371-72 from Book 11 of the *Aeneid*, written 6 times in succession as a writing exercise.²⁵⁹

Two passages in Sibylline Oracles from the first century CE (5.8-9; 11.144-55), pointed out in 1919 by Alessandro Chiappelli refer to Aeneas as well.²⁶⁰ In Sib. Or. 5.8-9, the verses simply mention 'the one of the race and blood of Assaracus, who came from Troy,

²⁵⁶ Colin Austin classifies this under under 'Excerpta, florilegia, sententiae' [*Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta, in papyris reperta* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), 309].

²⁵⁷ Radiciotti, 'Virgilio', 91; Scappaticcio, 'Tra ecdotica', 143, emphasis original.

²⁵⁸ Also listed as: *CLA* Suppl. 1695; *CPL* 61 (*CPL* 108 is the recto); *ChLA* 25.786; MP³ 2749; LDAB 4139; TM 62947. Of these, *CLA* usually provides an image, but this is eclipsed most of the time by images now available online. *CPL* provides a transcription, but these should be double checked for errors as, for instance, in this case where DARDANIAE is mistakenly transcribed as DAPDANIAE. *ChLA* has both image and transcription; the three databases do not include either but have links to online images when they exist, subject to the usual limitations of online sources.

²⁵⁹ Also listed as: *CLA* Addenda 1.1833; MP³ 2951.1; LDAB 4142; TM 62950.

²⁶⁰ Alessandro Chiappelli, 'Ancora su virgilio e gli "Atti degli apostoli"', *Atene e Roma* 22 (1919): 89-98 (91-92). Chiappelli also suggests that Sib. Or. 8:163-64 alludes to *Aen.* 1.94-96. However, this reference is not unique. Indeed, Chiappelli also mentions Homer, *Od.* 5.306, so a Virgilian allusion cannot be proven in these verses.

who split the onslaught of fire'.²⁶¹ The story of Aeneas was known before the *Aeneid* was composed, however, so whether this is a Vergilian allusion is uncertain.²⁶² Yet, it is at least a clear reference to the tale, from a Jewish Egyptian milieu, at the end of the first century CE.²⁶³

Book 11, dated to c. 100 CE, also from Jewish Egypt, gives a more extended reference.²⁶⁴ Eleven lines tell the story, connecting Aeneas to Adam in the process:

A famous child of heroes from the race and blood
of Assaracus will rule, a mighty and brave man.
He will come from Troy when it has been destroyed by a great fire,
fleeing from his fatherland on account of the turmoil of Ares.
Carrying on his shoulders his elderly father,
holding his only son by the hand, he will perform
a pious deed, glancing around, he who split the onslaught
of the fire of blazing Troy, and pressing on through the throng.
In fear he will cross the land and frightful sea.
He will have a name of three syllables; for the first letter
is not insignificant but reveals the supreme man [Adam].
Then he will set up the mighty city of the Latins.

The image of Aeneas carrying his father, Anchises, out of burning Troy was quite popular in the early Roman empire.²⁶⁵ However, the image was already reproduced widely before Vergil's epic.²⁶⁶ Both references in the Sibylline Oracles, therefore, simply demonstrate that the story of Aeneas, and possibly Vergil's version of it, was known in Jewish Greek circles in Egypt by the first century CE.

Lucian, a Syrian who wrote in Greek, demonstrates in a passing reference to Aeneas and Dido that by the second century CE the connection between Homer and Vergil, as well as the story of Aeneas and Dido, were known and written about in Greek (*Salt.*, 46). Thus

²⁶¹ All translations of the Sibylline Oracles are from J. J. Collins, 'Sibylline Oracles: A New Translation and Introduction', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1980), 317-472.

²⁶² Horsfall, 'Aspects', 53. This is *pace* Chiappelli who asserts: 'Il sibillista giudeo-cristiano ... conosce manifestamente la leggenda d'Enea fondatore di Roma qual'è presentata nell'*Eneide* e non altrove, nè dai mitografi greci nè dagli annalisti romani' ('Ancora', 92).

²⁶³ Collins, 'Sibylline', 390.

²⁶⁴ Collins, 'Sibylline', 432.

²⁶⁵ Zanker, *Power*, 201-210.

²⁶⁶ Horsfall, 'Aspects', 50.

the stories—although not necessarily the text—of the *Aeneid* moved between the two languages. Finally, to show the continued trajectory of the tale in Greek, Cassius Dio early in the third century CE puts Vergil in the mouth of a Roman tribune under Severus (*Roman History* 76.10.2; *Aen.* 11.371-73). Because Dio wrote in Greek, it is unclear whether the soldier referencing Vergil is meant to have done so in Greek, or whether Dio means to record the Latin conversation in his own language. Nevertheless the Latin words of Vergil, the same copied in *P. Oxy.* 50.3554 above, have been loosely translated into Greek at some point in the transmission of the story.

Although the evidence is not overwhelming, the trajectory, which continues through the 4th through 6th centuries CE, shows that the legends, the stories, and at least some of the lines of Vergil's *Aeneid* spread into Greek-speaking milieux.²⁶⁷ Therefore, *hic vir, hic est* could be recognizable in Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος in the Fourth Gospel where it would heighten the imperial image of Jesus portrayed in John 18:28—19:22.²⁶⁸ Once the *Aeneid* is recognized as the source of the marker, the marked phrase must next be understood in its original context.

5.2.3. Understanding

The marked phrase, *hic vir, hic est* comes from Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas has gone to the underworld, and his father, Anchises, is showing him the rulers of Rome who are in *their* future, which is Vergil's past and present.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Irmscher, 'Vergil', 285.

²⁶⁸ That the phrase might also go back to the words of a Roman governor is possible, but will not be argued in this thesis since there are many difficulties of transmission. David Flusser, for example, recognizes this phrase as mockery by Pilate but believes that this provides an example of early anti-Pilate sentiment that the later 'Jewish-Christian source' tried to soften with Pilate's declarations of Jesus' innocence ['What Was the Original Meaning of *ecce homo*?', in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, ed. David Flusser (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 593-603 (599-600)].

²⁶⁹ Nicholas Horsfall, ed. *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, ed. Nicholas Horsfall, Mnemosyne (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 144.

As Augustus arrives, he is announced thus:

*hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius
audis,
Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et
Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque uias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus
aptum.
huius in aduentum iam nunc et Caspia
regna
responsis horrent diuum et Maeotia tellus,
et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit,
fixerit aeripedem ceruam licet, aut
Erymanthi
pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit
arcu;
nec qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de uertice tigris.
et dubitamus adhuc uirtute extendere uires,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere
terra? (6.791-807)*

This, this is the man whom you often hear is promised you, Augustus Caesar, offspring of the deified [Caesar]; he will establish again the Age of Gold in Latium, once ruled over by Saturn, and shall extend Rome's rule over Garamantes and Indians. Our lands shall lie beyond the zodiac, beyond the paths of the sun and the year, where heaven-bearing Atlas spins upon his shoulder the heavens' axis, studded with blazing stars. At his arrival, even now the Caspian kingdoms and the land of Azov shudder at the gods' responses and the quaking mouths of the sevenfold Nile are troubled. Not even Alcaeus' descendant Heracles covered so much of the earth, for all that he shot the brazen-hooved hind, or brought peace to the forest of Erymanthus and terrified Lerna with his bow. Nor did Liber, who steered his chariot with reins of vine-tendrils when he drove his team of tigers down from the lofty peak of Nysa. Do we still hesitate to extend our might by means of our courage, or does fear prevent us from settling in the land of Ausonia?

This section exalts Augustus to a point that it has been called 'Messianic'.²⁷⁰ It describes a 'boy-child of divine origin who shall rule over a world to which peace and justice shall return, and restore the golden age'.²⁷¹ He is portrayed as a god, a hero, and the ruler of an empire whose boundaries extend beyond the world.²⁷² While the parade also includes those whose lives were marred by 'the flaws pertaining to mortal existence' so that the entire scene is not unambiguous, it is clear nevertheless that the list is 'an exhortation to greatness'.²⁷³ It is this image of Augustus as a future hero of Rome that would be activated for the auditors of John 19:5; this is the image that those familiar with *Aen.* 6.791-807 would have floating before their minds.

²⁷⁰ Gransden, *Virgil*, 5.

²⁷¹ Gransden, *Virgil*, 5; Salier, 'Jesus', 288-89.

²⁷² Hardie, *Aeneid*, 257.

²⁷³ Zetzel, 'Romane', 282. See, too, Horsfall's comments on the limits of the moral ambiguities of the parade ('*Aeneid*', 148-49).

5.2.4. Interpretation

This powerful image of Augustus contrasts with the figure of Jesus, beaten by the soldiers but attired as an emperor (John 19:5). This contrast increases the tension inherent in the irony of John 19:2-3, discussed in the first half of this chapter, that between the scourged Jesus and a βασιλεὺς, between the soldiers' mockery and the addressees' faith (present or anticipated). The parody of the acclamation demonstrates the pledge of loyalty to which Jesus-believers are called by this Gospel.

John 19:5 then restates the same ironic message with the help of the *Aeneid* reference. By alluding to the powerful image of Augustus in *Aen.* 791-807, the irony contrasts *Augustus Caesar, Divi genus* and the beaten, mocked man who stands before Pilate. This has the effect of overlaying the actions of the scene that seem to describe a poor, condemned provincial with a very different Jesus—one who is imperial, masculine, victorious: 'the Jesus who was crucified by the Roman authorities, the Jesus whose masculinity was stripped bare by the nature of his demise, was already in the New Testament being clothed in Roman masculine garb'.²⁷⁴ This clothing is that of 'he, so often promised you, Augustus Caesar, of race divine' (*Aen.* 6.791-92).

For David Flusser, 'Behold the Man!' is a 'phrase of acclamation' and he concludes that Pilate 'intended, by the use of that particular phrase, to mockingly "acclaim" Jesus king of the Jews'.²⁷⁵ However, he comes to this conclusion by conflating 'Behold the Man!' (19:5) and 'Here is your King!' (19:14).²⁷⁶ The argument in this second half of Chapter 5 is that 'Behold the Man!' is not only an acclamation by a Roman military man of high rank, but also a literary reference. Ἴδού ὁ ἄνθρωπος fits the irony of the passage. The Johannine Pilate with his words (like the soldiers with their actions) ironically proclaims Jesus to be

²⁷⁴ Conway, *Behold*, 182; see also 147-48. The masculinity of Jesus will be nuanced in Chapter 7 with the footwashing episode, which Conway does not discuss. See, similarly, Bond, 'Authorities', 245.

²⁷⁵ Flusser, 'Ecce Homo', 601.

²⁷⁶ Flusser, 'Ecce Homo', 603.

what he manifestly is not: Caesar. And Roman-aware auditors are invited to take a step further and to recognize the hidden transcript that declares Jesus to be just that—the emperor, worthy of primary allegiance.²⁷⁷

5.2.5. Re-interpretation of the greater context

If this reading is correct, if, by means of a literary allusion to the *Aeneid*, the Gospel of John uses the Roman concept of *imperator* to describe Jesus, what happens in the final step of re-interpretation? What echoes from a literary allusion in John 19:5 resound into 18:28—19:22? This will be the focus of Chapters 6 and 7. Before providing an exegetical reading of the trial narrative (Chapter 6) and looking at the way this reading addresses issues of ethnicity and power (Chapter 7), I need to answer three questions that will help to clarify the subsequent analysis:

1. What is the difference between metaphoric and metonymic allusions?
2. What is the object in the semiotic triad of the allusion in John 19:5?
3. Is the allusion to *Aen.* 6.791 metaphoric or metonymic?

These questions will be addressed in turn in this last section of the chapter.

Ben-Porat distinguishes between metaphorically and metonymically related texts.²⁷⁸

Metaphorically linked texts do not, at the outset, seem to be related. Thus, the marker in the alluding text must be very similar to the marked element to which it refers, otherwise there would be no reason for the evoked text to come to mind. Once it *is* evoked, however, its themes are added to the themes of the alluding text, ‘deepening’ them by joining to them

²⁷⁷ The contrast between Jesus as a beaten provincial and Jesus as an emperor does not necessarily communicate a ‘conflict over sovereignty and rule’ (Carter, *John*, 305; see, similarly, 307, 310, 311). A nuanced comparison between Jesus and Caesar will be proposed in Section 7.2.1.

²⁷⁸ Chana Kronfeld does not find these distinctions meaningful; however, they will prove their fruitfulness in developing answers to the third question addressed in this section [‘Allusion: An Israeli Perspective’, *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 5.2 (1985): 137-63 (156)]. Others, also, argue that metonyms ultimately reduce to metaphors. However, my analysis will maintain the traditional distinctions. For some discussion on these distinctions, see Culler, *Pursuit*, 188-209. Note that Harold Bloom in particular relates ‘the dialectical relationships between precursor and successor texts with standard figures of speech’ such as ‘irony’ [e.g., *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14-16; cited in Robert L. Brawley, ‘Evocative Allusions in Matthew: Matthew 5:5 as a Test Case’, *HvTSt* 59.3 (2003): 597-619 (604)].

similar themes from a very different context.²⁷⁹ The evoked text, in other words, adds another example to the message of the alluding text.

I can provide a metaphorical allusion of my own for this discussion by referring to the practice of code-switching discussed in Chapter 2. A code-switch, in the Rational Choice Model, is an attempt by the speaker to optimize communicative outcomes. Speakers are aware of the ‘social messages carried by one linguistic choice rather than another’ and they ‘see these social meanings AS A RESOURCE for making choices, not as a determinant of choices’.²⁸⁰ A child, in one example, switches languages briefly in order to get away with expressing sarcasm to his mother.²⁸¹ I have argued that the Gospel of John, in 19:5, switches into the code of the *Aeneid* in order to bring its social messages in a hidden transcript into the trial narrative.

In contrast, in metonymically related works the texts are initially quite similar in theme or setting. Thus the marker can be the alluding text itself, which would easily bring the evoked text to mind. If a more specific marker is used, it can be less exact. The alluding text then becomes an extension of the evoked text, but often, in that extension, differences emerge. To use Alkier’s terminology, the alluding text enters the ‘*universe of discourse*’ of the evoked text, but then transforms it for its own purposes.²⁸² This transformation is effected by means of the frame of the allusion.²⁸³

The importance of recognizing that a literary allusion can *refute* or *refine* the evoked passage as well as *reiterating* it cannot be overstated, because it brings both elements of connection but also of contrast into the discussion.²⁸⁴ When Jauhiainen analyses connections

²⁷⁹ Ben-Porat, ‘Poetics’, 119.

²⁸⁰ Carol Myers-Scotton, and Agnes Bolonyai, ‘Calculating Speakers: Codeswitching in a Rational Choice Model’, *Language in Society* 30.1 (2001): 1-28 (5, 23).

²⁸¹ Myers-Scotton, and Bolonyai, ‘Calculating’, 17.

²⁸² Alkier, ‘Intertextuality’, 8, emphasis original.

²⁸³ On the priority of the frame over what Sternberg calls the ‘inset’, see ‘Proteus’. See also Christopher Stanley’s discussion in *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 27-29.

²⁸⁴ Bloom offers six ‘revisionary ratios’ with which a later poet can interact with previous works. I shall not use Bloom’s terminology, however, which is obscure, and I shall restrict my discussion to

between Zechariah and Revelation, he starts with Ben-Porat's steps but then omits attention to her distinction between metaphors and metonyms. This omission hampers his analysis because he determines the presence or absence of allusions only by looking at similarities between the texts.²⁸⁵ Therefore, he does not explore the way a metonymically related text could highlight elements in the alluding text by providing a contrast.²⁸⁶ Yet Ben-Porat demonstrates that once the 'literary allusion' has provided for 'the simultaneous activation of two independent texts', alluding texts 'make use of the activated elements for their different purposes'. These include: 'to enhance and clarify thematic patterns, to provide missing links, to establish an analogy or to supply a fictional world'.²⁸⁷ Therefore, the importance of differentiating between metaphorical and metonymical uses of allusions requires the attention to frames that drives the third question to be addressed in this section. First, however, the question raised in Chapter 2 about the object that motivates the creation of a Sign must be answered for John 19:5.

Chapter 2 described the way one object can generate multiple interpretants as each interpreter creates a new Sign to communicate her view of the object (Figure 20). In that chapter, I pointed out that *Aen.* 6.791 and John 19:5 are motivated by different objects, and that, therefore, Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος is unlikely to be simply an interpretant of *hic vir, hic est*

metaphorical restatement (reiteration) and metonymic restatement (refinement) which are applicable in John 19:5 (*Anxiety*, 14-16).

²⁸⁵ The search for similarity is often a stumbling block in interpreting allusion. Michael Thompson demonstrates the difficulty in his discussion of 'an alleged allusion to or echo of a saying in Gospel "G" by the author of an Epistle "E"'. His second criteria is that of '[c]onceptual agreement: Sayings in G and E can exhibit extensive verbal agreement and yet have different meanings and origins; conceptual agreement is also a prerequisite, although it would be possible for an author deliberately to use the same language in a different sense (i.e. an antithetical or contrastive allusion)'. He thus nuances his own requirement to allow for elaboration and even rejection [*Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1-15.13*, ed. David Hill, JSNTSup 59 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 30, 32]. This relates to the tension between the 'inset' and the 'frame' as discussed in Sternberg, 'Proteus', 121, 125. Thompson recognizes something similar when he says, 'as some sayings apparently circulated in isolation, Gospel context must remain secondary consideration. On the other hand, Paul's context is primary' (*Clothed*, 32). It is unclear, furthermore, whether success in interpretation can be used to validate the presence of an allusion or whether this criterion is, instead, circular. See Porter, 'Use', 83.

²⁸⁶ Jauhiainen, *Zechariah*, e.g., 65.

²⁸⁷ Ben-Porat, 'Poetics', 127.

(Figure 8). However, describing what such a semiotic process would entail is instructive for analyzing other scholars' work.

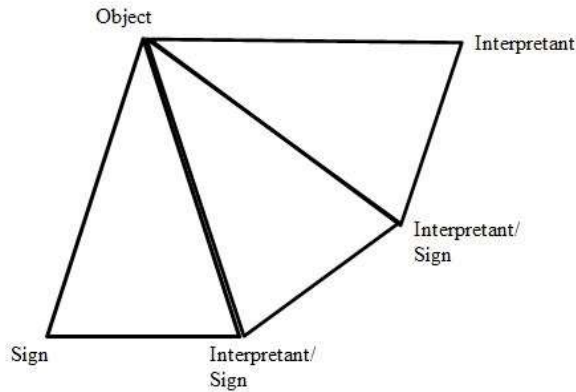


Figure 20. Unlimited semiosis motivated by the same object

Figure 21 might represent the Johannine trial narrative if John's communicative act were motivated by the expansion of the Roman and especially the figure of Augustus, visible in monuments and inscriptions around him.²⁸⁸ He might then interpret that object, along with the presentation of Augustus in *Aen.* 6.791 (Sign), as a prophecy that was fulfilled by Jesus in the Johannine trial narrative. This interpretation would become a new Sign as he wrote his Gospel, and his allusion in 19:5 would express his understanding of the meaning of Roman rule: It is Jesus, not Augustus, who fulfils the Roman promise.

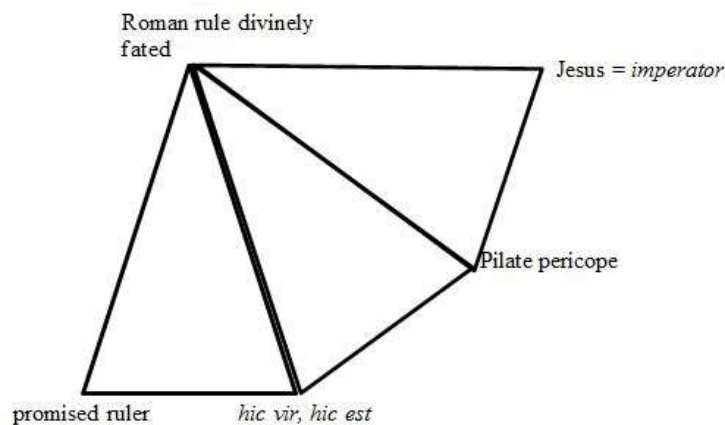


Figure 21: Unlimited semiosis in John 18:28--19:22

²⁸⁸ E.g., Zanker, *Power*, 75, 99, 124-25, 128, 163, 190, 301, 318.

Such an analysis may seem at first to cohere with the studies of Bonz (on Luke-Acts and Vergil's *Aeneid*) and MacDonald (on Acts, Mark and Homer) that proceed on the basis of cultural genres and overall similarities.²⁸⁹ Called mimesis criticism, this approach can be described as highlighting the biblical texts as an interpretant of the Sign-object combination of the ancient Mediterranean world (object) and the classical texts that interpreted that world (Sign). MacDonald, for example, asserts that 'early Christian authors... created stories after pagan literary models, sometimes without Jewish or Christian traditions to inform them. That is, they wrote as they had been taught in school: through *μίμησις* or *imitatio*'.²⁹⁰ Marianne Palmer Bonz argues that 'Luke-Acts appears to have drawn inspiration from heroic epic in the manner in which it creates its story as the fulfillment of divine prophecy and the accomplishment of a divine plan'.²⁹¹ While I struggle to see in the Bible a 'prose epic', given that the epic form is specifically marked with verse, some of the insights provided by mimesis criticism do cohere with literary allusions and semiotic analysis, specifically the 'subtle linguistic and symbolic clues which create hyperlinks with alternative cultural scripts'.²⁹² These clues may also be called markers to a different text, or *Haftpunkte* to a different encyclopaedia.

However, one of the reasons why such approaches have not garnered more agreement among biblical scholars may be the sense that canonical texts do not seem to be

²⁸⁹ Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003). For an earlier argument for connections between Luke-Acts and Vergil's *Aeneid*, see Alessandro Chiappelli whom, however, Bonz does not cite ('Virgilio nel Nuovo Testamento', *Atene e Roma* 22 (1919): 1-14; cf. Chiappelli, 'Ancora'). See particularly the issues discussed as criteria for allusions in MacDonald, *Does*, 2-7. However, see also Kristian Larsson's critique of MacDonald as well as other references to the discussion ['Intertextual Density, Quantifying Imitation', *JBL* 133.2 (2014): 309-331].

²⁹⁰ MacDonald, *Does*, 2.

²⁹¹ Bonz, *Past*, 191.

²⁹² Bonz, *Past*, 56; Loveday Alexander, *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context: A Classicist Looks at the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Mark Goodacre, *Early Christianity in Context*; LNTS 298 (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 173, 181; see also 165-82; see, further, Sandnes, *Gospel*, 14-22. For the three elements of 'epic', 'literary form (verse narrative); scale and scope (length; complexity; "a certain grandeur"); and values ("heroic")', see Alexander, *Acts*, 167.

primarily new interpretants for past experiences and texts, but rather new interpretants motivated by new experiences. The dynamic object, for John, was more likely to have been his experience of the trial of Jesus before Pilate than his experience of the Roman empire (Figure 22).²⁹³

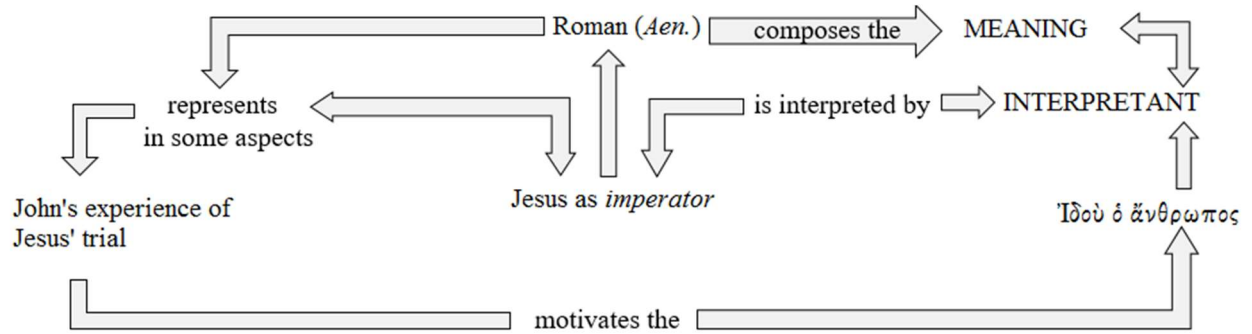


Figure 22: Sign-object-interpretant relationships in John 18:28—19:22

Note: For the original diagram, see Eco, *Role*, 183.

The Roman empire is involved in the triad, but as one of the grounds by which John chose to communicate. In this case, the second text is not simply an interpretant of the first. It is, instead, a Sign for a new object, of which the initial text is only a part (Figure 23).

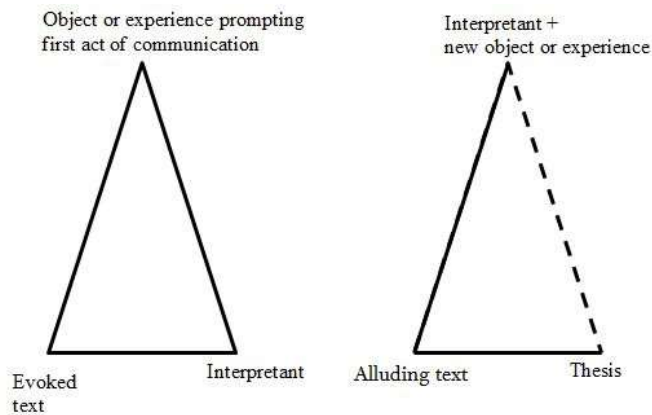


Figure 23. Semiotics of allusion motivated by different objects

The new text is not an interpretant, then, but a new Sign. And the new Sign-object relation will generate another new interpretant—for example, this thesis. It is that Sign-object relation that must be analysed in three different frames so that the metaphoric and metonymic uses of the allusion can emerge. Such an analysis will describe the nuanced

²⁹³ As a motivator for Sign-production, it is irrelevant whether his experience stemmed from personal encounter, reported story, received preaching or community history.

relationship that the Gospel of John presents between Jesus and Caesar by addressing the way changes in frames also change the coherence between the alluding text and the evoked text. John 19:5 will be examined first with 19:2-5 as a frame, next with 18:28—19:22 as a frame, and thirdly with a brief discussion of the interpretant that emerges when the whole Fourth Gospel is taken as the frame.

Another semiotic diagram, this one created by John Robertson and brought into print by Alan Manning, offers a shorthand way to conceptualize these three Sign-object relations in different frames. It uses a ‘coordinate-system approach’ to diagram the semiotic triad (Figure 24).²⁹⁴

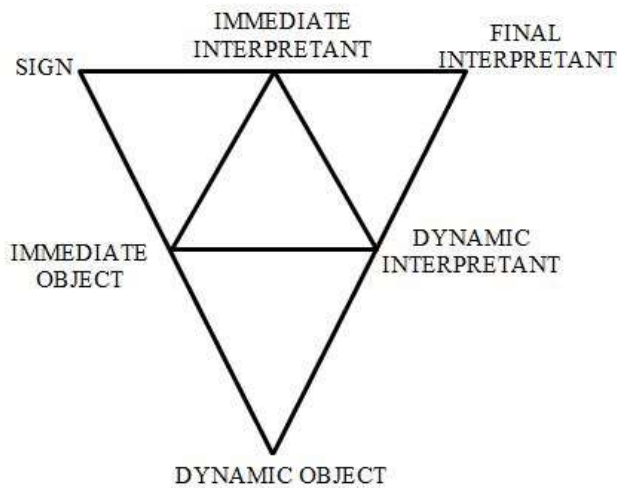


Figure 24: Robertson-Manning diagram

Note: For the original diagram, see Manning, ‘Common’, 128.

The upper left point starts with the Sign. The Sign is connected to the dynamic object (at the lowest point of the triangle) by the immediate object. Signs, it must be noted, are not a ‘deficient means of access to some unreachable *Ding an sich*. Rather, they are the way in which the phenomena of perception appear’.²⁹⁵ These phenomena of perception are the

²⁹⁴ Alan Manning, ‘A Common Semiotic Framework for Literary and Linguistic Styles’ (paper presented at Deseret Language and Linguistic Society Symposium, Provo, UT, March, 1995), 128. Note that although the multiple diagrams used in this chapter (as well as in Chapter 2) might seem to confuse the analysis, they are actually clarifying because each one allows discussion to focus on the complexity of one aspect of the semiotic analysis of communication without becoming cluttered or overwhelming with all of the aspects at once.

²⁹⁵ Alkier, *Reality*, 204.

objects that motivate communication, and Signs are both the elements of the encyclopaedia that organize perception and also the texts (for the purposes of this thesis) that communicate them.²⁹⁶ Thus, the immediate object is some aspect(s) of the dynamic object, as it is experienced on certain ground(s). It is the basis for the production of a Sign.²⁹⁷ Moving back up to the top, the immediate interpretant is the original sense produced in the one receiving the communication by the combination of the Sign and the immediate object. Below and to the right, the dynamic interpretant is the understanding that one person eventually produces in a given instance of a Sign. Finally, at the top right, the final interpretant is a ‘habit’ both of behaviour and of signification resulting from the Sign-object relationship.²⁹⁸ This can helpfully be understood as a cultural unit of the Sign.

So, as a first step (Figure 25), the Sign is the phrase Ἴδού ὁ ἄνθρωπος and its frame is verses 2-5: the soldiers have dressed up a flogged Jesus as a Roman emperor (v. 2) and have mocked him by pledging their loyalty to him as ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων while slapping him instead of saluting him (v. 3). Pilate announces that there is no basis for the charge against him (v. 4) and presents him to the crowd, still dressed like Caesar, with an allusion to the presentation of Augustus in the parade of heroes in Vergil’s *Aeneid* (v. 5).

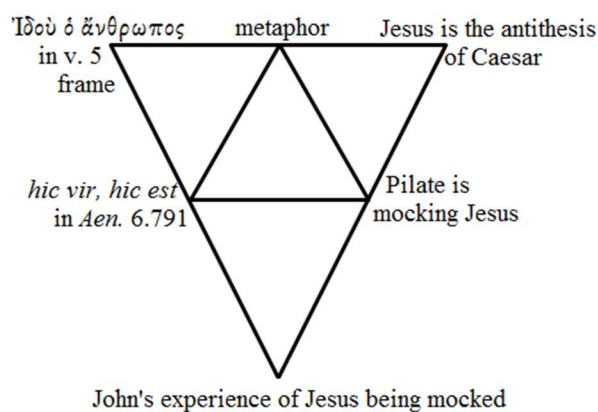


Figure 25: Robertson-Manning diagram in John 19:2-5 frame

²⁹⁶ See Section 1.2.2, especially n. 47.

²⁹⁷ As noted in Chapter 2, ‘ground, meaning, and interpretant are in fact the same, since it is impossible to define the ground if not as meaning, and it is impossible to define any meaning if not as a series of interpretants’ (Eco, *Role*, 184).

²⁹⁸ Eco, *Role*, 192.

The dynamic object is the author's experience of Jesus' mocking. His description of the events is motivated by some knowledge of them, and he describes the characters in the narrative and their actions. His use of the allusion to *hic vir, hic est* shows that he perceived the mocking words and actions of Pilate and the soldiers as a humorous depiction of Jesus as emperor, and this imperial image brought *Aen.* 6.791 to mind as a Sign with which to express the mockery. When the verse is interpreted with a Roman encyclopaedia, the dissimilarities between the two scenes are immediately apparent; this is a metaphorical interpretant. The dynamic interpretant, then, connects the similarity of the imperial images with the dissimilarity between the men being depicted and concludes that, when a beaten Jesus is called by a phrase used for Augustus, it heightens and deepens the mockery. Thus, the final interpretant for the allusion in this frame is that Jesus is the antithesis of Caesar.

However, in the second frame, John 18:28—19:22 (Figure 26), it is John's experience of Jesus as ruler and victor despite the cross that is the dynamic object motivating the Sign production. This conclusion stems from the similarities between Vergil's depiction of Augustus and John's depiction of Jesus. In the trial narrative, Jesus is βασιλεύς (18:33—19:2), the ruler of a βασιλεία (18:36). He has officers (ὑπηρέται; 18:36), and he is, himself, the regent of the one who authorizes Roman power (18:36; 19:11).

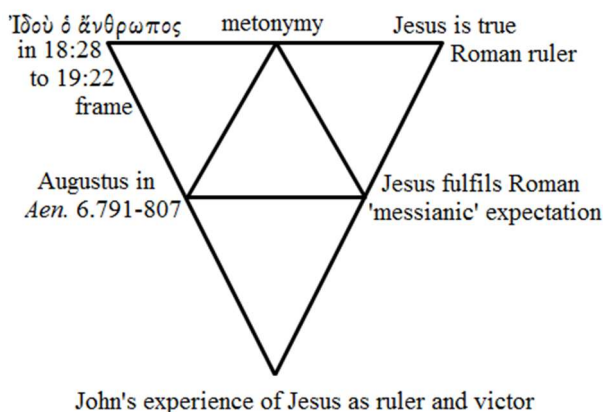


Figure 26: Robertson-Manning diagram in John 18:28—19:22 frame

Augustus, particularly as he is described in *Aen.* 6.791-807, is also ruler of an empire (1.792-97, 806-807) and regent of the gods (1.792). An abductive hearing of the Johannine

trial narrative with a Roman encyclopaedia highlights all the elements that connect Jesus with Caesar: the purple robe, the crown, and the tribunal; the immediate interpretant understands the allusion metonymically.²⁹⁹ The dynamic interpretant is that it is Jesus and not Augustus to whom Vergil's references and the Roman expectations allude.³⁰⁰ And the final interpretant, therefore, is that Jesus is the true promised Roman ruler.

The metonymy between Jesus and Augustus is underlined by another similarity between the two texts. Already in the second century CE, 'Origen [was] drawing attention to the parallels between the arrest of Jesus in John 18 and Euripides' story of Dionysus in the *Bacchae*' (Origen, *Cels.* 2.34).³⁰¹ Origen's contrast between Dionysus' and Jesus' death will not be addressed in this thesis. For a Roman interpretant of the trial narrative, Euripides' story is less relevant than the Roman adaptation of Dionysus.³⁰² Indeed, Pliny references Dionysus as one 'persecuted by those who refused to recognize his divinity, but overcame them and extended his conquests far into Asia and into India' (*Nat.* 4.10.39; 6.21.60; 7.26.95-96).³⁰³ Furthermore, 'Alexander's conquest of India was naturally understood as analogous to the exploits of Dionysus'.³⁰⁴ And it is this story of conquest that Seneca references in three offhand allusions to the Roman Bacchus, or *Liber Pater*.³⁰⁵

The most pertinent example comes from *On Benefits* 1.13.2, where a Corinthian ambassador speaks to Alexander the Great:

'To no one besides Hercules and yourself have we ever given the right of citizenship'. Alexander gladly accepted so marked an honour, and bestowed hospitality and other courtesy upon the ambassadors, reflecting, not who they were who had given him the privilege of citizenship, but to whom they had

²⁹⁹ For more on the tribunal, see Section 6.2.2.4.

³⁰⁰ This is clearly not *Vergil*'s semiotic triad, but John's.

³⁰¹ Stibbe, *Storyteller*, 131; see also Hengel, *Question*, 191 n. 86. See also, for overall similarities, Stibbe, *Storyteller*, 134-35; and, for a nuanced comparison, Peter Wick, 'Jesus gegen Dionysos? Ein Beitrag zur Kontextualisierung des Johannesevangeliums', *Bib* 85.2 (2004): 179-98 (esp. 272-308).

³⁰² Leighton Durham Reynolds, Miriam T. Griffin and Elaine Fantham, 'Annaeus Seneca (2), Lucius', *OCD*.

³⁰³ 'Dionysus', *OCCL*.

³⁰⁴ Courtney Jade Friesen, 'Reading Dionysus: Euripides' *Bacchae* among Jews and Christians in the Greco-Roman World' (PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2013), 139.

³⁰⁵ Both were identified with Dionysus (J. A. North, 'Liber Pater', *OCD*; Albert Henrichs, 'Dionysus', *OCD*).

given it; and, slave as he was to glory, of which he knew neither the true nature nor the limitations, following the footsteps of Hercules and of Bacchus (*Liber*), and not even halting his course where they ceased, he turned his eyes from the givers of the honour to his partner in it, just as if heaven, to which in supreme vanity he aspired, were now his because he was put on a level with Hercules! (Basore, LCL).

Liber is brought into the narrative in conjunction with Alexander the Great and Hercules, and although these last are the focus of the discourse, in which Seneca contrasts the good conqueror Hercules with the greedy conqueror Alexander, *Liber* is joined to them as another who has conquered the East.³⁰⁶ In *De vita beata* 25.4-8, moreover, Seneca describes Socrates's equanimity in the face of triumph as well as defeat. In his description of the triumph, he puts these words in Socrates's mouth: "Make me victor over the nations of the world, let the voluptuous car of Bacchus (*Liber*) convey me in triumph from the rising of the sun all the way to Thebes, let the kings of the nations seek laws from me; when from every side I shall be greeted as a god, I shall then most of all remember that I am a man' (Basore, LCL). These same motifs of victor, ruler, triumph over the nations are part of the hidden transcript of the Gospel of John.³⁰⁷ The cultural unit that pairs Dionysus with triumph is particularly relevant for the Fourth Gospel since associations between emperors and the triumph of Dionysus emerge in both Ephesus and Alexandria. In Ephesus, Mark Anthony was hailed as Dionysus (Plutarch, *Ant.* 24.3-4) and Hadrian was commemorated with Dionysus in both inscription and statuary (e.g., *IEph* 2.275).³⁰⁸ In Alexandria, 'l'identification de Trajan comme *Néos Dionysos* est attestée par les monnaies'.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Hercules and Liber are again connected to Alexander and his greed in *Epistles* 94.62-63.

³⁰⁷ For the theme of triumph over the nations, see Section 7.1 on superordinate identity. The man-god connection is relevant to the Gospel of John as well, but that has been investigated by others, for example, Friesen, 'Reading'.

³⁰⁸ Robert Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques: essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 210 (Paris: de Boccard, 1966), 374-85, 378; Harland, 'Honours and Worship: Emperors, Imperial Cults and Associations at Ephesus (First to Third Centuries C.E.)', 325, 329, 331; Tilborg, *Reading*, 95-98, 211-12; Gerhard van den Heever, 'Finding Data in Unexpected Places (Or: From Text Linguistics to Socio-Rhetoric): Towards a Socio-Rhetorical Reading of John's Gospel', *Neot* 33.2 (1999): 343-364 (357). Van Tilborg also connects the worship of Dionysus with an unusual number of Latin names (*Reading*, 23). This could support the presence of Latin-aware auditors in Ephesus, although see the cautions for using onomastics to determine language use in Section 3.1.1 n. 18, especially Rey-Coquais, 'Onomastique'.

³⁰⁹ Turcan, *Sarcophages*, 375.

The motif of triumph is also found in the passage from Vergil's *Aeneid* alluded to in John 19:5. Not only is Augustus presented as the promised one, the one who will bring back the golden age, but he will 'extend Rome's rule' (*proferet imperium*) all the way to India, beyond the lands that Heracles conquered (1.801), and also beyond *Liber's* conquests (1.804-805).³¹⁰ And then the poet steps in, speaking in the first person plural for the Roman people: 'Do we still hesitate to extend our might by means of our courage, or does fear prevent us from settling in the land of Ausonia?' (1.806-807). In this way, the poet uses a 'revelation of future greatness' set in the past as 'a direct inspiration to present action'.³¹¹ While Aeneas only has to settle Ausonia, in other words Latium, the Romans of Vergil's day are thereby encouraged to extend their *imperium* to India and beyond.

These images of conquest are associated with the Johannine trial narrative through the allusion in John 19:5. However, in this case, the metonymy also contrasts somewhat as it is extended. While Dionysus is clearly a conqueror, Jesus and his followers do not fight (18:36). The image of Jesus as a victor is somewhat nuanced in this frame, and this nuance will be explored in Chapter 7. The interpretant—Jesus is emperor—that emerges from the analysis in this frame is the same as that which was suggested as the interpretant for the unlimited semiotic process described above (Figure 21). However, in that analysis, the interpretant could not be nuanced by the allusion's interpretants in other frames, as brought out in this section, because the object would always be located in John's experience of the Roman empire rather than in his experience of Jesus.

Moving out one last level, the Gospel of John as a whole can be viewed as the frame for the allusion in John 19:5 (Figure 27). The dynamic object, then, would be John's experience of Jesus as the object of his own fidelity. John interprets this as similar to the demands of Augustus and the Romans for fidelity.³¹² Despite this similarity, this is a

³¹⁰ Grebe, 'Authority', 40, 52-53.

³¹¹ Horsfall, '*Aeneid*', 144.

³¹² For the importance of fidelity in the Roman encyclopaedia, see Section 6.1.3.

metaphorical use of the analogy, because the Gospel of John presents many images of Jesus and this is only one of them. The dynamic interpretant is that Jesus is an object of fidelity, among other elements of his characterization in this Gospel. (To this could also be added the element of salvation, which is part of the identity of Augustus as well as of Jesus.)³¹³

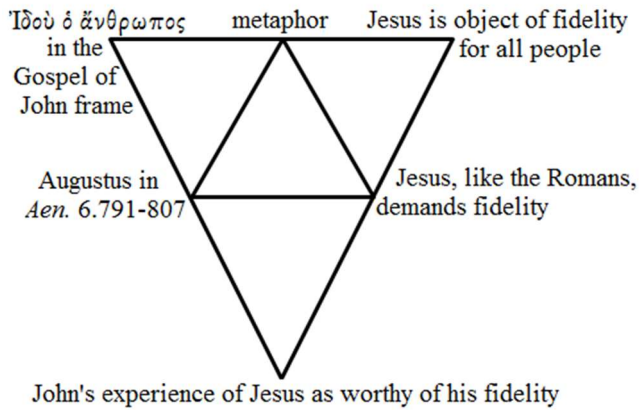


Figure 27: Robertson-Manning diagram in Gospel of John frame

The immediate interpretant of the allusion is again a metaphor. And while a full description of the dynamic interpretant will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7, it will include the thesis that the Roman-aware auditors were among those to whom the Gospel is addressed (e.g., John 1:12). The final interpretant, then, would be that John is revealing Jesus as the proper object of fidelity for all people.

5.3. Conclusion

When discussing allusions, it is important to distinguish what an allusion expresses from why an author used that allusion, or why she used an allusion at all.³¹⁴ The answers to these ‘why’ questions are not recoverable, and the references to motivating objects in this chapter should not be understood to suggest otherwise. Objects in the semiotic process are the forces (such as experiences and perceptions) *that* motivate communication, not the explanations for why they do so. This chapter has emphasized the expressions of loyalty to the emperor that

³¹³ John 3:17; 4:42; 5:34; 19:9; 12:47 and Gransden, *Virgil*, 5.

³¹⁴ Stephen Fowl, ‘The Use of Scripture in Philippians’, in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley, Early Christianity and Its Literature 9 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2012), 163-84 (166-67).

are mocked in John 19:2-3. A semiotic analysis of the proposed allusion to *Aen.* 6.791 in John 19:5 has brought out a nuanced expression of both metaphorical and metonymical elements in a comparison between Jesus and Caesar Augustus. That Jesus ought to be an object of fidelity, however, was shown to be part of the content of John's communication. Fidelity, *fides*, was an extremely important part of Roman rule. It will also prove to be an important unifying theme in the exegetical analysis of 18:28—19:22 of Chapter 6.

6. Pilate Testing Loyalties: An Inferential Walk through John 18:28—19:22

Chapter 4 of this thesis listed Roman *Haftpunkte* in John 18:28—19:22. These *Haftpunkte*, I argued, support an analysis of the Johannine trial narrative which blows up the Roman cultural units of the words and phrases found within it. A view to Roman cultural units highlights the ambiguity of βασιλεύς as a reference to either a client king or the Roman emperor and suggests that a hidden transcript connects Jesus and Caesar. This same connection will emerge again in this chapter's discussion of 19:12-15, this time in a more specific contrast between loyalty to Caesar and loyalty to Jesus. Chapter 4 next demonstrated how the cultural unit of βασιλεύς as a Roman emperor can support an interpretant that raises the question of Jesus' comparison with Caesar from the beginning of the account. Chapter 5 argued that, in John 19:1-5, the hidden transcript translates Jesus' scourging into his acclamation as an emperor through the actions of the soldiers and a literary reference to Augustus Caesar (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.791).

The present chapter will begin by exploring the cultural unit of a Roman governor and Roman law on treason. Next, it will proceed through the trial narrative in an abductive process, what Umberto Eco calls an 'inferential walk', developing a reading for John 18:28—19:22 that blows up the cultural units of the Roman encyclopaedia.¹ What emerges in this process is a two-part interpretant (with four scenes in each part) that emphasizes the testing of loyalties—not, principally, Jesus questioning Pilate's choice of loyalties, as is often argued, but Pilate testing the loyalty of 'the Jews': first, their possible loyalty to Jesus; and, secondly, their loyalty to Caesar. Pilate's motives at the narrative level emerge not only from the Roman cultural unit of a Roman governor, but also from the observation that it is Pilate who repeatedly calls Jesus βασιλεύς.² Because he tests the responses of both Jesus and 'the Jews', Pilate's exchanges with them would resonate with Roman-aware auditors who

¹ Section 2.1.1; Eco, *Role*, 24-25, 31-32. See also 'sequential disclosure' in Phillips, *Prologue*, 7-8.

² Piper, 'Characterisation', 152.

are themselves negotiating challenges to their own loyalty to Rome, as I shall argue in Chapter 7.

6.1. Filling in the Gaps

In Chapter 2 it was proposed that the cultural encyclopaedia provides the source for filling textual gaps as part of the circular process of abduction through a narrative.³ The use of a Roman encyclopaedia and a description of the cultural unit of a Roman governor is especially important for John 18:28—19:22 since, ‘[d]epending on the way in which such a gap is filled, different pictures of Pilate may result’.⁴ Therefore, to approach Pilate by developing ‘a paradigm of traits’ created by information provided in the text only highlights the ‘open spaces’ that admit to a variety of interpretations.⁵ Indeed, in two essays in the same volume, Tuckett repeatedly characterizes Pilate as ‘taunting’ while de Boer’s preferred term is ‘reluctant’.⁶ Thus, it is pertinent to describe aspects of the Roman cultural unit for /governor/, such as dedication to peace-keeping and loyalty to Caesar, and also the power that provincials had, especially the local élite. First, however, a more general comment is in order about the previous knowledge that John’s auditors likely had about the narrative.

6.1.1. The auditors’ previous knowledge of Jesus

Those hearing the text of John’s Gospel already knew that Jesus was crucified by the Romans.⁷ This conclusion rests on the premise that many of the other events of the Gospel

³ Section 2.1.2.

⁴ D. Francois Tolmie, ‘Pontius Pilate: Failing in More Ways Than One’, in *Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John*, ed. Steven A. Hunt, D. Francois Tolmie, and Ruben Zimmermann, WUNT 2.314 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 578-97 (582). See, similarly, Bennis, ‘Comprehensive’, 39.

⁵ Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 581-83, 597.

⁶ Christopher M. Tuckett, ‘Pilate in John 18-19: A Narrative-Critical Approach’, in *Narrativity in Biblical and Related Texts: La narrativité dans la bible et les textes apparentés*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, BETL 149 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 131-40 (135-39); Martinus C. de Boer, ‘The Narrative Function of Pilate in John’, in *Narrativity in Biblical and Related Texts: La narrativité dans la bible et les textes apparentés*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, BETL 149 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 141-58 (142-44, 146, 156-57).

⁷ The ambiguity of John 19:16 will be discussed in Section 7.1.4.

story were also familiar to them.⁸ Indeed, it was typical of ancient drama for the plot to focus not on *what* would happen (which would already be common knowledge) but on *how* it would happen.⁹ Furthermore, anyone engaging with ancient texts would be expected to engage in '[l]'acquisition de "la connaissance" nécessaire pour comprendre ces textes'.¹⁰ This is not to argue that the Fourth Gospel was intended for an educated audience, but only to assert that anyone engaging with texts, whether reading or being read to, would be aware of the expectations about texts in the ancient world. When John repeatedly makes allusions to people and events that require information from outside the Fourth Gospel (e.g., Jesus' birthplace in 7:42, and Barabbas in 18:40), his auditors would hear those references as requests for them to acquire that information elsewhere.¹¹ Since John takes the time to give explanations when they are important to him, it is clear that he is not averse to doing so when it suits his purposes. Therefore, it seems that he intended his hearers to have or to acquire previous knowledge of at least some of these people and events.

Auditors who know the story of Jesus, then, already know that his death will occur. This knowledge is given earlier in the text, as well. The Gospel has alerted its hearers that Jesus will be 'lifted up' in his death (3:14; 12:32-33).¹² In 18:32, it reminds them that Jesus' death will come about through the Romans.¹³ Like Mark (15:1) but unlike Matthew (27:2), John does not pause to identify Pilate as the governor, nor to give his full Latin name, thereby again suggesting previous knowledge of him and his role in Jesus' death (see, e.g., Acts 3:13;

⁸ Lincoln, *Truth*, 145, 167.

⁹ Ancient drama frequently focused not on outcome but on the way that outcome was achieved. See Susanna Braund, '5. Analysis of Aeneid Books 10-12 and Conclusion (February 6, 2007)', in *Virgil's Aeneid: Anatomy of a Classic*, Stanford on iTunes U (2007); Genuyt, 'Comparution', 135; Horsley, and Thatcher, *John*, 63.

¹⁰ Loveday Alexander, 'L'intertextualité et la question des lecteurs: Réflexions sur l'usage de la Bible dans les Actes des Apôtres', in *Intertextualités: La Bible en échos*, ed. Daniel Marguerat and Adrian Curtis, Le Monde de la Bible 40 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000), 201-214 (207). In the New Testament, the shared knowledge is that required to understand the stories of Jesus and the subsequent history of his followers.

¹¹ Barrett, *Gospel*, 539; David Rensberger, 'The Politics of John: The Trial of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL* 103.3 (1984): 395-411 (401); Lincoln, *Gospel*, 464-65.

¹² Lincoln, *Truth*, 193.

¹³ Nicholson, *Death*, 138; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 461.

4:27; 13:28).¹⁴ At the very least, auditors know that Pilate is the one in charge at the *πραιτώριον* (18:28-29), the ‘governor’s official residence’.¹⁵ Thus, like other ancient texts, the Gospel of John expects its audience to know the outcome of the trial, and focuses instead on the manner in which it progressed.¹⁶

That auditors are expected to know some of Jesus’ story suggests the possibility that a significant proportion of the Gospel’s audience is composed of those with some interest in Jesus.¹⁷ The present subjunctive form *πιστεύητε* in 20:31, likely on text-critical grounds, does not preclude people who are not convinced of Jesus’ identity, but it does demand auditors with an interest in the question of who ‘the Messiah, the Son of God’ might be.¹⁸ Furthermore, the ironies already noted in the Johannine text presuppose some auditors who are willing to enter into second-level assumptions, that Jesus, for example, is not just a king but an emperor.¹⁹ Also, and despite being outside the purview of this thesis, the ‘amount of space that the narrative in John 13-17 gives to addressing explicitly the concerns of Jesus’ followers’, the issues about Jesus’ identity that figure in ‘the disputes in the public ministry’, and the ending of the narrative that tells the stories of ongoing witnessing beyond Jesus’ resurrection—all of these seem to provide arguments for and reassurance to people who already identify themselves as Jesus’ disciples.²⁰ Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, ‘the importance of Jesus’ role as witness in the climactic Roman trial narrative

¹⁴ Luke, however, identifies him as Pontius Pilate (3:1) (Brown, *John*, 2.846-47; similarly Barrett, *Gospel*, 533; Tilborg, *Reading*, 8; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 459; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 583).

¹⁵ ‘πραιτώριον’, BDAG 859.

¹⁶ De Boer, ‘Narrative’, 143 n. 10; see also 142-43, 145.

¹⁷ For Gniesmer, the Johannine community could have filled in the necessary information, both for those inside and outside of the community (Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 79).

¹⁸ Gordon D. Fee, ‘On the Text and Meaning of John 20:30-31 (1992)’, in *To What End Exegesis? Essays Textual, Exegetical, and Theological*, ed. Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 29-42; Donald A. Carson, ‘Syntactical and Text-Critical Observations on John 20:30-31: One More Round on the Purpose of the Fourth Gospel’, *JBL* 124.4 (2005): 693-714 (713); Brown, *John*, 2.1056, 1059-61; Barrett, *Gospel*, 575; Lincoln, *Truth*, 177; Keener, *John*, 2.1215-16. Note that Alicia Myers misses the fact that the debate extends beyond the tense of the verb [‘Abiding Words: An Introduction to Perspectives on John’s Use of Scripture’, in *Abiding Words: The Use of Scripture in the Gospel of John*, ed. Alicia D. Myers and Bruce G. Schuchard, SBL Resources for Biblical Study 81 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 1-20 (2 n. 3)].

¹⁹ Chapter 4; Dokka, ‘Irony’, 96; Lincoln, *Truth*, 178.

²⁰ Lincoln, *Truth*, 178-79, 152-58, 189-90.

and the significant fact that the Gospel depicts it after setting out the disciples' task as witnesses in the Farewell Discourse mean that Jesus on trial is to be seen as a model for the disciples on trial'.²¹ It is reasonable, then, to suppose that if the auditors are already Jesus-believers, they are likely to know the story of the one in whom they believe. This does not necessarily mean that they are a unified, uniform group, however. That subject will be pursued in Chapter 7.

That John's auditors are likely to know the story of Jesus brings into question many literary analyses of John's Gospel that focus on whether Pilate develops or has the potential to develop faith in Jesus.²² This question often influences more general works as well, where it is assumed that Pilate is 'faced with an unavoidable decision about the truth embodied in Jesus and his witness'.²³ The previous knowledge that the Gospel assumes of its auditors as well as the information given ahead of time in the text, do not leave open the possibility that Pilate will profess belief in Jesus.

Furthermore, some of John's characters are never given a scene in which they are offered faith. Caiaphas, for example, is an important council member who functions as a 'mouthpiece for God' in John 11:49-52.²⁴ Since Caiaphas states that Jesus' death would be a pragmatic solution for the Sanhedrin (11:50), auditors would not expect him to oppose it in John 18. Both he and Annas are mentioned in the passage leading up to Jesus' appearance before Pilate (18:13-14), but nothing is said of Jesus' interrogation. The change of location to and from Caiaphas' presence (18:24, 28) only happens in the background, while the narration focuses on Peter and his denial of Jesus (18:25-27). Thus, Caiaphas and Annas can be considered 'minor players whose knowledge of and attitudes towards Jesus are not of

²¹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 181.

²² Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 142; Duke, *Irony*, 127, 129; Lincoln, *Truth*, 137; Tolmie, 'Pontius', 586-87, 593-94.

²³ Lincoln, *Truth*, 137; see, similarly, Brown, *John*, 2.864, 868, 869, 872; Schlier, *Relevance*, 219; Moloney, *John*, 498; Carter, *John*, 304, 309; Thompson, *John*, 381.

²⁴ Adele Reinhartz, 'Caiaphas and Annas: The Villains of the Piece?', in *Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John*, ed. Steven A. Hunt, D. Francois Tolmie, and Ruben Zimmermann, WUNT 2.314 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 530-36 (532).

particular interest to the implied author'.²⁵ This example demonstrates that John does not focus on the decisions of all of his characters for or against believing in Jesus. Since in Pilate's case, as in Caiaphas', auditors know he is not a Jesus-believer, it seems unlikely that Pilate's response to Jesus is the crux of John 18:28—19:22.

6.1.2. The Roman cultural unit of a governor: keeping the peace

Instead of evaluating Pilate on the basis of his response to Jesus, the auditors' evaluation of Pilate is more likely based on the cultural unit for Roman governors during the late first or early second century CE.²⁶ Cor Bennema also advocates that 'we should reconstruct the Johannine characters from the information that the text of John's Gospel provides *and* supplement it with relevant information from other sources'.²⁷ Bennema fills in John's Pilate with information from Philo, Josephus, and Mark.²⁸ Additionally, auditors (especially those unaware of Philo and Josephus) would rely on their experiences of the cultural unit of Roman governors and the discourse of the Roman empire about them. For example, Pilate is trying to discover what Jesus might be hiding, as judges normally do in trials.²⁹ Yet while Jerome Neyrey regards Pilate as unsuccessful because he does not learn the secret of Jesus' true identity, it seems more likely that auditors would expect the main concern of a Roman governor to discover any secret threat that Jesus might pose to Roman peace.³⁰

Romans defined themselves as those who must remember their calling 'to rule imperially over the nations ..., to set the force of habit upon peace, to spare those who submit

²⁵ Reinhartz, 'Caiaphas', 536.

²⁶ See, similarly, Skinner, *Trial*, 14. Carter provides a list of the tasks required of a governor including keeping the peace, collecting revenues, administering justice (including putting people to death), commanding troops and constructing public buildings (*John*, 291-92). For a good description of Roman governors that, however, is quite generalized since it covers both senatorial and imperial provinces during the whole of the Roman empire, see Béranger-Badel, 'Formation'.

²⁷ Bennema, 'Comprehensive', 45-46, emphasis original.

²⁸ Bennema, 'Comprehensive', 44-45. See also Skinner's comments about the importance of texts for communicating ancient expectations (*Trial*, 23).

²⁹ Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 95.

³⁰ Neyrey, 'Secrecy', 95.

and crush in war the haughty' (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.851-53 [Horsfall]).³¹ Peace is clearly a Roman concern in Palestine in particular. Josephus describes Herod Antipas with precisely this concern for maintaining the peace in the case of John the Baptist, who had such a following that it would be easy for him to mount a rebellion if he so desired (*Ant.* 18.5.2 §118).³² A Roman governor such as Pilate, then, would not be expected to care what Jesus thought of himself, but whether in fact, or potentially, Jesus could serve as a focal point for a rebellion against Rome.³³ This contradicts descriptions of John's characterization of Pilate that impugn his sense of justice or his competence.³⁴ Expediency and peace would be prioritized before justice in a Roman decision; indeed 'Rome showed a callous brutality when dealing with provincials'.³⁵ Josephus, for example, describes Vespasian's killing and enslaving of over 30,000 prisoners who had been promised their freedom. He exonerates Vespasian by blaming 'his friends' who 'overcame his scruples by telling him that against Jews there could be no question of impiety, and that he ought to prefer expediency to propriety when the two were incompatible' (*J.W.* 3.10.10 §536 [Thackeray, LCL]).³⁶ It is particularly relevant, then, that John's depiction of the trial, from the beginning, calls into question Pilate's ability to keep the peace that he owes Caesar.³⁷ The arrival of the large

³¹ The Roman law on treason will be discussed in Section 6.1.5; the Roman self-characterization as those who bring law to the lawless will be discussed in Section 7.1.2.

³² Travis D. Trost, *Who Should Be King in Israel? A Study on Roman Imperial Politics, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Hemchand Gossai, Studies in Biblical Literature 139 (New York: Lang, 2010), 92.

³³ Fournier, *Entre*, 594. See, similarly, Carter, *John*, 296-98; Thatcher, *Greater*, 75. See, also, Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 12.

³⁴ For examples of those who comment on Pilate's injustice, lack of character or competence, see Brown, *John*, 2.864, 872, 889, 894; Rensberger, 'Politics', 406; Duke, *Irony*, 131; Colleen M. Conway, *Men and Women in the Fourth Gospel: Gender and Johannine Characterization*, ed. Mark Allan Powell, SBLDS 167 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1999), 158; Lincoln, *Truth*, 129; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 274; Bennema, 'Pilate', 253; Tolmie, 'Pontius', 589. Note, too, that a lack of concern about Jesus' guilt or innocence combined with tension between Pilate and 'the Jews' cannot be interpreted to result in friendliness to Jesus (Rensberger, 'Politics', 402, 403).

³⁵ Bond, 'Authorities', 232. Pace, e.g., Skinner who assumes some measure of commitment to establishing Jesus' 'innocence' (*Trial*, 96-97).

³⁶ Similarly, see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.16.4-5 §345-404 but also 4.2.5 §119. For some examples of Roman concern for peace over justice, and especially in cases concerning non-citizens, see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.12.6 §241-44; 2.16.1 §333-35. The tension between the Roman ideal of justice and the brutality of practical decisions such as these will be discussed in Section 7.1.2.

³⁷ Richard Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London: Routledge, 2005), 64-67; Skinner, *Trial*, 15; Thompson, *John*, 375-76.

contingent of Roman soldiers to arrest Jesus in the garden (18:3, 18), for example, suggests that they were ‘obviously expecting resistance from either him or his followers’, as Helen Bond rightly points out.³⁸

6.1.3. The Roman cultural unit of a governor: loyalty to Caesar

Another trait expected of a Roman governor—and, indeed, of all people in relation to the Romans—is faithful loyalty. Augustus claims that ‘many people have experienced the faithfulness of the Roman people’ (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 32). He is referring to the way ‘Rome would loyally provide protection; the other people would be loyal to Rome’.³⁹ This loyalty comes under the threat of violence: ‘Now the Mede dreads our mighty hands and the axes of Alba that are powerful over land and sea; now the Scythians and the Indians, who were recently so arrogant, ask for our decisions. Now Good Faith (*fides*), Peace, and Honour, along with old-fashioned Modesty and Virtue, who has been so long neglected, venture to return, and blessed Plenty with her full horn is seen by all’ (Horace, *Saec.* 54-60 [Rudd, LCL]).⁴⁰ In submission to Roman expansion, defeated nations begin a relationship of *fides*, where ‘the weaker party is said to give himself into or entrust himself to the fides of the stronger and the stronger to receive the weaker into his fides’.⁴¹ In patron-client relationships such as that between a governor and the emperor, the Roman concept of *fides* can be divided into ‘the *fides* of the patron’ and ‘the *fides* of the client’.⁴² These are both ‘active forms of *fides* and both represent what is needed most by both parties—the client needs above all the security offered by a patron and a patron needs above all the honour and personal high status

³⁸ Bond, *Pilate*, 167; see also Martin, ‘Jesus’.

³⁹ Carter, *John*, 266.

⁴⁰ Note that the outlook of the *Aeneid*, particularly ‘the theme of empire and world-mastery’, was quite influential on Horace’s composition—and also in more popular works such as the Sibylline Oracles (Horsfall, ‘Virgil’, 85, 87). This concept was not unimportant within a Jewish encyclopaedia either. See, e.g., Georgi, ‘Aeneas’, 41, and Section 7.1.3.

⁴¹ John Rich, ‘Patronage and Interstate Relations in the Roman Republic’, in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 117-135 (128-30).

⁴² Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. James D. G. Dunn et al., BZNW 130 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 203-204.

offered by having clients'.⁴³ Therefore, a Roman governor would need to ensure that loyalty to Caesar was visible and maintained at all times.

Such visible loyalty was required to prevent poor reports of the governor being sent to Rome. This was a live concern since emperors sent men to the provinces in a variety of capacities. Although in some cases lesser officials were appointed by and reported to provincial governors, the emperor might also send his own representatives.⁴⁴ Pliny's *Epistulae ad Trajanum* mention several men, including the procurator Viridius Gemellinus, Trajan's freedmen Epimachus and Lycormas, and *legatus* Servilius Pudens, all dispatched to the province of Bithynia and functioning independently of, but sometimes required to work with, Pliny.⁴⁵ Ulpian, indeed, warns proconsuls (governors of senatorial provinces) to stay out of matters involving the *fiscus*, which are properly under the jurisdiction of the procurator.⁴⁶ Such a law makes it reasonable to assume that interference between separately delegated spheres did occur.

Especially in imperial provinces '[a]ssistant *legati* ... exercised a jurisdiction of their own, delegated and circumscribed by the emperor, not the imperial governor'.⁴⁷ Roman patrons were also in provincial cities as well as '*curatores civitatis*, senators or equestrians appointed by the emperor to keep the local administrators from foolish (and costly) decisions'.⁴⁸ Although some of these officials were somewhat outside 'of the administrative routine', they could still be conduits of information to Rome and, if their circles extended that far, to the emperor.⁴⁹

⁴³ Crook, *Reconceptualising*, 203-204.

⁴⁴ Paul Weaver, '*Consilium praesidis*: Advising Governors', in *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History, History and General History for John Crook on His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Paul McKechnie, Mnemosyne Supplements 231 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 44-62 (49-51).

⁴⁵ The letters of importance include 10.25, 27, 28, 63, 67, 84; Weaver, '*Consilium*', 47, 51-53. For more literary and inscriptional evidence, see Weaver, '*Consilium*', 53-59.

⁴⁶ *Dig.* 1.16.9pr.; Weaver, '*Consilium*', 45.

⁴⁷ Weaver, '*Consilium*', 62.

⁴⁸ Hartmut Galsterer, 'Local and Provincial Institutions and Government', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 344-60 (359); Béranger-Badel, 'Formation', 54.

⁴⁹ Galsterer, 'Local', 359. Note that Pilate, too, would have a 'network of spies and informers' (Bond, 'Authorities', 225). See, similarly, Jason J. Ripley, 'The Genre of John and the Rule of Rome: Imperial Readers,

The approach taken in this study is to fill in the gaps of a text from the cultural encyclopaedia.⁵⁰ This means that the usual situation in the provinces is more important than Pilate's historical situation.⁵¹ However, as it happens, Pilate did have people around him who might report back to Tiberius about his behaviour.⁵² First, there were the nearby client rulers, such as Herod Antipas (Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea from 4 BCE to 39 CE) who founded Tiberias in 17 CE, thus demonstrating his loyalty to his patron the emperor.⁵³ Secondly, there were those appointed to Syria by the emperor. The imperial legate of Syria before 32 CE, Lucius Aelius Lamia, was kept in Rome and not allowed (or not required—the purpose of the restriction is debated) to rule from Syria (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.27).⁵⁴ Still, he would need people to implement his directives, such as the legate Pacuvius (2.79). The mention of freedmen in Pliny's letters suggests the possibility of other envoys, although this is only conjecture. Suetonius (*Tib.* 42.1) records that the next appointed legate, Lucius Pomponius Flaccus (32-33 or 35 CE), was given the appointment by Tiberius because of his congeniality as a drinking companion—not perhaps a high recommendation by today's standards, but certainly evocative of the close relationship between the legate and the

Johannine Testimony, and the Death of the Author' (paper presented at Gospel of John as Genre Mosaic Conference, Aarhus University, Denmark, June 24, 2014).

⁵⁰ Section 2.1.2.

⁵¹ This is in distinction from approaches such as that of David Flusser who says that he 'simply wanted to see what had really happened' [*Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 592].

⁵² Ernst Bammel also recognizes that this would be Pilate's concern [*Φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος*, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 77.4 (1952): 205-210 (209-10)].

⁵³ Pahlitzsch, 'Tiberias', PC; Bringmann, 'Herodes [4]', 4, PC. Pilate's own connection to Tiberius is similarly evident from the mention of a *Tiberieum* on the Caesarea inscription bearing his name. Although Millar and Lémonon disagree about the nature of the *Tiberieum*, whether it was a temple or a secular building, the inscription in either case demonstrates Pilate's choice to honour Tiberius [Fergus Millar, 'The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions', in *Le culte des souverains dans l'Empire Romain: Sept exposés suivis de discussions*, ed. Willem den Boer, Entretiens Sur L'antiquité classique 19 (Geneva: Hardt, 1973), 143-75 (156); Lémonon, *Ponce*, 29-31]. Lémonon, despite his conclusion that the *Tiberieum* was not a temple, summarizes: 'Ces incertitudes ne doivent pas nous faire oublier le triple intérêt de cette inscription pour la connaissance de Pilate: elle atteste son gouvernement, son titre et sa dévotion à l'empereur, au moins sous son aspect extérieur' [Jean-Pierre Lémonon, *Pilate et le gouvernement de la Judée: Textes et monuments*, Études Bibliques (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1981), 32]. It is that third element that supports the focus on Pilate's loyalty adopted in this chapter.

⁵⁴ Bond, *Pilate*, 14; Edward Dąbrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus*, ed. Géza Alföldi and Frank Kolb, *Antiquitas: Reihe 1, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte* 45 (Bonn: Habelt, 1998), 35-37.

emperor; he was an *amicus*, in the ancient sense of the title, and seems to have been a friend as well.⁵⁵ Furthermore, he was chosen not only for ‘his social qualities’ but also for ‘his loyalty, and for his talent in diplomacy’ (Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* 2.129.2-3).⁵⁶ Then, Lucius Vitellius served as the legate of Syria from 35-39 CE.⁵⁷ He played a variety of supportive roles in the intrigues of the Caesars, appearing throughout ‘as a capable functionary and a slippery courtier who succeeded in serving every ruler’.⁵⁸ His connection with the emperors is demonstrated by his ability to send ‘Pilate to Rome to account for himself before Tiberius’.⁵⁹ The complexities of the chains of command will not be elaborated upon further, except to note the difficulty of negotiating loyalties in this agonistic environment.⁶⁰ In another example from Judaea, Ummidius Quadratus reported Cumanus and Celer (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.12.5-6 §236-44), and the emperor ‘banished Cumanus, and sent Celer back in chains to Jerusalem to be dragged around the city and executed’.⁶¹ Pilate, too, as a *praefectus civitatum*, was ‘not independent ... but subject to a senatorial governor such as the legate of Syria’ and yet received his appointment from the emperor (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.9.2 §169).⁶² The intentionality of the division of loyalties is demonstrated as well by the temporary nature of Vitellius’ replacement for Pilate, his friend (φίλος) Marcellus (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.2 §89). The next year, Gaius sent a more permanent (4 years) replacement, appointing Marullus as prefect to Judaea (18.6.10 §237).⁶³ Thus, the legate of

⁵⁵ Dąbrowa, *Governors*, 37; Richard Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 41-78; David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*, ed. P. A. Cartledge and P. D. A. Garnsey, KTAH (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 135-37. See also Brown, *Death*, 1.843.

⁵⁶ Dąbrowa, *Governors*, 37-38. For a discussion of the years of Flaccus’s appointment, see Daniel R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea*, ed. Martin Hengel and Peter Schafer, TSAJ 23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 183-84.

⁵⁷ Bond, *Pilate*, 14.

⁵⁸ Eck, ‘Vitellius [2.3]’, PC. See also Dąbrowa, *Governors*, 38-41.

⁵⁹ Bond, *Pilate*, 73.

⁶⁰ Konstan notes that friendship changed under the empire (Konstan, *Friendship*, 148).

⁶¹ Horsley, and Thatcher, *John*, 46.

⁶² Eck, ‘Praefectus [6]’, PC; Bond, *Pilate*, 5.

⁶³ It is, however, possible that these two are references to the same person (Bond, *Pilate*, 8 n. 42). Nevertheless, Josephus’ expectation that the emperor would need to replace the legate’s first appointment demonstrates that imperial dependency was part of the cultural unit for the prefect.

Syria did not have the power to appoint the prefect of Judaea, and yet he controlled the army and exercised a supervisory function over him.⁶⁴

Jerome Neyrey, indeed, interprets the dialogue in the Johannine trial narrative in such agonistic terms as alternating ‘claims’, ‘challenges’, and ‘riposte[s]’ between Pilate, Jesus and ‘the Jews’.⁶⁵ However, given the social ties described above, a Roman governor’s main concern was not his honour *vis à vis* the provincial subjects, which would be unassailable, but rather his honour *vis à vis* the emperor in Rome, especially given the ‘prevalence of mutual jealousy among the Roman aristocracy’.⁶⁶ Such competition would be especially relevant among the *amici Caesaris* (see John 19:12). This designation will be discussed further below, but it certainly meant an increase, not a decrease, in Pilate’s need to please Caesar. Thus, in a gospel that emphasizes faithfulness to Jesus (see, e.g., John 11:40-48 and 20:31), Pilate’s own faithfulness is called into question; his allegiance to Caesar must be maintained and made visible, and this will prove to be more important to him than justice.⁶⁷ Although the word πιστεύω is not present in the Johannine trial narrative at all, nor is πίστις, which is completely absent from the Gospel, faithful loyalty is nevertheless an important topic within the narrative.

Furthermore, the recognition that a governor’s social positioning occurred in competition with other Romans brings up the uneven balance of power between him and the provincials, even the local élite.⁶⁸ Pilate’s final decision in the matter of the *titulus* in John 19:19-22, for example, ‘reinforces the message that Pilate is in control of not only Jesus but

⁶⁴ See the detailed description of six different governors of Syria and their interventions into Judaea (Lémonon, *Pilate*, 63-71, especially 66 n. 36).

⁶⁵ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 424. Note that Neyrey sometimes fills in gaps not only from the Roman encyclopaedia and from the rest of John’s Gospel, but also from the larger canon. See especially p. 430 where his discussion of power is dependent on assumptions from Romans, 1 Timothy and 1 Peter. This is problematic, unless connections are elucidated, which Neyrey does not do.

⁶⁶ Brunt, *Laus*, 305. The flogging of Jesus (John 19:1-3) also emphasizes the power of Rome over its subjects (Carter, *John*, 305).

⁶⁷ Brown, *Death*, 1.851.

⁶⁸ Skinner, *Trial*, 94.

of Jewish Palestine and the privileges of the Jewish leadership'.⁶⁹ This uneven balance of power nuances Carter's claim that the 'governors and the chief priests needed each other'.⁷⁰ Pilate would need loyal subordinates, but anyone willing to demonstrate that loyalty would do. His need is not in an equal balance with the priests' need to demonstrate loyalty to prevent being replaced. This was a real danger for them: Gratus, the prefect before Pilate, replaced the high priest four times in eleven years.⁷¹

For a Roman governor such as Pilate, what is at stake is whether this man, Jesus, and these people, 'the Jews', will cause him shame before the ones who really matter: the emperor and Pilate's Roman peers.⁷² While he may choose 'to humiliate "the Jews" and to ridicule their national hopes by means of Jesus', this could only be a secondary goal, from the perspective of a Roman-aware auditor.⁷³ So when the narrative in John 18:28—19:22 is described as 'a struggle for power between Pilate and the Jewish religious leaders', this is

⁶⁹ Trost, *Who*, 86.

⁷⁰ Carter, *Pontius*, 48; restated in Carter, *John*, 294. Carter's understanding of the balance of power is somewhat difficult to determine from his writing. He shows the power dimensions in this relationship, as Pilate 'represents and protects Rome's political, economic, military, and legal interests in an exploitative and oppressive relationship over those he governs, and with little accountability on his part' (299). He 'humiliates' (301; see also 305, 310), 'taunts' (304; see also 305, 306, 308 where they are 'subjugating taunts', 309), 'continues to mock' (306), 'asserts ... control' (305) and acts with 'scorn' (302). 'bullying' (305), 'intolerance for any resistance' (305), 'imperial violence and intimidation' (305) and 'superior power' (306; see similarly 310) in 'his tensive struggle with his Jerusalem allies' (304), 'provoking' (304) the demonstration of their own 'subservience' (304), 'dependence' (304; see also 305, 306, 308), 'gratefulness' to him (304), 'subordination' (305), 'status as subjects' (305), as 'they plead with the governor to act according to their wishes' (308) and 'resent the humiliation' (310). However, he also describes 'the Jerusalem elite' as they 'assertively and confrontationally get [Pilate's] attention' with the mention of Jesus' claim 'to be Son of God' (306) and 'gain some power over Pilate' as they remind him of his loyalty to Rome as a friend of Caesar (308). Carter concludes that Pilate 'walks a fine line between working with his Jerusalem allies to remove Jesus (even showing some respect for their religious customs), and repeatedly taunting them about their defeated status and keeping them in their subservient place as a people dependent on him' but then also that Pilate demonstrates 'apparently untouchable and triumphant Roman power' (311). Carter, in private correspondence, summarized that he understands Pilate's power to have been restricted, since the Syrian governor had control of the main Roman forces and since the provincial elite had the power to cause the governor quite a bit of trouble. Thus, his position today is somewhat more nuanced than it was previously (292, 298). For a brief summary of the forces in Syria, see Thompson, *John*, 375 n. 36.

⁷¹ Bond, *Pilate*, 19.

⁷² Brown also raises the possibility that Pilate is afraid of reports being sent to Rome about him, but for a different reason than that proposed in this thesis (*John*, 2.878).

⁷³ Pace Rensberger, 'Politics', 402.

not an incorrect description—both have agendas that they are attempting to bring to bear—but it obscures the unequal footing on which they stand.⁷⁴

6.1.4. The Roman cultural unit of a governor: the power of the people

The only power that conquered people do possess is that of attacking their conquerors' fitness to rule, specifically by 'claiming that these rulers have violated the norms by which they justify their own authority'.⁷⁵ So, for example, if a ruling élite claims exceptional impartiality in legal decisions, they are vulnerable to critiques *from within the system* if those they rule can demonstrate examples of judicial discrimination. At the same time, subordinated people are well aware that their overlords never live up to the rhetoric they claim (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.16.4 §350-52). Even if provincials did manage to bring a governors' misconduct to light, the downfall of that governor was in no way certain. Josephus reports that when the Jewish people complained about the poor rule of Florus, Agrippa advised that it was better to submit to injustice temporarily than to risk a war in which they would surely be defeated (*J.W.* 2.16.3-4 §342-401).⁷⁶ So one should not assume that every failure of the rulers will result in critique, nor that a lack of expressed critique indicates a lack of awareness of the rulers' failures on the part of those ruled.

Rapaciousness, for example, was expected of governors (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.6.5 §175-76).⁷⁷ Yet when Carter cites by way of contrast Aristides' rhapsodic claims, and characterizes them as an extravagant wish of the élite, he misses the importance of this rhetoric for the ruled: Rome sends out its 'governors ... for the protection and care of their subjects, not to be their masters' (*Orations* 26.36).⁷⁸ Claims such as these provide standards

⁷⁴ Lincoln, *Truth*, 225-26. Colleen Conway also notes the impotence of 'the Jews' before Pilate ['There and Back Again: Johannine History on the Other Side of Literary Criticism', in *Anatomies of Narrative Criticism: The Past, Present, and Futures of the Fourth Gospel as Literature*, ed. Tom Thatcher and Stephen D. Moore (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 77-91 (88 n. 8)].

⁷⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 94.

⁷⁶ See, similarly, Carter, *John*, 298.

⁷⁷ Carter, *John*, 296-98.

⁷⁸ Carter, *John*, 295.

that allow for provincial critique.⁷⁹ And links were established, both formally and informally, between local élites and the emperor, so there was an avenue for such complaints.⁸⁰ These critiques can be uttered publically because they do not constitute rebellion.⁸¹ They support the ideology of the rulers, at least outwardly, and only complain to the rulers for failing in what they, themselves, claim to perform.⁸² Thus, in the Johannine trial narrative, when ‘the Jews’ question Pilate’s status as a friend of Caesar (19:12), they challenge not his right to rule, but his loyalty to his own master.⁸³ Furthermore, given John’s overall emphasis on πιστεύω (e.g., 1:7; 3:15; 6:29; 11:25; 17:20; 19:35; 20:31), it seems likely that loyalty is the main issue in this narrative unit.⁸⁴

Pilate is vulnerable before Caesar—and it is with an oblique accusation aimed at that vulnerability that ‘the Jews’ gain some leverage. Pilate is “‘trahi” par ce pouvoir qui devait le couvrir’.⁸⁵ Pilate *must* display his loyalty at all times, so ‘[o]nce Pilate’s loyalty to Caesar is publicly questioned, the outcome is assured’.⁸⁶ Thus, ‘the Jews’ in the end succeed in obtaining the crucifixion they have requested.⁸⁷ However, this is only a defeat for Pilate if *not* crucifying Jesus was his main goal throughout the trial. When Brown suggests that ‘the Jews’ are ‘adversaries who have the power to destroy’ Pilate and that ‘in the end he is vanquished and must hand Jesus over to them’, and when Cassidy concludes that ‘Pilate gradually loses his dominant position’, these statements are only half true.⁸⁸ Instead this

⁷⁹ See, similarly, Philo, *Embassy* 38.301-302.

⁸⁰ Revell, *Roman*, 99, 101. See also her discussion on social ties (9).

⁸¹ Scott, *Domination*, 103-107.

⁸² Scott argues, too, that whether or not a subordinated people support the élite ideology privately is impossible to tell (*Domination*, 85-103). Thus, Hingley is correct to note that ‘[t]he adoption of Latin in Italian and provincial contexts does not necessarily represent any direct adoption of a Roman order of values’ (*Globalizing*, 102. See similarly Ehrensperger, *Crossroads*, 69). Nonetheless, the knowledge of those values would be acquired with the language and would be necessary to negotiate intercultural encounters (Sections 1.2.3 and 2.1.3).

⁸³ As Carter notes, this challenge begins in verse 7 with the mention that ‘Jesus has claimed to be Son of God’, although I suggest that this is a challenge to Pilate’s loyalty, not an accusation of treason (*John*, 307).

⁸⁴ Section 5.1.4 n. 101.

⁸⁵ Genuyt, ‘Comparution’, 144.

⁸⁶ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 152.

⁸⁷ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 151.

⁸⁸ Brown, *John*, 2.885; Cassidy, *John’s Gospel*, 45. Others who suggest that Pilate fails include Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 151; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 595. See also Tolmie’s list of ways in which Pilate can be thought

chapter proposes that the victory of ‘the Jews’ is not Pilate’s defeat.⁸⁹ The ‘implied threat to [Pilate’s] own position’ highlighted at the end of the trial (19:4-12) is, in this analysis, Pilate’s only concern from the beginning.⁹⁰ While he experiences fear and genuinely attempts to release Jesus at the latter end of the episode (19:8, 12), by the time of the crucifixion the Johannine Pilate had found a way to protect his interests, especially his allegiance to Caesar.⁹¹ By John 19:22, *both* Pilate and ‘the Jews’ have achieved their aims: Jesus has been crucified and Pilate’s position before Caesar is secure.⁹²

6.1.5. Claims of kingship and Roman treason

In the Gospel of John, Jesus is presented as a threat to the limited autonomy of the chief priests and the Pharisees (11:47-48). It is often assumed that it was Jesus’ claim to ‘kingship’ that constituted this threat.⁹³ Blinzler, for example, calls Jesus’ crime ‘[h]igh treason’, even though he starts out by rightly noting: ‘Of the crimes which are listed in Justinian’s *Digestes* as constituting the *crimen laesae maiestatis*, there is none which corresponds exactly with the crime with which Jesus was charged’.⁹⁴ Barrett describes the era of suspicion at the end of the reign of Domitian, when accusations of sedition were common and based on very little evidence, yet he produces no example of anyone exiled or

to have failed (597). See, similarly, Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 269. In general, Gniesmer analyses Pilate as a ‘Werkzeug der Juden’ (235, 207, 260).

⁸⁹ For Thatcher, for example, Pilate is one of Cerberus’ three heads that is ultimately ‘crushed under the weight of Jesus’ unstoppable mission’ (*Greater*, 14).

⁹⁰ Lindars, *John*, 554. Many scholars see this threat at the end of the trial, specifically in 19:12, including Brown, *John*, 2.890, 893-94; Barrett, *Gospel*, 530; Cassidy, *John’s Gospel*, 46; Keener, *John*, 2.1128-29; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 471; Thompson, *John*, 387. For Brown, who considers Pilate’s friendship with Sejanus as historical and therefore to have influenced the tradition, his fall from grace makes this concern of Pilate’s even more likely (*John*, 2.894). The possible connection between Pilate and Sejanus will be discussed further in Section 6.2.2.3. Neyrey’s conclusion that by 19:15a ‘Pilate has lost the game, and his honor has been diminished’ only applies if his primary goal is justice and therefore Jesus’ release (*Cultural*, 431-32).

⁹¹ This is *pace* Piper who proposes that Pilate’s fear is *of Jesus* and that it persists until the end (‘Characterisation’, 152, 155).

⁹² These aims, the Gospel of John argues, are also God’s (Section 7.1.5).

⁹³ E.g., Lindars, *John*, 554; Brown, *John*, 2.867; Barrett, *Gospel*, 530, 540, 543, 546, 549; Heath, ‘You Say’, 240.

⁹⁴ Blinzler, *Trial*, 213. The charge against the one ‘who, being a private citizen, knowingly and with malicious intent acts as though holding office or magistracy’ will not be addressed because (1) Jesus was not a citizen and (2) it is from a later code (Marcian’s Institutes) [Theodor Mommsen, and Paul Krueger, eds., *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 48.4.3]. Still, there is the possibility that the torture of Jesus might be seen as an attempt to extract his intent.

executed for simply claiming a title.⁹⁵ Furthermore, he contradicts himself by later explaining Pilate's insistence on the title ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Jn. 19:21) on the *titulus* as an insult to 'the Jews' because '[t]o state only that the crazy fellow had claimed to be king would be harmless'.⁹⁶ His latter conclusion is accurate. Indeed, this kind of humorous juxtaposition of the worthy and unworthy led others to be dressed up in imperial garb as well (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 64.5.1). In these cases, there is no necessary accusation of treason and no unease from the authorities, precisely because there was no danger that anyone would follow the men who were the object of these caricatures unless, as in the case of Carabbas, he might provide a focal point for the mob's insults to Agrippa, thus again provoking group dissension (Philo, *Flaccus* 40).

Ulpian's description of *crimen laesae maiestatis* (*Digest* 48.4.1) also supports a distinction between individual claims and group action:

The crime of treason is that which is committed against the Roman people or against their safety. He is liable, by whose agency a plan is formed with malicious intent to kill hostages without the command of the emperor [A]; or that men armed with weapons or stones should be, or should assemble, within the city against the interests of the state, or should occupy public places or temples [B]; or that there should be an assembly or gathering or that men should be called together for seditious purposes [C]; or by whose agency a plan is formed with malicious intent to kill any magistrate of the Roman people, or anyone holding *imperium* or power [D]; or that anyone should bear arms against the state [E]; or who sends a messenger or letters to the enemies of the Roman people, or gives them a password, or does anything with malicious intent whereby the enemies of the Roman people may be helped with his counsel against the state [F]; or who persuades or incites troops to make a sedition or tumult against the state [G].⁹⁷

This list shows that the principal concern for Romans is assemblies with malicious intent (B, C, G), not for the claims of an individual (infraction A will be taken up below).

⁹⁵ Barrett, *Gospel*, 543-44; he cites M. P. Charlesworth, 'The Flavian Dynasty', in *CAH*, ed. S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 1-45 (27-32). Mettius Pompusianus might be an ambiguous example, but the force of the accusations still rests on his actions that might be evidence of a preparation for sedition, not on his claims (Suetonius, *Dom.* 10.3).

⁹⁶ Barrett, *Gospel*, 549.

⁹⁷ Mommsen, and Krueger, *Digest*, 48.4.1. Letters added for the discussion below.

The infractions of individuals (D, E, F) are also all actions rather than claims. This is true as well for the incidents cited by Suetonius—even though he is criticizing the practices of Tiberius, no one is put to death for claiming to be emperor but only for actions thought to dishonour him (Suetonius, *Tib.* 58). Brown cites Acts 17:7 as an example where ‘Roman officials would react strongly to a claim of kingship’.⁹⁸ Yet in the passage in question it is a group of men (verse 6) who are accused of claiming another to be king and the words of the accusation (οἱ πάντες) in verse 7 highlight (perhaps even exaggerate) their number. Carter claims that ‘Rome regarded as sedition any other claims to kingship. They attacked and executed those in Judea and Galilee who set themselves up as kings in a tradition of popular kingship’.⁹⁹ All of his examples, however, are of men who ‘gathered followers’.¹⁰⁰ In the case of Menahem, he and his followers even armed themselves from Herod’s armoury. It is not the claim of one man that constitutes the crime. It is Jesus’ *followers* that become a cause for concern for the chief priests and Pharisees (see especially John 11:48; 12:12-13, 17, 19).¹⁰¹ Therefore, it is not Jesus’ own self-understanding that Roman-aware auditors would deem dangerous, but the size of his following. As Bond points out, ‘any kingship which Jesus may claim to possess is no threat to the Roman state’.¹⁰²

6.2. An Inferential Walk through John 18:28—19:22

With these cultural units in place, I can now begin an ‘inferential walk’ through the Johannine trial narrative.¹⁰³ This walk will be structured somewhat differently from the scene

⁹⁸ Brown, *John*, 2.894. Brown also in his discussion on that page suggests that ‘a charge of lese majesty’ might be brought against Pilate but again it is unclear on what basis Roman-aware readers might expect this to be done if Jesus has no support among ‘the Jews’ standing before him.

⁹⁹ Carter, *John*, 192; see, similarly, 195, 302.

¹⁰⁰ Josephus, *J.W.* 2.17.8-9 §433-48; 4.9.4 §510; 7.5.6 §153-55; *Ant.* 17.10.5-8 §271-85; 17.10.10 §295-98; Carter, *John*, 201 n. 64.

¹⁰¹ Carter, *John*, 311 n. 2. For a historical focus on these followers, see Martin, ‘Jesus’; Justin J. Meggitt, ‘The Madness of King Jesus: Why Was Jesus Put to Death, but His Followers Were Not?’, *JSNT* 29.4 (2007): 379-413; Fernando Bermejo Rubio, ‘(Why) Was Jesus the Galilean Crucified Alone?: Solving a False Conundrum’, *JSNT* 36.2 (2013): 127-54.

¹⁰² Bond, *Pilate*, 185.

¹⁰³ Sections 2.1.1 and 4.4; Eco, *Role*, 24-25, 31-32.

divisions others have proposed.¹⁰⁴ Most scholars propose quite similar divisions until 19:3, but differ more substantially as the narrative unit progresses (Figure 28).¹⁰⁵

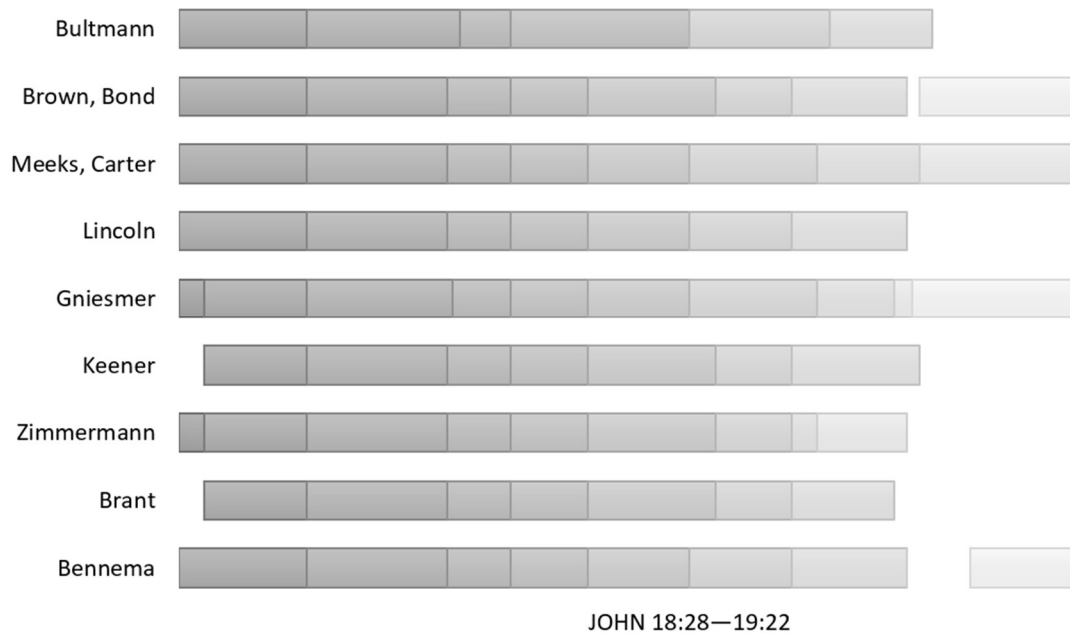


Figure 28: The structure of the Johannine trial narrative according to various scholars

Many of them add (or comment that they wish to add) John 19:17-22 to their framework, even though from the perspective of the narrative, it is clearly part of the crucifixion account rather than the trial.¹⁰⁶ Yet the analysis in Chapter 3 showed that Latin *Haftpunkte* continue through 19:22, which also supports the inclusion of those verses.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the motif of king/emperor continues through that section as well.¹⁰⁸ Brown, for

¹⁰⁴ Bultmann, *John*, 648-66; Brown, *John*, 2.859; Bond, *Pilate*, 169, 192; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 62; Carter, *John*, 299, 310; Lincoln, *Truth*, 124-37; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 153-71, 361-62, and see also Gniesmer's chart on p. 159 n. 506; Keener, *John*, 2.1097; Ruben Zimmermann, "Deuten" heißt erzählen und übertragen: Narrativität und Metaphorik als zentrale Sprachformen historischer Sinnbildung zum Tod Jesu, in *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament*, ed. Jörg Frey and Jens Schröter, WUNT 1:181 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 315-73 (339-42); Brant, *John*, 242; Bennema, 'Pilate', 241, 245. Brown does not ultimately include 19:16b-18; on that see n. 106 below. Neyrey's divisions are not included in my chart because he is rather inconsistent; divisions in his chart do not match those in his discussion (*Cultural*, 422; cf. with the 'Charges' on 424). Carter's analysis in *John and Empire* is quite similar in many instances to that in *Pontius Pilate*. I have mainly interacted with the former (*John*, 299-311; *Pontius*, 137-52). Schnackenburg follows essentially the same divisions as Meeks and Carter, but does not add 19:17-22 (*John*, 220).

¹⁰⁵ For a more detailed, but less visually appealing, chart, see Appendix.

¹⁰⁶ See Bond, Meeks, Carter, Gniesmer and Bennema (references in n. 104 above). Note that while Meeks adds 19:17-22, Carter only adds 19:19-22. Brown admits that the scene might fit with 18:28—19:22 but rejects that possibility because it would 'disrupt the whole arrangement' of his chiasm (2.910-11).

¹⁰⁷ Section 3.2.3.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Brown, *John*, 2.912-13.

example, concludes that ‘John has bound the crucifixion to the trial more tightly than any other evangelist’.¹⁰⁹ Thus, because of the continuation of the *Haftpunkte* and the continued theme, 19:17-22 will be included in the Johannine trial narrative as studied in this chapter.

One of the difficulties in dividing John 18:28—19:22 into scenes is the distribution of temporal adverbs through the text. Although οὐν is often used at a change of scene (such as at 18:29; cf. Gniesmer, Zimmermann, Brant; at 19:8; cf. Meeks, Carter, Lincoln, Gniesmer, Bennema; and at 19:13; cf. Meeks, Carter, Gniesmer), the reverse is not true. Scholars do not generally regard every οὐν as indicative of the beginning of a new scene. (See those in 18:37, 39b; 19:5, 10, 15, 20, 21.) The case is somewhat similar for πάλιν. Although πάλιν in 19:4 (for all those listed in the chart) and in 19:9 (cf. Brown, Bond, Keener, Zimmermann, and Brant) are thought to start a new scene, Bultmann, Meeks, Carter, Lincoln, Gniesmer and Bennema all put the second scene change before verse 8. When a combination of two adverbs occur, this might seem to indicate a definite scene break. All those listed above do break the narrative just before οὐν πάλιν at 18:33 and before τότε οὐν at 19:1. Furthermore, those who put the scene break before 19:8 note the ὅτε οὐν in that verse, and Gniesmer and Brant have a τότε οὐν at 19:16 for their division. Yet none of these scholars takes the combination of οὐν and πάλιν to indicate a break at 18:40, nor divides the verses before the combination of ὅτε and οὐν at 19:6.¹¹⁰ Finally, all except Gniesmer and Brant connect 19:16, with its τότε οὐν, to the previous scene. This survey of opinions highlights the difficulty of scene divisions in the Johannine trial narrative. More than that, it demonstrates that when Gniesmer suggests, ‘Mit 19,1 ist deutlich ein neuer Handlungsbeginn gesetzt, was durch das τότε οὐν stark betont wird’, perhaps things are not

¹⁰⁹ Brown, *John*, 2.916.

¹¹⁰ Also, Brown, Bond, Keener, Zimmerman and Brant, who start a scene at 19:9 and therefore ignore the ὅτε οὐν at 19:8.

quite so ‘deutlich’ after all.¹¹¹ Because of this, I have felt free to arrange the scenes somewhat differently from what is usually done.

The narrative will be divided into eight scenes arranged in two cycles (see Figure 29). The dialogue in this arrangement follows the same divisions listed in Figure 28. What is different in this structure is that each of the first three sections in both cycles ends with a comment from the narrator. However, the chiastic arrangement of these six scenes is disrupted by two scenes which instead close with a comment from Pilate which obliquely references Jesus as βασιλεύς: Scenes X and X’.¹¹² In each cycle, Pilate has a different concern.

In the first cycle, Pilate’s central focus is to find out whether Jesus poses any threat to Roman interests. Scene A (18:28-32) begins as Pilate interrogates ‘the Jews’ in order to understand their goals for the encounter. Then, the narrator closes this scene with the information that Pilate will crucify Jesus (18:32).¹¹³ In Scene B (18:33-38b), Pilate interrogates Jesus for the first time and seeks to determine whether or not he poses a threat to Rome. Jesus’ response that his followers will not fight for him indicates, if Pilate believes him, that he is not a threat. Pilate’s departure (καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πάλιν ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους) at the end of this scene gives the question, ‘What is truth?’, its dramatic force; therefore I have included it in Scene B.¹¹⁴ In Scene C (18:38c—19:1), Pilate asks questions of ‘the Jews’ designed to determine whether they have any loyalty to Jesus. Even though they have requested that he be killed (18:31), he must be on guard for dissenters.¹¹⁵ The whipping (19:1) is included in Scene C because it is Pilate’s response to his first test of ‘the

¹¹¹ Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 160.

¹¹² The disruption of the alphabetical lettering of the scenes is intended as a reminder of this disruption. X and X’ were chosen as not particularly subtle references to Jesus’ suffering on the cross. However, in both instances, the suffering itself is briefly mentioned in the previous scene, and in both X and X’ Jesus is described in imperial imagery. I would call these scenes, then, John’s responses to Jesus’ suffering.

¹¹³ Gniesmer, correctly I think, describes it as the ‘Exposition’ (*Prozeß*, 158).

¹¹⁴ Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 403; Lincoln, *Truth*, 129; Skinner, *Trial*, 96; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 586-87; Bennema, ‘Pilate’, 243.

¹¹⁵ See more extensive discussion in Section 6.2.1.1.

Jews’ and their demand for Barabbas.¹¹⁶ Pilate has Jesus flogged both to extract the truth from him and so that he can gauge any latent sympathy among ‘the Jews’. Scene X breaks in at this point, with the soldiers’ actions: Jesus is dressed and hailed as Caesar (19:2-5). In the last verse in each of the first three scenes, Pilate’s disinterest or disdain for Jesus is made clear by a narrative comment. This heightens the irony when Scene X ends with Pilate’s dramatic presentation of Jesus as the emperor: Ἴδου ὁ ἄνθρωπος (v. 5).¹¹⁷

In the second cycle, Pilate’s main concern is to verify the loyalty of ‘the Jews’ to Rome. The scene parallel to Scene C, namely Scene C’ (19:6-8), has Pilate testing the loyalty of ‘the Jews’ again, only this time he is testing their loyalty to Caesar, since a lack of loyalty to Jesus does not inevitably entail loyalty to Rome. The question of a possible connection to Rome is raised by the accusation that Jesus has made himself son of God (19:7). By the end of the encounter, Pilate is afraid that these connections might cause him personal difficulty (v. 8). Scene B’ (vv. 9-12a) is the second occasion for Pilate to interrogate Jesus. At this point, he is trying to determine whether Jesus has any connections in Rome, and the discussion on authority does not reassure him. He begins to seek Jesus’ release (v. 12a). Then, in Scene A’ (vv. 12b-18), Pilate and ‘the Jews’ test each other’s loyalty, and ‘the Jews’ achieve their goal. To demonstrate his own loyalty to Rome, Pilate will crucify Jesus (vv. 16-18). The narrator’s earlier assertion about Jesus’ death is fulfilled. In the final scene, namely X’, Jesus is raised on the cross as king of the Jews (v. 19-22). Pilate closes the scene with a confirmation of that title. In this cycle as in the first, each scene ends with a remark by the narrator, except Scene X’ where the last remark belongs to Pilate.¹¹⁸ The following table outlines the narrative patterns in question:

¹¹⁶ This is *pace* Moore who concludes that John puts 19:1-5 centrally in the narrative in order to critique the practices of the Roman empire (*Empire*, 59-63). Section 7.2.1 will argue that the Roman empire plays a quite different role in the narrative.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 5.

¹¹⁸ Bennema notes the importance of the narrator’s remarks in verses 8 and 12 (*Encountering*, 188).

First Cycle	John 18:28—19:5	Pilate's Interlocutors	Pilate's Central Question: Is Jesus dangerous?	Final remark
Scene A	18:28-32	'the Jews'	Q: Why did 'the Jews' bring him to me? A: They want me to execute him.	Pilate will crucify Jesus.
Scene B	18:33-38b	Jesus	Q: Is he dangerous? A: He claims not.	Pilate turns away from truth.
Scene C	18:38c-19:1	'the Jews'	Q: Does he have a Jewish support? A: No.	Pilate has Jesus whipped
Scene X	19:2-5		Jesus ~ Caesar/King	Behold!
Second Cycle	John 19:6-22		Pilate's Central Question: Are 'the Jews' loyal?	
Scene C'	19:6-8	'the Jews'	Q: Are 'the Jews' loyal to Caesar? A: They seem to be.	Pilate is afraid.
Scene B'	19:9-12a	Jesus	Q: Is this man connected with Caesar? A: He could be.	Pilate seeks Jesus' release.
Scene A'	19:12b-18	'the Jews'	Q: Are 'the Jews' loyal to Caesar or Jesus? A: Caesar.	Pilate has Jesus crucified.
Scene X'	19:19-22		Jesus ~ King/Caesar	Written!

Figure 29: Scene divisions in John 18:28--19:22

Scenes X and X' are similar in that, in both, Jesus has just been physically hurt, although that aspect of the tradition has been minimized in John's narrative. Instead, in Scene X Pilate presents Jesus with words appropriate for an emperor, and in Scene X' Pilate puts his seal on the title 'King of the Jews' mounted above Jesus' body on the cross: "Ο γέγραφα,

γέγραφα.¹¹⁹ In what follows in this chapter, the focus is on how Pilate's loyalty to Rome fuels his varied words and actions.

This analysis will not attempt to *evaluate* Pilate according to a Johannine scale of belief. Furthermore, this thesis engages questions about the *historical* Pilate only insofar as a historical understanding of Roman practices can help to fill certain gaps within the text. Rather, the analysis offered proposes to describe the way that themes emerge from the text when heard in conjunction with the two pieces of information: (1) Pilate will crucify Jesus, and John's audience knows this; (2) Pilate's main concern is Rome.

6.2.1. Cycle 1: Pilate tests the loyalty of 'the Jews' to Jesus

In the discussion of the Johannine trial narrative that follows, Pilate—based on the Roman cultural unit for a Roman governor (discussed above)—is seen to participate in an unequal contest with 'the Jews'. As Roman governor he must keep the peace and therefore taunts 'the Jews' in order to determine whether increased 'Roman involvement' in local affairs is required (11:48).¹²⁰ Thus, when the Johannine Pilate insistently repeats ὁ βασιλεύς or ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων in his dialogues both with 'the Jews' and with Jesus, this can indeed 'be read as a stratagem to trap them'.¹²¹ Certainly, one must acknowledge that (unlike in Mark) the same people who brought Jesus to Pilate are Pilate's interlocutors throughout the trial.¹²² However, this may not preclude the possibility that they are not unified. Indeed, the terminology that John uses for this group is quite vague. The crowd is generally left as an undefined subject (e.g., 18:28-29; 19:4) or variously called οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (18:31, 36, 38; 19:7, 12, 14), τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (18:35), οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται (19:6), οἱ

¹¹⁹ While many scholars take the mocking by the soldiers to be the central scene of the trial narrative, that can only be sustained if Scene X' is not included (Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 277-80). Although this thesis focuses on the way in which these scenes use imperial imagery to describe Jesus, this does not exclude other references in other encyclopaedias (e.g., to a Messiah in a Jewish encyclopaedia). Also, the function of 'the Jews' in this narrative unit will be discussed in Section 7.1.3.

¹²⁰ Piper, 'Characterisation', 147-48.

¹²¹ Piper, 'Characterisation', 148.

¹²² Bond, *Pilate*, 180-81. See, similarly for 18:39, Skinner, *Trial*, 97.

ἀρχιερεῖς (19:15) and οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (19:21). John communicates to his auditors the sense of an élite but variegated multitude. Furthermore, the issue is serious enough for auditors reasonably to conclude that Pilate must test the strength and determination (even among the Jewish élite) of their rejection of this βασιλεύς.

6.2.1.1. Scene A: John 18:28-32

Scene A begins by noting Pilate's willingness to go out of the *praetorium* to meet with 'the Jews'.¹²³ Tolmie suggests three possibilities for this decision: he 'succumbed to their pressure' (Tolmie's preference); he was avoiding antagonizing them, or it was an act of courtesy.¹²⁴ However, I would also propose that Pilate may have wanted to engage with 'the Jews' in order to evaluate the seriousness of the situation. All of these explanations must reach beyond the text and infer Pilate's motivation, but this last motivation seems to fit best within the Roman cultural unit of a governor, since Roman trials were usually public and the audience would be quite vocal.¹²⁵ Martial explains the benefits of sending his freedman rather than being in attendance himself: 'You tell some tale pleading a case, and I shall keep quiet; but he will roar "bravo" three times over. You have a lawsuit, he will shout abuse in a voice of thunder; good manners have forbidden me strong language' (*Epigrams* 3.46 [Bailey, LCL]).¹²⁶ Such participation from the crowd did not necessarily, but could occasionally, influence the outcome of the trial.¹²⁷

¹²³ With their refusal to enter the *praetorium*, 'the Jews' are immediately portrayed as law-observant (Lincoln, *Gospel*, 460). This theme will be explored in Section 7.1.5.

¹²⁴ Tolmie, 'Pontius', 584. Other scholars also see Pilate accommodating 'the Jews' in this scene; Brown specifically says Pilate 'lowered himself to go out' and had to 'swallow his pride' to do so; for Carter, 'Pilate has respected the religious commitments and practices of his governing allies' (Brown, *John*, 2.859; Carter, *John*, 306, 311; see, similarly, Barrett, *Gospel*, 533).

¹²⁵ Ernst Bammel, 'The Trial before Pilate', in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. Ernst Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 415-51 (431); Fournier, *Entre*, 251-52.

¹²⁶ See also Seneca, *Controversies* 9.6. Both of these references were noted by Leanne Bablitz, *Actors and Audience in the Roman Courtroom* (London: Routledge, 2007), 133.

¹²⁷ For an example, see *P. Flor.* 1.61 and the discussion in G. Vitelli, and D. Comparetti, *Papiri Greco-Egizii*, Supplementi filologico-storici ai monumenti antichi, vol. 1: Papiri fiorentini: Documenti pubblici e privati dell'età romana e bizantina (Milan: Hoepli, 1906), 116. See also Suetonius, *Claud.* 15.2 and Bablitz, *Actors*, 140, as well as Cicero, *Brutus* 199-200, 290 and the cautions of Michael C. Alexander, 'Oratory, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Republic', in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William Dominik and Jon Hall

Thus, although from a twenty-first century perspective one might think that the very fact that ‘the Jews’ do not immediately agree with Pilate demonstrates disloyalty, Roman judges were used to hearing the wishes of the crowd.¹²⁸ This may have explained to Roman-aware auditors why Pilate would want to conduct the trial outdoors. Since ‘the Jews’ would not come in, Pilate, should he refuse to go out, would lose the opportunity to gauge the response of the crowd to his conclusions about Jesus.¹²⁹

This need for such an evaluation fits with the concerns that other scholars have expressed about the presence of armed men in Jerusalem. If ‘young Galilean men were armed in Jerusalem during Passover, that in itself would have merited, in the eyes of Roman rulers, arrest and execution’.¹³⁰ Moreover, ‘the common practice seems to have been that not only would a seditious leader be killed (if caught), but his followers, or at least those prominent amongst them, would be executed or enslaved’.¹³¹ Such Roman concerns for sedition would also motivate a Roman governor.¹³²

Pilate’s opening question in this scene seems merely to request the formal accusation against Jesus (18:29), although his words in verse 33 demonstrate his awareness of at least one of the complaints brought against him. Nevertheless, in response to the charge that Jesus is ‘an evildoer’, whether expressed impudently (Barrett and Haenchen) or not (Keener and Lincoln), he offers Jesus back to ‘them’—a group of people not yet named in this account (vv. 30-31).¹³³ This offer conveys more than disdain in a contest for honour that forces them

(Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 98-108 (105). Brown discusses this issue as well, but from the perspective of verisimilitude (*Death*, 1.720-22).

¹²⁸ Elias Bickerman, ‘*Utilitas crucis*: Observations sur les récits du procès de Jésus dans les Évangiles canoniques’, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 112 (1935): 169-241 (209 n. 2).

¹²⁹ This is not to argue that indoors was less public, as Neyrey correctly points out, *pace* Thatcher who describes ‘inside the Praetorium’ as a place ‘away from the public eye’ (Neyrey, *Cultural*, 422; Thatcher, *Greater*, 73). In this case, it would only be away from the eyes of those who refused to enter.

¹³⁰ Martin, ‘Jesus’, 9; see further 6-9.

¹³¹ Meggitt, ‘Madness’, 382.

¹³² Meggitt approaches this question with a historical interest and therefore proceeds quite differently from the approach taken in this thesis.

¹³³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 533; Haenchen, *John*, 178; Keener, *John*, 2.1104; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 460.

‘to admit their ... powerlessness’ (*pace* Neyrey).¹³⁴ Pilate is communicating a ‘reluctance to be involved in the matter at all’.¹³⁵ Within the narrative this reluctance may be intended to lessen Pilate’s guilt and hold ‘the Jews’ responsible for Jesus’ death.¹³⁶ Yet the presence of such strong ‘official Roman interest in the arrest’ demonstrates ‘no effort to absolve the Romans of responsibility’.¹³⁷ Furthermore, the usual Roman protocol of allowing provincials to settle their own matters provides Pilate with an ideal way to learn more about Jesus by testing the response to his offer of release.¹³⁸ It could be as well that Pilate’s repeated threats to release Jesus—threats since it is clear from the beginning that ‘the Jews’ want him crucified—might also be understood as requests for bribes (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.14.4-5 §287, 292).

Some scholars note that Pilate necessarily had previous contact with ‘the Jews’ on this matter since he supplied soldiers for the arrest.¹³⁹ The text does not reveal, however, who told Pilate of the accusation that connected Jesus with the title, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John might imply that it came from Judas, since it was he who was first designated as the one who would betray Jesus (6:71; 12:4); it is into Judas that Satan enters (13:2, 27), and it is Judas who took the lead in Jesus’ arrest (18:2, 3, 5). He might expect his auditors to conclude that it came from those unspecified people who led Jesus from Annas to Pilate (18:24, 28). They could assume that it was reported to him in some form from the triumph in John 12:12-19. It is even possible that the text implies that he chose the title as part of the

¹³⁴ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 422. Other motives imputed to Pilate include a lack of understanding of the situation, a lack of understanding of the charges, or a declaration of his inability to try Jesus without a more specific accusation (Brown, *John*, 2.848).

¹³⁵ Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 585. See, similarly, Lincoln, *Gospel*, 376.

¹³⁶ Brown, *John*, 2.849.

¹³⁷ Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 400. However, Rensberger’s comment in this section, that ‘the omission of the Sanhedrin trial rests the *formal* responsibility for the humiliation and condemnation of Jesus squarely on the Roman prefect Pilate’, expresses the matter somewhat too forcefully. It is unclear to what degree anything one might term ‘*formal* responsibility’ is of interest to the author of the Fourth Gospel, especially in light of the assigning of ἀμαρτία in John 19:11.

¹³⁸ On the Roman practice of allowing provincials to judge their own people according to their own laws, see Fournier, *Entre*, 594, 595 n. 7; Béranger-Badel, ‘Formation’, 44-45.

¹³⁹ E.g., Bennema, ‘Pilate’, 242.

charge himself, since it is the usual Roman title for rulers of Judaea.¹⁴⁰ However, in any of these cases, Pilate would not know how many of the Jewish élite might want Jesus killed and how many might instead hope to follow him in an uprising against Rome. A Roman governor would thus need to ascertain the mood of the rest of the group. By offering to release Jesus into the custody of ‘the Jews’, Pilate can test the possible danger that Jesus poses. What do ‘the Jews’ want with this man? Their answer is reassuring: they want him killed (18:31).

6.2.1.2. *Scene B: John 18:33-38b*

In the second question-and-answer exchange, Pilate turns his attention to Jesus. In verse 33 he probes what Jesus thinks of himself: Does he himself claim to be a βασιλεύς?¹⁴¹ This is not an existential question, but a question about function: Is Jesus a ‘leader of a group’?¹⁴² Jesus tells Pilate, ‘My βασιλεία is not of this world’ (v. 36). This response is ambiguous but auditors may be reminded of the only other use of βασιλεία in this Gospel: in John 3:3 Jesus tells Nicodemus of a kingdom of God that one needs to be born ἄνωθεν to enter into it. In 19:36 as well, Jesus’ kingdom, the ‘place’ where he rules, is likely to refer to earlier repeated assertions that Jesus is from above (e.g., 3:13, 31; 6:41; 8:23; 17:11, 16), the world that is also the destination of the disciples (14:2-3; 17:24).¹⁴³ Nevertheless, this does not differentiate Jesus from Caesar. The *imperator*, too, rules an empire whose origins are not from this world—Augustus is ‘of race divine’ and his empire extends beyond the zodiac.¹⁴⁴ This is often missed, or explicitly rejected, because of the Baptist’s assertion that

¹⁴⁰ E.g., for Herod, Josephus, *Ant.* 15.10.5 §373; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 147.

¹⁴¹ Skinner, *Trial*, 95. Kierspel is correct to note that this question is probably also sarcastic (*Jews*, 70).

¹⁴² Raymond F. Collins, ‘Speaking of the Jews: “Jews” in the Discourse Material of the Fourth Gospel’, in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 158-75 (170). See, similarly, Keener’s comment on the Johannine emphasis on faith as action (*John*, 2.1128-29).

¹⁴³ E.g., Brown, *John*, 2.852, 869; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 462. See Section 4.2 where the meaning of βασιλεία as empire is further discussed.

¹⁴⁴ Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.792-97; 1.257-96. See also Carter who points out that ‘not of this world’ does not mean not political (*John*, 192, 303).

‘a person is not able to receive even one thing unless it is given to him from heaven’ (3:27).¹⁴⁵ However, in that context, what is received from heaven is not authority but specific teachings about purification (καθαρισμός), as is demonstrated by John’s later reference to the testimony that Jesus has received from above (3:31-32). Furthermore, whatever referents for Jesus’ empire have been given to the auditors of John cannot be attributed to the character of Pilate. When a βασιλεία from another world is mentioned, a Roman governor would be expected to think of Rome. Thomas Gillespie summarizes: ‘And so we have these two claims. We have the claim of Pilate, representing Caesar, to a rightful authority over human life within his jurisdiction.... We also have the claim of Jesus to represent in the world ... the God who reveals himself as the Father through the Son’.¹⁴⁶ Chapter 7 will describe in what sense these are competing, and in what sense they are compatible claims. In any case, it is clear that any conflict between the two empires is not based in an opposition between an earthly-based empire and a heavenly-based one.¹⁴⁷ Both claim to rule with the authority of god(s).¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, for Romans, it is exactly because Caesar’s rule is divine that Roman soldiers win battles.¹⁴⁹ When Augustus took the title *imperator*, ‘le jeune César transformait en qualité immanente et perpétuelle le “don pour la victoire” que l’appellatio imperatoria ne célébrait que de façon ponctuelle’.¹⁵⁰ Jesus, in John’s hidden transcript, is a victorious emperor as well.¹⁵¹ However, if he has officers (which the contrary-to-fact conditional makes uncertain), he does not call them to battle.¹⁵² Thus, it is not the origins of Jesus’ empire in another world but the fact that his empire is not fighting that would reassure a Roman

¹⁴⁵ Brown, *John*, 2.878; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 157.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas W. Gillespie, ‘The Trial of Politics and Religion: John 18:28-19:16’, *ExAud* 2 (1986): 69-73 (72).

¹⁴⁷ Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 409.

¹⁴⁸ Section 4.3.3.

¹⁴⁹ Pace Bultmann who suggests that the ὑπηρέται (18:36) are not followers *who are not fighting* but fighters *who are not there* because Jesus’ empire is not from this world (*John*, 654 n. 4). The incident with Peter and his sword (18:10-11) make this interpretation less likely.

¹⁵⁰ Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles Perspectives’, 139.

¹⁵¹ Chapter 4 and Section 5.1.4.

¹⁵² BDR §360; Brown, *John*, 2.852; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 63. Some, such as Kierspel, simply assume that Jesus does have ‘servants’ (*Jews*, 70). Others (such as Gillespie) assume that he does not (‘Trial’, 71).

governor.¹⁵³ Jesus maintains his divine origins at the same time that he remains physically vulnerable. This combination of power and vulnerability will be examined further in the final chapter of this thesis.¹⁵⁴

Pilate's response, 'What is truth?' (v. 38) has been taken by Lincoln 'neither as sneeringly sarcastic nor as profoundly philosophical, but simply as an attempt to evade Jesus' witness and a sign of his failure to hear'.¹⁵⁵ However, his evaluation raises a question—at the literal level of the text—about the likely motivation behind such a question from the Johannine Pilate, and offers an answer, first at the literal level—evasion—and second at the figurative level—the author signals that Pilate does not believe.¹⁵⁶ (An invitation to belief is not always at the figurative level of the text—compare John 4:26 and 19:19-20.¹⁵⁷) Yet, if there is an implicit invitation to belief, it is not in a form that a Roman governor would recognize. From within the narrative, Pilate is probably not expressing 'philosophical scepticism', though he might be expressing a scepticism of philosophers, who were sometimes considered dangerous to Rome.¹⁵⁸ Within the hidden transcript, it seems likely that Jesus' comment that 'everyone who is from the truth listens to my voice' (v. 37)

¹⁵³ Sections 4.3.3 and 6.1.2; Gillespie, 'Trial', 71.

¹⁵⁴ Sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5.

¹⁵⁵ Lincoln, *Truth*, 129; see further 227; see similarly Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 67; Rensberger, 'Politics', 403 n. 33.

¹⁵⁶ Jan G. van der Watt, 'Double entendre in the Gospel According to John', in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. Van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 463-81 (473 n. 55). Brown, similarly, notes that 'on the *theological* level the evangelist uses the question to show that Pilate is turning away from the truth' (*John*, 2.869, emphasis mine). See also Lincoln, *Gospel*, 463.

¹⁵⁷ In both passages, there is a declaration of Jesus' identity, but in 4:26 it invites the wise woman of Sychar to belief whereas an invitation to belief in 19:19-20 is much more indirect and also depends on 12:32-33 (Brown, *John*, 1.181; Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 100, 268-69; Keener, *John*, 1.620, 2.1137). An interpretation of 19:19-20 as an implicit invitation to belief is *pace* Barrett who seems to suggest that something more overt is needed to support it (*Gospel*, 549).

¹⁵⁸ Those who reject 'philosophical scepticism' also include Schlier, *Relevance*, 220; Rensberger, 'Politics', 403 n. 33; Skinner, *Trial*, 96; Tolmie, 'Pontius', 586. Suetonius reports that Domitian 'banished all the philosophers from the city and from Italy' (*Dom.* 10 [Rolfe, LCL]). Dio Cassius recounts the same information (*Roman History* 67.13.3). Epictetus (*Discourses* 3.8.7) notes the Romans' disdain for philosophers, and Oldfather, in a footnote on that passage, notes that 'Roman popular feeling about philosophy is probably not greatly overdrawn in the well-known advice of Ennius (frag. sc. 376 Vahlen) to taste of philosophy, but not to gorge oneself upon it; and the jest of Plautus (*Captivi*, 284), apropos of a reckless romancer, that "he is not simply lying now, he is philosophizing"'. Thus, a Roman-aware auditor would not be surprised at Pilate's dismissive stance. Furthermore, a suggestion that Jesus was philosophizing might increase Pilate's concern, especially since philosophers were also connected with sedition (Charlesworth, 'Flavian', 27).

is not an invitation to Pilate but a side reference to John's Roman-aware auditors, expressing their own solidarity in the face of Roman oppression.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, Pilate's words, in concert with the solidarity raised by Jesus' mention of truth, echoes the question upon which hangs the issue of loyalty: whose truth do you believe? Those 'of the truth' (18:37) recognize the irony that Pilate asks this question of 'the one who embodies true judgment'.¹⁶⁰

And with that, Pilate walks out. This phrase (v. 38b), I have argued, ought to be counted as the ending of Scene B. It specifies not only that Pilate leaves after his question, but leaves in order to join 'the Jews'. Chapter 7 will argue that this is a deliberate conjunction of the two for the purpose of re-framing the Gospel's auditors in their primary loyalties—the same issue just mentioned.¹⁶¹

6.2.1.3. *Scene C: John 18:38c—19:1*

The third series of questions in the first cycle of the Johannine trial narrative describes Pilate testing further for the possibility of sedition. Admittedly, the group of people before Pilate have already refused to take Jesus back because they cannot execute him (18:31).¹⁶² However, since 'the Jews' only denounced Jesus because they were afraid that his large following would attract Roman attention (11:47-48), a small minority may still be hoping for his release. By offering to turn Jesus back over to 'the Jews', especially as their βασιλεύς (18:39), Pilate can be interpreted as testing the crowd once more.¹⁶³ Would any among the Jewish listeners support Jesus if he were freed?

I have argued above that Pilate is not concerned with Jesus' guilt or innocence. However, it must be noted that guilt or innocence is not discussed in the text until Jesus' comment in John 19:11. In this scene (v. 38c), as well as in 19:4 and 6, the Johannine Pilate

¹⁵⁹ For hidden transcripts, see Sections 1.3.2 and 5.1.4. For Roman oppression, see Section 7.2.3.

¹⁶⁰ Lincoln, *Truth*, 227. See, similarly, Duke, *Irony*, 130-31; Tolmie, 'Pontius', 587.

¹⁶¹ Section 7.1.4.

¹⁶² Rensberger, 'Politics', 403.

¹⁶³ Thatcher, *Greater*, 75.

does not use any of the words available for declaring judicial innocence: δικαιώω, δικαίωσις or δικαίωμα.¹⁶⁴ Instead, he declares that he has found ‘no basis for the charge against him’ (οὐδεμίαν ... ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν).¹⁶⁵ It is true that this phrase might also be translated as ‘no guilt in him’.¹⁶⁶ However, based on the cultural unit for a Roman governor, it seems more likely that auditors would understand this as a lack of charge against him rather than a lack of guilt, since governors were concerned to limit the number of cases they were required to hear.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, the imperfect tense in 19:12 (ἐξήτει) seems best translated as an ingressive: ‘Pilate started to try to release him’, implying that this had not been his intent earlier.¹⁶⁸ Thus, Pilate’s offer in 18:39 is not a sincere one.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the offer of release and the designation ‘King of the Jews’ are not simply taunts at Jewish nationalism either.¹⁷⁰ For ‘the Jews’ to *have* a king would not require independence from Rome or eschatological fulfilment—only for them to choose their own king.¹⁷¹ After all, Herod and Agrippa were both called βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.14.4 §282; Philo, *Flaccus* 5.29).¹⁷² When the Roman cultural unit for βασιλεύς is taken

¹⁶⁴ L&N 1.556. See, for example, δίκαιος in Matthew 27:19.

¹⁶⁵ De Boer, ‘Narrative’, 149, 149 n. 40; Collins, ‘Speaking’, 171.

¹⁶⁶ L&N 1.775-76. See also those who conclude that Pilate believes Jesus to be innocent (Blinzler, *Trial*, 229-30; Schnackenburg, *John*, 259; Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 134; Ehrman, ‘Jesus’, 127; Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 403; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 464; Neyrey, *Cultural*, 424; Parsenios, *Rhetoric*, 37; Thompson, *John*, 381).

¹⁶⁷ Béranger-Badel, ‘Formation’, 38-39.

¹⁶⁸ This is *pace* those who believe that Pilate’s declaration of Jesus’ innocence is a sincere one; see n. 166 above. Tolmie notes the way the apparently just declaration of Jesus’ innocence is ‘immediately negated’ by the ‘choice between Jesus and Barabbas’ (‘Pontius’, 587). However, in this Gospel Pilate only offers to release Jesus; it is in Matthew that Pilate offers the crowd a choice between the two men (27:17) and, secondly, it seems easier to reconcile the apparent shift from a just to an unjust Pilate by taking the offer as not serious from the beginning. Note that my analysis also answers the ‘challenge’ of explaining why Pilate calls him the ‘King of the Jews’ at this point in the exchange (Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 588). Other scholars mention the difficulty of explaining Pilate’s choice of title as well, for example, Barrett, *Gospel*, 539. For the ingressive imperfect, see Section 6.2.2.2 n. 227.

¹⁶⁹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 129; Helen K. Bond, ‘Barabbas Remembered’, in *Jesus and Paul: Global Perspectives in Honor of James D. G. Dunn for His 70th Birthday*, ed. B. J. Oropeza, C. K. Robertson, and Douglas C. Mohrmann, LNTS 414 (London: T & T Clark, 2009), 59-71 (70); Bennema, ‘Pilate’, 243. Note that Pilate’s pronouncement in verse 38 expresses the truth of the Johannine community at the figurative level (Lincoln, *Gospel*, 472).

¹⁷⁰ *Pace* Lincoln, *Gospel*, 464. See, similarly, e.g., Bond, *Pilate*, 181-82; Conway, *Men*, 159

¹⁷¹ *Pace* Moore, *Empire*, 66.

¹⁷² Josephus gives David that title as well (*J.W.* 6.10.1 §439), however, so a reference to aspirations for independence cannot be completely discounted.

into consideration, the true βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων ‘is none other than Caesar’, or Caesar’s appointed delegate.¹⁷³ The alternative between Jesus and Caesar offered to ‘the Jews’ in this verse will be echoed back to Pilate in 19:12. Rather than offering a way for ‘the Jews’ to save face (*pace* Tolmie), Pilate seems to be testing their loyalty to Rome.¹⁷⁴ The response of ‘the Jews’ shows Pilate that they are not interested in Jesus. They ask for Barabbas instead (18:40).

This does not, however, allay Pilate’s suspicions. Instead, it raises a new concern. If ‘the Jews’ are not planning a rebellion with Jesus at its head, might they be planning a rebellion behind Barabbas?¹⁷⁵ Matthew Skinner has argued against construing Barabbas as an insurrectionist on the basis of the use of ληστής in John 10:1-10, where it refers to a thief.¹⁷⁶ However, this does not take into account both the tenor and the vehicle of the metaphor of that passage.¹⁷⁷ In the vehicle, a *robber* (the ληστής along with the κλέπτης, the ‘thief’) is stealing *sheep* (10:1). Yet in the tenor that this metaphor is designed to elucidate, the ληστής is a *rebel* attempting to lead *people* away from their proper leader (10:5, 8).¹⁷⁸

Beth M. Stovell recognizes the ‘contest of authority’ in the Good Shepherd discourse (John 10), but translates λησταί only as ‘robbers’ while still identifying them as ‘opponents’ and ‘rulers of the world’.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, authority is contested in both the tenor and the vehicle of the metaphor. In the vehicle, the robbers contest the authority over the entrance to the sheepfold. They claim the right to enter without using the gate (10:7-10). In the tenor, the

¹⁷³ Bond, ‘Remembered’, 70.

¹⁷⁴ *Pace* Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 588.

¹⁷⁵ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 154 n. 110. On the difficulties of reconstructing the historical Barabbas, see Bond, *Pilate*, 200 n. 31; Bond, ‘Remembered’.

¹⁷⁶ Skinner, *Trial*, 97, 178 n. 23.

¹⁷⁷ For an introduction to the discussion about whether this passage constitutes a parable or an allegory, see Brant, *John*, 160. That question will not be pursued in this thesis. A metaphor is understood to be a ‘figure of speech, in which one thing, idea, or action is referred to by a word or expression normally denoting another thing, idea, or action, so as to suggest some common quality shared by the two’. In the discussion above, I distinguish ‘the primary literal term (called the ‘tenor’) from the secondary figurative term (the ‘vehicle’) applied to it’ (‘metaphor’, *ODLT*).

¹⁷⁸ Bond’s discussion is suggestive of this conclusion as well (‘Remembered’, 70-71).

¹⁷⁹ Stovell, *Mapping*, 247, 249, 253.

λησται are not otherwise identified. However, the contest of authority shows Jesus to be the legitimate leader of the people (represented as sheep).¹⁸⁰ The non-authorized agents are attempting to convince people to listen to them (10:8) and will eventually lead those people to their own destruction (v. 10).¹⁸¹ They are therefore by definition rebels and insurrectionists.¹⁸² Barabbas, therefore, must be understood to be an insurrectionist.¹⁸³

Pilate's concern over a possible rebellion of 'the Jews' extends into the second cycle of the Johannine trial narrative. While, in the first cycle, he has determined that 'the Jews' are not planning a rebellion behind Jesus, the cycle has not clearly concluded what Jesus thinks of himself. A flogging as 'part of Pilate's benevolent plan for Jesus' release' depends on a Pilate who not only believes in Jesus' innocence, but cares about the release (although not the physical protection) of the innocent.¹⁸⁴ That this is not the case is shown by the way Pilate repeatedly announces that he has found no basis for a judgement against Jesus, and yet 'does not release him forthwith'.¹⁸⁵ A flogging as torture to discover Jesus' own intent by attempting to extract any as-yet-undisclosed information from him does make sense historically, as well as within the story as John tells it.¹⁸⁶ What emerges, for Roman-aware auditors, from the first cycle of the Johannine account of Jesus' trial is a Pilate who has

¹⁸⁰ Stovell, *Mapping*, 237, 245 n. 56, 250.

¹⁸¹ This is opposed to the 'ability to hold the sheep' that belongs to the Father and the Son (Stovell, *Mapping*, 248-49). Barrett's '[m]essianic pretenders' also fit the profile of insurrectionists in the world of the Fourth Gospel (*Gospel*, 369; cf. Thompson, *John*, 224).

¹⁸² The *double entendre* on ληστής (robber and rebel) must be intentional—the word κλέπτης, used in 10:1, 10 and 12:6, could have been substituted throughout the Good Shepherd passage (although that would have made the tenor more ambiguous). Also, Josephus uses ληστής to refer to robbers as well as rebels, for example in *J.W.* 2.13.2-3 §253-4; 2.21.1 §585 (Lincoln, *Gospel*, 464).

¹⁸³ For further reasons to interpret Barabbas as an insurrectionist, see Koester, 'Why', 167 n. 13. The 'religious' element that Étienne Nodet perceived in Josephus comes from the context and cannot be imported into the Fourth Gospel ['Barabbas, un "brigand religieux" (ληστής, Jn 18,40)', *RB* 119.2 (2012): 288-99 (295)]. However, there would be no such thing as a 'secular' rebel in antiquity, in any case, since every person, especially one mounting a rebellion, would have need of some gods (D.E. Aune, 'Religion, Greco-Roman', *DNTB* 917-26; N. C. Croy, 'Religion, Personal', *DNTB* 926-29, esp. 929). Collins focuses exclusively on violence for his interpretant of ληστής, and omits any mention of sedition ('Speaking', 171-72).

¹⁸⁴ Brown, *John*, 2.886-87; Tolmie, 'Pontius', 590-91.

¹⁸⁵ For Piper, this brings into question Pilate's conviction of Jesus' innocence; Bond notes the difficulties with the view that innocence is in question at all (Piper, 'Characterisation', 154; Bond, *Pilate*, 180-82).

¹⁸⁶ Section 5.1.

determined that Jesus had no significant following among the élite ‘Jews’ standing before the *praetorium*, and that although Jesus himself might have presented a danger to the empire, he had now been flogged and thus rendered powerless.

6.2.1.4. *Scene X: John 19:2-5*

Flogging could be a very visual display, for the benefit of a conquered people, of what they could expect to happen to anyone who opposed Caesar. It is unclear, however, how flogging someone that ‘the Jews’ want crucified might be thought ‘to humiliate them’.¹⁸⁷ To offer their prisoner back to them as ‘king of the Jews’ seems much more calculated to test the seriousness and perhaps the popularity of their request. Furthermore, by downplaying the scourging and emphasizing the mocking (without actually naming it as such), John is able to highlight the Roman imagery of this scene. The crown, the purple robe, and the Roman soldiers’ slaps-for-salutes, as discussed in Chapter 5, are set out for the purpose of comparing Jesus with Caesar.¹⁸⁸ Pilate himself joins in; his ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος (19:5) echoes the presentation of Augustus in Vergil’s *Aeneid* (6.791).¹⁸⁹

6.2.2. **Cycle 2: Pilate tests the loyalty of ‘the Jews’ to Caesar**

Towards the end of Scene C, in the first cycle of the Johannine trial narrative, Roman-aware auditors would note—with the Johannine Pilate—that ‘the Jews’ screamed (*κραυγάζω*) for the release of the rebel Barabbas (18:40). This is not designed to reassure a Roman governor, who might easily ask himself how likely they are to revolt. For those hearing the Gospel of John in the years after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE), this would be a reasonable concern for a Roman official. And in the second cycle of the Johannine trial narrative, a concern for the loyalty of ‘the Jews’ accords well with Pilate’s words and actions.

¹⁸⁷ Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 404.

¹⁸⁸ Sections 5.1.2-3, and, also, Bond, *Pilate*, 183-84.

¹⁸⁹ This argument has been presented in Section 5.2, and in Hunt, ‘Ecce’.

6.2.2.1. Scene C': John 19:6-8

Jesus has been dressed and hailed as an emperor. So, what will 'the Jews' do with this mock-Caesar? As Pilate again suggests Jesus' release (19:4), 'the Jews' respond in the manner of faithful Roman *perigrini*: 'Crucify him!' (19:6). The mob rejects this Emperor Jesus—but do they reject Rome and its authority? If Pilate refuses to crucify him, will they rebel and crucify a man that Rome has released? Josephus reports that Agrippa and the Roman procurator Albinus deposed the high priest Ananus for having James and others stoned (*Ant.* 20.9.1 §197-203). To 'kill hostages without the command of the emperor' was also treason (see offense A in *Digest* 48.4.1, as quoted above). Pilate's offer in verse 6 tests the Jewish leaders' willingness to abide by his decision.¹⁹⁰ There is no indication (*pace* Piper) that 'it demonstrates for the first time a "real" intention on the part of the Johannine Pilate to release Jesus' nor does Pilate's offer to release Jesus for lack of grounds reflect any lessening of Pilate's control.¹⁹¹ Although Carter says that Pilate's 'comment that he finds no case against Jesus again can hardly be serious given his involvement in Jesus' arrest, previous humiliation of the elite, and whipping of Jesus', this pre-supposes that justice is Pilate's primary concern.¹⁹² Instead, for a Roman, the flogging itself would reveal whether there was reason for Pilate to continue his investigation or not. Furthermore (*pace* Tolmie), Pilate is not offering 'the Jews' an option that he knows they cannot choose because 'he dislikes' them, nor (*pace* Duke) is it simply strange that Pilate continues to mock 'the Jews' while refusing to set an 'innocent' Jesus free.¹⁹³ Rather, Pilate is testing the control of the people before him—will they respond with an attempt at their own violence? The text

¹⁹⁰ Against the idea that this is another attempt to release Jesus, see Bond, *Pilate*, 186. But in the place of the mockery that Bond suggests or the frustration that Brown detects, I am arguing that Pilate is testing the loyalty of 'the Jews' (Brown, *John*, 2.877, 892-93). *Pace* Blinzler, who believes that this is a strong declaration by Pilate that he has no intention of crucifying an innocent man (*Trial*, 229-30). *Pace* Barrett as well who argues that Pilate is taunting 'the Jews' and that the Fourth Gospel describes this exchange in order, again, to emphasize Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death (*Gospel*, 541).

¹⁹¹ *Pace* Piper, 'Characterisation', 149.

¹⁹² Carter, *John*, 305.

¹⁹³ Tolmie, 'Pontius', 592; Duke, *Irony*, 131-33; similarly, Carter, *John*, 306.

answers this question in the response to Pilate: ‘the Jews’ go from screaming (v. 6) to simply answering (v. 7). And although they still demand death, they more reasonably reference their law, which the Romans generally chose to respect.¹⁹⁴ Yet they also include a new accusation: Jesus claims to be a Son of God (υἱὸς θεοῦ; 19:7).¹⁹⁵

The Johannine ‘Jews’ might speak just these words to purposely incite this Roman to act (cf. 19:12). Romans valued humility in their leaders, as was demonstrated in the discussion of the *recusatio*.¹⁹⁶ They wrote deprecatingly of anyone who took for himself a ruling title such as *imperator* (e.g., Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* 2.24.1; Appian, *Hist. rom.* 12.8.52; Cicero, *Har. resp* 35 §16; Caesar, *Bell. civ.* 3.31).¹⁹⁷ Thus, although the expression ‘made himself’ (ἐαυτὸν ἐποίησεν) in verse 7 is rightly contrasted with Jesus’ assertions throughout the Gospel ‘that he says and does nothing on his own and that his identity and functions as the Son have been granted him by the Father (cf. e.g., 5.19, 20, 26)’, the charge would sound particularly odious to Roman-aware auditors and, they would expect, to the Johannine Pilate.¹⁹⁸

As previously noted, the Roman cultural unit for a Roman governor expects that Pilate’s primary concern for his honour is not *vis à vis* ‘the Jews’ but *vis à vis* Caesar.¹⁹⁹ Thus, this analysis will bypass the Jewish connections of the title ‘Son of God’ as well as the way it was connected to the title ‘Messiah’ in John 19:22-39, and look instead at the way it would be heard within a Roman encyclopaedia.²⁰⁰ The Greek text, Ὅτε ἤκουσεν ὁ Πιλάτος

¹⁹⁴ See n. 138 above.

¹⁹⁵ For more on ‘son of god’, see Sections 3.2.2 and 4.4.1. For an analysis of ‘son of god’ language using other encyclopaedias (such as Samaritan) and more broadly within the Fourth Gospel, see John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 292-329.

¹⁹⁶ Section 4.3.1.

¹⁹⁷ Assenmaker, ‘Nouvelles Perspectives’, 133 and 133 n. 110-112

¹⁹⁸ However, having heard the rest of John’s narrative, they know that Jesus has simply been claiming his true relationship to God (e.g., 5:16-30; 12:28).

¹⁹⁹ This would especially make sense to Roman-aware hearers if they knew the cruel reputation of Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tib.* 57-59). For discussion on this, see Blinzler, *Trial*, 237 n. 1. Still, perhaps all that is necessary is knowledge of his cruelty, not the specifics of his responses to treason.

²⁰⁰ For its Jewish cultural unit, see, e.g., Keener, *John*, 1.294-96; Thompson, *John*, 54-58; and on the connection with John 10:22-39, see Lincoln, *Gospel*, 467.

τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, could be translated as follows: ‘when Pilate heard this phrase’. It is not so much their words as their reference to the emperor, *divi filius*, that concerns him.²⁰¹ As Carter notes, this ‘language ... gets *Pilate*’s attention’.²⁰² This means that the charge is not, *pace* many scholars, ‘purely religious’ or ‘theological’ at least in the sense of relating solely to a Jewish ‘charge of blasphemy’.²⁰³ To learn that Jesus has claimed Caesar’s very title makes the mocking of him as an emperor suddenly too real. Pilate is afraid.²⁰⁴

In a world where other emissaries from Caesar might report directly back to Rome, a governor cannot trust a stranger.²⁰⁵ The testimony given in a trial is often garbled, and a judge must seek to know the truth behind the words. If Jesus’ accusers claim that he *made*

²⁰¹ Perhaps, too, the character of Pilate is meant to be aware, as at least some Romans later were, that ‘men starting from Judea should possess the world’ (see Section 4.3.3, and Josephus, *J.W.* 3.8.9 §402). There is also the possibility that, rather than a connection with divine Caesar, Pilate grew afraid that Jesus was connected more directly with a god. For this see Schlier, *Relevance*, 223; Haenchen, *John*, 187; Rensberger, ‘Politics’, 405; Bond, *Pilate*, 187; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 156; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 593; as well as other scholars who more reservedly suggest this possibility (Conway, *Men*, 160; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 467). I am unsure of the reasons Piper suggests that ‘the Jews’ ‘understand and control... the realm of gods and spirits’ better than Pilate does (‘Characterisation’, 150). For stories of divine men, see Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.44 that Bultmann adduces and 1.21 brought in by Schnackenburg (Bultmann, *John*, 661 n. 4; Schnackenburg, *John*, 256, 260, 263, 452 n. 79).

²⁰² Carter, *John*, 307, emphasis original.

²⁰³ Pace Blinzler, *Trial*, 230; Brown, *John*, 2.848; Lincoln, *Truth*, 131; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 150.

²⁰⁴ It is important to note that, for the first time, in verse 8, the narrator gives information about Pilate. Unlike statements put into Pilate’s mouth, which can be lies, unintentional truths or truths, the narrator’s words must be taken at face value. On taking the comparative as an elative, see Bond, *Pilate*, 187. Other scholars support the elative reading as well (Barrett, *Gospel*, 542; Lincoln, *Truth*, 131). However, Tolmie argues against this reading (‘Pontius’, 592). He notes that in 5:18, too, *μᾶλλον* is used for the desire of ‘the Jews’ to kill Jesus ‘despite the fact that their desire ... has not been explicitly indicated earlier in the Gospel’ (592). Yet, in 5:16, ‘the Jews’ begin to persecute Jesus (*ἐδίωκον*, imperfect) because he healed on the Sabbath. Then, after Jesus indicates that he regards God as his Father (v. 17), they want to kill him ‘even more’ (v. 18). Thus, the examples are not parallel. Harvey takes this verb to mean ‘prosecute’ rather than ‘persecute’ but the Appian reference in *διώκω*, LSJ 440 (*Bell. civ.* 4.50) is the only example he cites that is not from the fourth or fifth century BCE. Further work would have to be done to support that meaning in the first and second century CE (Harvey, *Jesus*, 51).

Also, since John does sometimes demonstrate at least awareness of stories of Jesus not explicitly narrated in his Gospel (e.g., 1:29-34), Bernard’s suggestion that Pilate’s fear stems from his wife’s dream (Mt. 27:19) is a possibility, but this will not be explored in this study. Bernard also points back to John 18:39, which could be taken as a reference to Pilate’s concern over the possibility of a Jewish rebellion (*St. John*, 2.613, 618). Brown suggests that Pilate wants to release Jesus because he is worried about a rebellion forming behind Barabbas (*John*, 2.856-57, 871-72, 879). Yet, Barabbas is such a minor character in John’s narrative that this seems unlikely, nor is it likely that a narration could keep any sense of verisimilitude if a Roman governor releases someone he genuinely fears will start a rebellion.

Ultimately, even if the comparative sense is taken to be correct, Pilate’s fear could be understood to have been continuously growing *vis à vis* Caesar and Pilate’s responsibility to keep the peace.

²⁰⁵ See Section 6.1.3.

himself the son of God, he might easily *know* the son of God.²⁰⁶ The fear, then, is that this particular man could have connections to the ‘son of God’ in Rome.²⁰⁷ If Pilate has just flogged and mocked someone with imperial connections, his fear is quite reasonable.²⁰⁸ Thus, although Piper’s suggestion that Pilate’s fear is of ‘supramundane powers’ is not ruled out, it is not required to make sense of Pilate’s emotion.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, although Piper suggests that ‘the narrative here unusually does not pursue the theme of kingship’, if βασιλεύς, as has been shown in this thesis, can refer to an emperor rather than a king, then the theme of βασιλεία is not absent from a reference to a ‘son of God’.²¹⁰ Jesus as the son of God is a further expression of the truth-in-hidden-transcript communicated by the Fourth Gospel—a truth whose social implications will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.2.2.2. *Scene B’: John 19:9-12a*

Pilate’s next question to Jesus is ‘Where are you from?’ (v. 9). The mention of a ‘son of god’ has suggested that this man might have imperial connections. So although the soldiers in the garden verified twice that Jesus was from Nazareth (18:5-8), the reference to ‘son of God’ has raised other possibilities. Jesus’ Nazarene origins are discussed in John only in the context of the trial and in the discussion with Nathanael, where Jesus goes from ‘Jesus of Nazareth, son of Joseph’ to ‘Rabbi, the Son of God, the King of Israel’ (1:45, 49). The same progression happens in this scene but in a Roman rather than a Jewish context.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Although Neyrey comments that ‘[i]n antiquity people were constantly “making themselves” something, that is, claiming a new and higher status or role (Acts 5:36)’, Romans valued humility and self-control (Section 4.3.1). In Acts 5:36, Gamaliel mentions Theudas specifically because his claim to status failed (Neyrey, *Cultural*, 428). At the narrative level, the lack of humility in this claim would be apparent.

²⁰⁷ Tolmie, too, suggests that fear of Rome is one option for understanding Pilate’s fear, although he does not ultimately opt for that possibility (‘Pontius’, 593). Meye Thompson also connects Jesus with the emperor through the use of υἱὸς θεοῦ but suggests that Pilate perceived a genuine threat to Caesar from Jesus rather than possible connections between the two (*John*, 385). See, similarly, Wright, ‘Governor’, 216-19. This seems to put the matter too strongly. While I agree with this connection and Pilate’s concern with sedition, it does not seem likely that the Johannine Pilate thinks Jesus is an impending usurper.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Neyrey’s list of Jesus’ ascriptions of honour (*Cultural*, 424). In question, for Pilate, is not only how much honour Jesus might have (428-29) but how much authority.

²⁰⁹ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 150. See other possibilities listed in nn. 204 and 207 above.

²¹⁰ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 151.

²¹¹ The repeated connections between the two will be discussed in Section 7.1.

The concern for correct identification would be heightened for a man condemned to death, since a Roman governor would need to make sure that he was not crucifying a Roman citizen by mistake.²¹² Josephus reports that Florus, among many other injustices, crucified Jews who were Roman citizens (*J.W.* 2.14.9 §308). The legate of Syria, Cestius, eventually sent a party of Jews to Nero to blame Florus' behaviour for the start of the war (*J.W.* 2.20.1 §558). This story comes from the second half of the first century CE and establishes the kinds of concerns appropriate for a Roman provincial ruler.

Knowledge of the defendant's origin was a regular part of trial procedures (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.5.3 §305-306).²¹³ It is perhaps to this reality that Lincoln alludes when he judges that the phrase 'Jesus the Nazorean ... gives the inscription a more formal and memorable ring'.²¹⁴ Not only is this part of the formal procedure, but it would be especially necessary given the need to distinguish between various people named Jesus. First, there is a tradition that takes special care to distinguish Jesus from Barabbas, who also is remembered with the name Jesus.²¹⁵ Helen Bond notes this and suggests that, with regard to historicity, there may have been 'some confusion over which "Jesus" was to be brought to trial, and the prefect needed to seek clarification'.²¹⁶ John may have assumed that his readers would be familiar with this confusion. However, since he does not bring that out in the narrative, this cannot be the primary focus of his concern.²¹⁷

While it is true, as many point out, that origins are of particular interest to John and it is possible, as Mary Coloe argues, that in a Jewish encyclopaedia 'the Nazarene' is a messianic title, within the storyline Pilate asks this question to verify once more that he has

²¹² 'It is perfectly logical that a party sent to arrest a man would wish to identify him fully by name and locale' (Brown, *John*, 2.810).

²¹³ Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 111.

²¹⁴ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 474.

²¹⁵ Bond, 'Remembered', 60, esp. n. 6. See also Brown, *John*, 2.856.

²¹⁶ Bond, 'Remembered', 61. Other men named Jesus mentioned, for example, by Josephus include 'Jesus son of Sapphias, one of the chief priests' (*J.W.* 2.20.4 §566 [Thackeray, LCL]), 'Jesus, son of Saphat, the ringleader of this band of brigands' (3.9.7 §450), 'Jesus, son of Gamalas' (4.3.9 §160), 'Jesus, son of Ananias' (6.5.3 §300), and 'Jesus, son of Thebuti' (6.8.3 §387).

²¹⁷ Section 6.1.1.

arrested the right man.²¹⁸ He will include ὁ Ναζωραῖος on the *titulus* as well (19:19).²¹⁹ Since Pilate lives with the spectre of Caesar looking over his shoulder, he must know who he crucifies.²²⁰ However, Jesus does not answer Pilate's question. His silence may be seen as courage, and therefore an expression of masculinity.²²¹ Plutarch (*Mor.* 88.4D), for example, opposes a charge of being 'cowardly' (δειλός) to 'daring' (θαρσαλέος) and 'manly' (ἀνδρώδης). On the contrary, however, his silence could also be interpreted as passivity in preparation for penetration, a feminine response.²²² What the text says, however, is that Jesus 'did not give him an answer' (ἀπόκρισιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, v. 9). This refusal to cooperate seems to match the 'everyday forms of resistance' such as 'evasion, foot-dragging' that Scott has catalogued as a response to forms of 'material domination'.²²³ Citing Is 53:7, Carter calls this 'a classic pose of the powerless (who accomplish God's redeeming purposes) before the "powerful"', which 'Pilate interprets ... as defiance'.²²⁴ This well summarizes the two points of view represented in the exchange. In Scene B', therefore, the Johannine Pilate 'fails to achieve his objective of determining Jesus' origin' and 'fails to attempt to impress Jesus with his authority'.²²⁵ Jesus' words recall Pilate to his responsibilities and his honour before Caesar, reversing the judge and the judged for the auditors.²²⁶ Jesus' next words continue

²¹⁸ Mary Coloe, 'The Nazarene King: Pilate's Title as the Key to John's Crucifixion', in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 839-48 (843-46). On origins, see, e.g., Neyrey, *John*, 428-29.

²¹⁹ Brown, *John*, 2.901.

²²⁰ Bernard, *St. John*, 2.621.

²²¹ Conway, *Behold*, 23, 29-30. See, e.g., Bernard who calls it 'dignity' (*St. John*, 2.619). Barrett somewhat amusingly explains Jesus' brief silence with the following tautology: 'The silence of Jesus is much less prominent in John than in the other gospels because much more conversation is introduced into the story' (*Gospel*, 542).

²²² Glancy, 'Torture', 130; Conway, *Behold*, 22, 102.

²²³ Scott, *Domination*, 198.

²²⁴ Carter, *John*, 307.

²²⁵ Tolmie, 'Pontius', 594. For a discussion of ἐξουσία in this scene, see Section 4.4.2.

²²⁶ Helen C. Orchard, *Courting Betrayal: Jesus as Victim in the Gospel of John*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum, JSNTSup 161. Edited by Stanley E. Porter. Gender, Culture, Theory 5 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 209. The reversal is noted by many scholars, for example, Josef Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu*, 4th ed. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1969), 351; Ashton, *Understanding*, 489; Lincoln, *Truth*, 75, 196-97, 227; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 234-35, 260, 335-36, 424-25. For the reference to ἐξουσία in 11a, see also Section 4.4.2.

that reversal but decrease the pressure on Pilate. Jesus says, ‘the one who handed me over to you has the greater guilt’ (v. 11), and Pilate attempts (again) to ask for his release (v. 12).²²⁷

The word ἁμαρτία is somewhat ambiguous.²²⁸ Louw and Nida categorize ἁμαρτία within the semantic fields of ‘sin’, ‘being evil’, and ‘guilt’.²²⁹ Furthermore, they note the difference between the first and last of these meanings: ‘A number of languages make a clear distinction between the active event of committing sin and the resulting moral effect of guilt’.²³⁰ ἁμαρτία, however, can mean either. Since by verse 11 the action of handing over has already occurred (18:30), and since actions do not have sizes that can be measured (μερίζων, 19:11), it is the resulting guilt which best fits the meaning of this occurrence of ἁμαρτία.²³¹ And since this guilt is noted before the Roman prefect, it is necessary to look briefly at the Roman cultural unit of guilt in military settings.

For a Roman soldier to be found guilty was quite a serious situation. Valerius Maximus, in his section on military discipline, tells the story of an officer who sent his defeated soldiers back into battle to punish the guilt (*culpa*) of their former loss (*Memorable*

²²⁷ The narrator steps in to relate Pilate’s request to release Jesus. In 18:31, 39; 19:6 Pilate asked ‘the Jews’ if they would take Jesus, but in 19:12, he is actually sincere in his question. I have translated ἐζητεί using the conative imperfect, suggesting that Pilate tries to ask a question similar to those earlier ones, but is immediately rebuffed in verse 12b (BDR §326). The benefit of translating ζητέω as ‘to ask’ instead of as ‘to try to obtain’ is that it gives ‘the Jews’ a question to respond to in verse 12b (‘ζητέω’, BDAG 428). The ἐκ τούτου also suggests that this is a new approach for Pilate—it would then be temporal. Yet in a narrative, subsequent events are often implicitly causal, and certainly that seems to be the case in these verses. Thus, Jesus’ reference to guilt will be seen to motivate Pilate’s attempts to obtain the acquiescence of ‘the Jews’ to his release. (He is still thinking of Caesar: he is not asking because he needs their permission, but because he needs to make sure their reaction to Jesus’ release will not create problems for him—and, indeed, he concludes from their response that it will.) For ἐκ τούτου as causal, see Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.453 n. 87; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 594 n. 77. Note that de Boer suggests that the imperfect tense of ἐζητεί ‘implies repetition or persistence [*sic*]’ (‘Narrative’, 144). This iterative imperfect is a possibility—it might then suggest that Pilate asked several times if ‘the Jews’ wanted him to release Jesus.

²²⁸ In search of a Roman cultural unit that might be relevant, I note that ἁμαρτία is not used in the *Res Gestae* and, by the fourth century CE when the Vulgate made its appearance, Latin ecclesial vocabulary had developed so that *peccatum* was the obvious choice (*Propterea qui me tradidit tibi, majus peccatum habet*). However, the sense of ἁμαρτία, or *scelus*, as deeds against the moral program of Augustus, and hence of the gods, could be explored in a passage more focused on deeds than 19:11 [Julien Smith, *Christ the Ideal King: Cultural Context, Rhetorical Strategy, and the Power of Divine Monarchy in Ephesians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 53–55].

²²⁹ L&N, 2.11.

²³⁰ L&N, 1.775.

²³¹ Lindars, *John*, 569; Barrett, *Gospel*, 543. This is *pace*, e.g., Lincoln, *Gospel*, 468.

Doings and Sayings 2.7.10 [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]). Also, in his section on justice, Valerius describes a foreign leader whose justice was so stern and abrupt (*praeferingo et abscido*) that he fell on his sword when he realized that he had broken one of his own laws, rather than conceal his guilt (*culpa*, 6.5.external 4). Valerius also praises the Celtiberians because they ‘thought it a sin (*nefas*) to survive a battle in which the person for whose safety they had pledged their lives had fallen’ (2.6.11 [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]). This passage is particularly relevant in that Valerius praises the Celtiberians because they connect friendship (*amicitia*) with loyalty (*fides*), and consider sin (*nefas*) as denoting a lack of loyalty: ‘Friendship demanded unwavering loyalty’ (Shackleton Bailey, LCL).

If, as this evidence suggests, a Roman soldier is guilty when he does not win battles, does not follow orders, or does not demonstrate loyalty, the mention of guilt in John 19:11 refers Pilate to his responsibility to Caesar, set in contrast to that of ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι (19:11). A variety of referents have been proposed for this phrase: ‘the Jews’, Judas, Caiaphas, and the devil.²³² On the one hand, the first three seems more probable in a discussion of responsibility, where the responsibility of Pilate to Caesar might be contrasted with that of ‘the Jews’, Judas or Caiaphas to God.²³³ In the greater Johannine trial narrative, for example, ‘the Jews’ act according to their responsibility to God in 18:28 when they refuse to enter the *praetorium* but deny that responsibility when they declare their sole allegiance to Caesar (19:16).²³⁴ On the other hand, guilt is generally assigned on the basis of the condemnation of one’s actions, so the identity of ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι as the same as the ruler of this world who has been condemned’ (16:11) makes sense.

Warren Carter has proposed, based on ‘four factors’, that this phrase refers to Pilate: (1) it is first used in John 12:31 in a context that refers to the crucifixion; (2) both in the rest

²³² For a variety of opinions on who ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι refers to, see Bond, *Pilate*, 188-89 (in discussion with Barrett); Bernard, *St. John*, 2.620; Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 157-58; Bennema, ‘Pilate’, 245 n. 23.

²³³ Pace Brown who does not contrast responsibility but intentions (*John*, 2.879, 893).

²³⁴ The irony (or blasphemy) has often been noted. See Brown, *John*, 2.866, 894-96; Barrett, *Gospel*, 532-33, 546; Duke, *Irony*, 127-28; Lincoln, *Truth*, 124-25, 135-36.

of the Fourth Gospel and in Ephesus, ἄρχων refers to human rulers; (3) this ruler rules over the ‘world’, i.e. those who reject Jesus, whose ‘ultimate rejection’ occurs at the cross, and (4) Jesus’ words in 19:11 are best understood in light of his words in 14:30.²³⁵ However, none of these factors requires a reference to Pilate or precludes a reference to Satan. First, Satan also participated in the crucifixion, according to John, since he entered Judas (13:27) and may therefore be seen as being complicit in Jesus’ betrayal (19:11). Furthermore, it is unclear in what sense Pilate has been driven out (12:31). Secondly, as has already been discussed, a semiotic Sign with multiple possible referents must be interpreted through the process of abduction. A lack of non-human referents for ἄρχων elsewhere does not preclude a non-human meaning for it in John 12:31; 14:30 and 16:11, unless it can be shown that neither author nor auditors would know such a meaning. Since Mark, Luke and Matthew all exemplify non-human referents (Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15; Mt 9:34; 12:24), such a meaning in John is quite possible. Thirdly, to identify the ‘world’ uniquely with ‘that which rejects Jesus’ is to force its meaning in John 1:10 onto the rest of its uses in the Fourth Gospel, where contexts are much more variegated.²³⁶ Furthermore, in John 16:7-11 it is the advocate who condemns this ruler and exposes the world’s wrong judgement. In the Gospel of John, the coming of the Spirit happens soon after the resurrection (20:22), thus linking the crucifixion, the resurrection, the post-resurrection appearances and the giving of the Spirit in quick succession. And with the Spirit, Jesus empowers his disciples to forgive or retain sins (20:23). This suggests that Pilate, along with Judas, Caiaphas, and ‘the Jews’ are those whose wrong judgement the resurrection has exposed, and whose sins the disciples now have the authority to forgive or retain. The ruler who has been condemned by the advocate seems

²³⁵ Carter, *John*, 290.

²³⁶ Kierspel, *Jews*, 155-213.

more likely to be Satan, since the crucifixion he set into motion has now been reversed (13:27).²³⁷ Fourthly, when Carter links 19:11 to 14:30, he highlights the concept of power:

Jesus' words to Pilate that Pilate has no power over him (19:11) echo Jesus' statement of 14:30 that 'the ruler of this world...has no power over me' (NRSV). In part, the claim of 'no power' refers to Jesus giving himself to die (10:11, 17-18). But beyond this, Jesus overcomes Pilate in his resurrection: Roman power is exposed to be no match for God's life-giving power.²³⁸

However, the NRSV that Carter cites has added the word 'power'. The Greek, *ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων· καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν*, simply says 'nothing' and *ἐξουσία* is nowhere to be seen in the context. It seems unlikely, then, that *ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων* refers to Pilate, but it is possible that *ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι* refers to the same non-human character, Satan, who has been described as the instigator of the proceedings and is therefore the one ultimately overcome in the resurrection.

In 19:11, the ambiguity of *ὁ παραδούς* opens a conceptual space for recategorization, certainly at this point a Jewish space, since it is established in contrast to Pilate.²³⁹ This verse tends to be read as blaming 'the Jews' *instead* of the Romans, because that was the direction the later church took.²⁴⁰ Yet the greater guilt given to 'the Jews' (19:11) does not eliminate

²³⁷ It seems to me that the ambiguity could be deliberate, a way to include all those complicit in betraying servants of Jesus, whether, in John's narrative, Satan, Judas, Caiaphas or 'the Jews', or, in the world of John's auditors, any who betray them to the Romans. Furthermore, David Rensberger has proposed that 'it is just because of [Pilate's] powerlessness, his lack of competence in this matter (as in truth), that those who call God Father yet betray the Son ['the Jews'] have the greater sin (19:11)' ('Politics', 409). Although I have argued against this characterization of Pilate, Rensberger's solution points towards the issue of answerability. It would not be righteous for any who answer to God as Father, then or now, to betray a fugitive to an unrighteous judge (Is. 16:3-5). So there seems to be a reference to a guilt that is commensurate with one's charge. This will be mentioned again in Section 7.2.5.

²³⁸ Carter, *John*, 290.

²³⁹ For the suggestion that later Jews were reporting Christians to prevent themselves being taken *as* Christians, and some cautions against this view, see Burton L. Visotzky, 'Methodological Considerations in the Study of John's Interaction with First-Century Judaism', in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John's Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S.S.*, ed. John R. Donahue (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 91-107; Adele Reinhartz, 'John and Judaism: A Response to Burton Visotzky', in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John's Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S.S.*, ed. John R. Donahue (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 108-116.

²⁴⁰ For a reading that notes the proclivity of Christians to blame the Jews (see, e.g., Luke 23:25; Acts 2:36; 3:15; 19:39) and exonerate the Romans for Jesus' death, see Brown, *John*, 2.884. For examples of blaming the Jews in the later church, see, for example, John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 6.2.10 and Susanna Drake, *Slandering the Jew: Sexuality and Difference in Early Christian Texts*, ed. Daniel Boyarin, Virginia Burrus, and Krueger Derek, *Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 80-81.

(*pace* Reinhartz) the guilt assigned to the Roman Pilate.²⁴¹ Furthermore, the ambiguity of the referent suggests that ‘no single individual shoulders all the responsibility or blame for Jesus’ crucifixion’.²⁴²

Regardless of the referent, Jesus takes it upon himself to apportion guilt (v. 11) and in so doing claims a measure of authority—which raises again, at the narrative level, the possibility that Jesus has connections to someone in Rome. And if he is choosing not to hold Pilate primarily responsible for the arrest and the flogging, this is good news for Pilate. At this point (and perhaps for these reasons) the Johannine Pilate tries asking to release Jesus.²⁴³ This is out of prudence, not justice (*pace* Tolmie).²⁴⁴ Whereas the previous offers of release were reported as Pilate’s words (and were therefore viewed in this study as a way to test the response of ‘the Jews’), Pilate’s desire for Jesus’ release in verse 12, because it is stated by the narrator, ‘must be taken at face value’.²⁴⁵ In the first cycle, Pilate’s conversation with Jesus did not allay his concerns about his seditious activities, and he responded by having him flogged. In this second cycle, Pilate’s conversation with Jesus has not allayed his concerns about his possible connections to Rome. Scene B’ ends with Pilate even more concerned about proving his own loyalty to Caesar.

6.2.2.3. *Scene A’: John 19:12b-18*

The response of ‘the Jews’ (19:12) as they scream at Pilate brings up the question of loyalty again. ‘The Jews’ challenge Pilate’s adherence to the requirements of being a φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος. This ‘language of friendship’ was widely used in antiquity ‘to mask a

²⁴¹ Adele Reinhartz, ‘The Colonizer as Colonized: Intertextual Dialogue between the Gospel of John and Canadian Identity’, in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 7 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 170-92 (178).

²⁴² Thompson, *John*, 386; see, similarly, 392.

²⁴³ Those who also regard Pilate as sincere only beginning at this juncture include Bond, *Pilate*, 189; Lincoln, *Truth*, 133; Bennema, ‘Pilate’, 245.

²⁴⁴ Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 594.

²⁴⁵ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 151. *Pace* Carter who does not note that the narrator steps into the account in 19:12 and continues to characterize this effort to release Jesus as insincere and part of his ongoing mockery of ‘the Jerusalem leaders’ (*John*, 308).

relationship of dependence and to diminish the attendant stigma'.²⁴⁶ Athenobius, an envoy of Antiochus VII Sidetes, is similarly called 'the friend of the king' (ὁ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως), according to 1 Macc 15:32.

For the Romans, the *amici Caesaris* had special access to the emperor and the favours he had to bestow (Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.39).²⁴⁷ Yet, although the title of 'friend' could be advantageous for the recipient, 'the power was all on the emperor's side, and his friendship could be renounced at his whim at any moment' (Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.41-51).²⁴⁸ The friends of the emperor in residence in Rome were expected to be in attendance on him at various times and places (such as the morning *salutatio*) and often functioned as his advisors.²⁴⁹ Of special interest for the analysis of the Johannine trial narrative is the way the friendship of the emperor was expected to be repaid: 'through loyalty'.²⁵⁰

To whom, exactly, the historical Pilate owed loyalty has been the subject of much discussion.²⁵¹ One possibility is that he gained his appointment from L. Aelius Sejanus, the prefect of the Praetorian Guard who was quite powerful at the time of Pilate's appointment. However, after he fell out of favour, Tiberius rewarded 'the legions in Syria, because they alone had consecrated no image of Sejanus among their standards' (Suetonius, *Tib.* 48 [Rolfe, LCL]), which suggests that not everyone supported him even when he was in favour.²⁵² Sejanus' fall from power seems to have occurred at about the time of Jesus'

²⁴⁶ Crook, 'Fictive-Friendship', 5/7. See also Craig Williams' extensive engagement with the differences between *amicitia* and friendship and the difficulties of writing about the Roman cultural unit of *amicitia* without evaluating it through the lens of the present-day cultural unit of 'friendship' [*Reading Roman Friendship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26-54].

²⁴⁷ Saller, *Patronage*, 43-44; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Imperial Court', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 283-308 (300); Eck, 'Emperor', 200-201, 206-207, 212; Winter, *Divine*, 29-30, 69-70. For examples of φιλοσεβαστοί in Ephesus, see Tilborg, *Reading*, 197-99; van den Heever, 'Space', 235 n. 100, 237.

²⁴⁸ Millar, *Emperor*, 113. Millar gives an example of a man who committed suicide upon evidence that he had lost the emperor's favour (Plutarch, *Mor.* 508 A-B).

²⁴⁹ Williams, *Reading*, 46 n. 107.

²⁵⁰ Richard Saller, 'Status and Patronage', in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 817-54 (842).

²⁵¹ For the history of the debate, see Bond, *Pilate*, xiii-xvi. For arguments against a connection between Pilate and Sejanus based on Pilate's coins, see Bond, *Pilate*, 21-23.

²⁵² Paul L. Maier, 'Sejanus, Pilate, and the Date of the Crucifixion', *Church History* 37.1 (1968): 3-13 (8-9).

crucifixion (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 11.5).²⁵³ Furthermore, Philo specifically calls Pilate the subordinate (ὑπαρχος) of Tiberius, which suggests that his relations with the emperor were of primary concern (*Embassy* 38.299). Also, when the people (οἱ πολλοί) of Judaea were dissatisfied with Pilate (300), it was to Tiberius that those in office (οἱ ἐν τέλει) sent their petition (303). Josephus also specifies that Pilate was sent to Judaea by Tiberius (*J.W.* 2.9.2 §169). It is true that the wording of these passages could be nothing more than a way to recognize Tiberius' ultimate authority; however, Sejanus' execution may have made Pilate's position *vis à vis* Tiberius particularly precarious. Certainly, the title φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος in John 19:12 was one that would refer the Johannine Pilate to Caesar and to his relationship of dependence on him.²⁵⁴

Fergus Millar notes precisely this connection between delegation and constraint in the *amici* of the emperor: 'The status itself is quite frequently advertised by the emperors in their letters, when they refer to provincial governors or other officials involved. This may ... in certain cases be intended precisely to demonstrate the emperor's confidence and lend the man authority in dealing with the matter at hand'.²⁵⁵ Yet, on the other hand, this status might also 'on occasion be used to bring pressure on him' to behave in certain ways.²⁵⁶ Indeed Epictetus, writing in the early second century CE, describes a τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλος, who is criticized for his undignified public manner (*Diatr.* 3.4.2). Thus, for Pilate's fictive-friendship with Caesar to be noted in the trial narrative moves the conversation into a form of resistance to power that is typical of oppressed groups, one where words such as 'friendship' are used as euphemisms for power, and thus can be co-opted as 'the basis for

²⁵³ See also the possible connection between the fall of Sejanus and the shields Pilate set up in Tiberius' honour (Bond, *Pilate*, 46).

²⁵⁴ Bond, *Pilate*, 189-90; Crook, 'Fictive-Friendship', 7/7; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1978* 3 (Sydney: Macquarie University, 1983), 87-89; Richey, *Roman*, 169-70.

²⁵⁵ Millar, *Emperor*, 115.

²⁵⁶ Millar, *Emperor*, 116.

appeals from below'.²⁵⁷ By this pointed reference to his 'friendship' with Caesar, 'the Jews' pressure Pilate to remember his own loyalty.

The tension between loyalty to Jesus and loyalty to the emperor is made even starker in verse 12b: 'The one who makes himself the emperor opposes Caesar'.²⁵⁸ The referent within the passage is clearly Jesus, and the focus is on his actions. As has been discussed above, Jesus is not 'a threat to Roman occupation', *pace* Lincoln, simply because of this characterization of his claims—the verb ποιέω points to some actions of Jesus that might be seen as treasonous, perhaps the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (12:12-19).²⁵⁹ Pilate is now caught between two choices, either of which might cause him to appear disloyal to Caesar. The 'Jews' have raised the issue of Pilate's dependence on Caesar in the context of his attempt to release Jesus. If Pilate acquits Jesus despite the prompting of 'the Jews', he would have to answer to Rome if Jesus later proved to be seditious.²⁶⁰ However, the reverse is true as well. If Pilate crucifies Jesus at the prompting of 'the Jews', he would have to answer to Rome if Jesus later proved to have imperial connections. Ultimately, he 'listen[s]' to the 'words' of 'the Jews' (19:13) which, as they demand Pilate's loyalty to Caesar, seem to imply their own.²⁶¹

6.2.2.4. *Excursus: Who sits down in John 19:13?*

If Pilate next sits Jesus at the βῆμα, the image of Jesus as *imperator* is described again in the narrative.²⁶² However, the identity of the one who sits at the βῆμα in John 19:13

²⁵⁷ Scott, *Domination*, 94.

²⁵⁸ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 468-69; Brant, *John*, 249.

²⁵⁹ Section 6.1.5; Lincoln, *Truth*, 128, 133.

²⁶⁰ Bernard, *St. John*, 2.621.

²⁶¹ See the distinction between ἀκούω with genitive *versus* ἀκούω with accusative. Whereas in 19:8-9, it was the sound of the phrase υἱὸς θεοῦ that seems to have made Pilate afraid, in 19:13 he is listening to the meaning of their words. See BDR §173; Brown, *John*, 2.880; Blinzler, *Prozess*, 350; Skinner, *Trial*, 179 n. 35. Also, it is 'these words' in this verse rather than 'this phrase' as in verse 8 because of the plural τῶν λόγων τούτων rather than the τοῦτον τὸν λόγον of verse 8 ('λόγος', BDAG 1a).

²⁶² The question of whether Jesus or Pilate sits on the judgement seat is complicated and contested. For a summary of scholars on each (and on both) sides of the issue, see Brown, *Death*, 2.1389. Bekken is ambiguous in his reading, as he sometimes describes Pilate sitting and sometimes references Jesus being seated (*Lawsuit*, 109, 113, 206, 256, 267).

depends primarily on the verb *καθίζω*, which can be used either transitively (so that Pilate seats Jesus) or intransitively (so that Pilate seats himself). The two other uses of this verb in the Fourth Gospel are intransitive: in both cases (8:2; 12:14) Jesus seats himself; in the second case, he seats himself specifically on a young donkey.²⁶³ The intransitive use is the most common among New Testament texts.²⁶⁴ However, transitive uses do occur, both with an explicit direct object (1 Cor 6:4) and without (some witnesses, such as Codex Bezae, of Acts 2:30).²⁶⁵ Ephesians 1:20 is most like the use in John 19:13, in that, in both cases, a verb other than *καθίζω* is followed by a direct object, and then *καθίζω* is coordinated with the first verb (with *καί*) and the direct object is not repeated. In Ephesians 1:20, however, it is clear that after God raised Jesus, he then seated *him* at his right hand.²⁶⁶ Thus, it is possible that the direct object might only be omitted when the meaning of the sentence is clear from the context. Even then, some scribes added a direct object pronoun in Eph 1:20.²⁶⁷ There is no record of such an insertion in John 19:13.²⁶⁸

This demonstrates not that the transitive reading is impossible, but that the intransitive is the most obvious; indeed, early interpreters do not mention a transitive reading as a possibility.²⁶⁹ Therefore, de la Potterie goes too far when he asserts that ‘l’emploi transitif de *ἐκάθισεν* en Jn 19,13 sans un pronom *αὐτόν* qui suit, n’a rien qui doive étonner; c’est même la construction tout à fait normale’.²⁷⁰ On the other hand, Neyrey’s designation

²⁶³ Joseph Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie on John 19,13’, in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 817-37 (831). As Verheyden notes, there is a textual variant that brings 8:2 into question.

²⁶⁴ Matt 5:1; 13:48; 19:28; 20:21; 23:2; 25:31; 26:36; Mark 9:35; 10:37; 11:7; 12:41; 14:32; 16:19; Luke 4:20; 5:3; 14:28, 31; 16:6; 19:30; 24:49; Acts 2:3; 8:31; 12:21; 13:14; 16:13; 18:11; 25:6, 17; 1 Cor 10:7; 2 Thess 2:4; Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; Rev 3:21; 20:4. Mark 10:40 and similarly Matt 20:23 are ambiguous; they could be understood either as ‘to seat yourselves’ (reflexive) or ‘to seat you’ (transitive, but without expressed direct object in Greek).

²⁶⁵ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 219, 225.

²⁶⁶ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 347; Brown, *Death*, 2.1390; Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie’, 831-32.

²⁶⁷ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 347; Brown, *Death*, 2.1390; Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie’, 832.

²⁶⁸ Brown, *Death*, 2.1390.

²⁶⁹ Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie’, 817, 819. Blinzler notes as well that no early translations understand *καθίζω* as transitive (*Prozess*, 349).

²⁷⁰ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 225; see, similarly, 233. Note, too, that, while he is correct that the direct object is necessary for the second of two coordinated verbs in 19:18 in order to clarify the meaning, he is

of the intransitive reading as the ‘literal’ one seems odd, especially in light of his acknowledgement that ‘[g]rammatical studies support both readings’.²⁷¹

Is it possible that this verse is intentionally ambiguous? The argument against such a reading seems to have originated with Père D. Mollat’s insight, as reported by de la Potterie:

[Q]uand Jean emploie une expression en deux significations distinctes, il s’agit de deux compréhensions différentes d’une même réalité, l’une sur le plan matériel, sensible, l’autre sur le plan symbolique, sans qu’il faille pour cela rattacher chacune d’elles à un sens *grammaticalement* différent d’une même formule. Dans l’explication proposée [that of a Johannine *double entendre*], le sens matériel serait lié à l’emploi intransitive de *ἐκάθισεν*, le sens théologique à l’emploi transitif. Grammaticalement, les deux sont possibles, mais *pas simultanément*: il faut choisir.²⁷²

Grammatical ambiguity seems to exist elsewhere, such as in John 19:1, 22, in that the verbs indicate that it is Pilate who scourges and writes (see also 19:19) when actually those tasks would have been done by his soldiers or subordinates.²⁷³ However, those usages are perhaps not ambiguities, but causative (also called factitive) constructions.²⁷⁴

Latin and Greek sometimes used a morphological construction to express causation, such as, for Greek, *-ίζω*.²⁷⁵ However, in translating the Hebrew *hifil* in the LXX, Greek used a variety of constructions, including ‘analytic causatives’ where a verb (such as *ποιέω*) is introduced into the phrase to express causation (e.g., Judges 16:26a).²⁷⁶ Such verbs could also be translated simply in their usual form, with the causative aspect understood. For

incorrect to say that it is necessary in 19:40 to distinguish between Jesus and his body (225-26 n. 3). These are not two separate things.

²⁷¹ Neyrey, *Cultural*, 430-31.

²⁷² De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 218 n. 2; Moore, *Empire*, 56-59. Blinzler picks this up as well (*Prozess*, 348). Note that de la Potterie admits a double meaning, but only in the sense that for Jesus to sit on the *βῆμα* has both a historical and a symbolic religious meaning (‘Jésus’, 242 n. 2). Keener argues against this kind of double meaning because ‘Pilate is afraid of Jesus, not mocking him’ (*John*, 2.1129; cf. Barrett, *Gospel*, 544). However, Pilate’s fear is not said to be ‘of Jesus’ and this thesis has argued that what seems to be mockery serves a very serious purpose in the Johannine trial narrative—that of testing loyalties.

²⁷³ Bond, *Pilate*, 190 n. 105.

²⁷⁴ Section 6.2.2.4; Brown, *John*, 2.901. Lincoln adds 21:24 as well (Lincoln, *Truth*, 153). This is *pace* Gniesmer who argues that in 19:1 ‘[d]er römische Präfekt wird so als brutaler Machtmensch gezeichnet’ (*Prozeß*, 279, cf. 275; and, similar to Gniesmer, Carter, *John*, 300).

²⁷⁵ Mark Janse, ‘Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 332-90 (371, 373).

²⁷⁶ Janse, ‘Aspects’, 375.

example, although βασιλεύω is used in its usual sense of ‘to reign’ to translate the *qal* (for example in 2 Kgdms 5:5), it is also used in 1 Kgdms 15:35 to translate a *hifil* with the meaning ‘to cause to reign’.²⁷⁷ Kühner describes this usage: ‘Sowie in anderen Sprachen, so wird auch im Griechischen nicht selten das transitive Aktiv gebraucht, wenn das Subjekt eine Handlung nicht selbst vollbringt, sondern durch Andere vollbringen lässt’.²⁷⁸ The Gospel of John is ‘un évangile qui se montre friand de ce genre de verbes’, especially in John 18:1-19:42.²⁷⁹

However, John 19:16-18 does demonstrate ambiguity. Those who take charge of Jesus and crucify him are the chief priests, according to the closest referent to the pronoun αὐτοῖς (v. 16), and it is not until verse 23 that the text clarifies the matter by mentioning the soldiers.²⁸⁰ One might, perhaps, argue that an ambiguous pronoun is not the same kind of grammatical ambiguity as a choice between a transitive and intransitive use of a verb. However, any kind of ambiguity can act as a marker for the presence of a hidden transcript, and languages express ambiguity in a wide variety of ways.²⁸¹

Another argument posited against understanding John 19:13 as a Johannine *double entendre* is that it is not ‘usual for the second meaning to be the opposite of the first’.²⁸² Zabala lists John’s double meanings without opposition to support this argument:²⁸³ When

²⁷⁷ Janse, ‘Aspects’, 375.

²⁷⁸ Raphael Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1870), 88 §373.6. Thanks to Frédérique Biville and Jean Schneider for this reference. Latin also uses factitives, especially for punishments, and high-status people [Frédérique Biville, ‘Énoncés factitifs en latin: Syntaxe et sémantique’, in *De vsv: Études de syntaxe latine offertes en hommage à Marius Lavency*, ed. Dominique Longrée, Bibliothèque des cahiers de l’institut de linguistique de Louvain 70 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 1995), 31-44 (36)]. See also Jannaris who points out that such a construction is ‘common to all languages, and proceeds from the desire for brevity’ [*An Historical Greek Grammar, Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity Down to the Present Time, Founded Upon the Ancient Texts, Inscriptions, Papyri and Present Popular Greek* (London: Macmillan, 1897), 359]. The middle voice can also sometimes function as a causative (Jannaris, *Historical*, 361).

²⁷⁹ Luc Devillers, ‘La croix de Jésus et les Ἰουδαῖοι (Jn 19,16) *Crux interpretum* ou clé sotériologique?’, in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 385-407 (393). He gives 19:1, 6, 10, 15, 18, 19, 21-22 as examples (394, 407).

²⁸⁰ The meaning of this ambiguity will be explored further in Section 7.1.4.

²⁸¹ Sections 1.3.2 and 5.1.4.

²⁸² Brown, *John*, 2.881.

²⁸³ Artemio M. Zabala, ‘The Enigma of John 19:13 Reconsidered (a Survey of the Contemporary Discussion and a Suggestion)’, *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 22.2 (1981): 16-28 (18 n. 10).

Jesus declares τετέλεσται (John 19:30) both his mission and his life are concluded. When Jesus speaks of the need to be born ἄνωθεν (3:3), he is referring to a spiritual birth that is both ‘from above’ and subsequent in time to the first. When Jesus prophesies that ‘the son of man must be lifted up/exalted’ (3:14), ὑψόω refers to both Jesus’ exaltation and his lifting up on the cross. However, in each of these cases, Zabala has smoothed out the two meanings so that they complement one another. Instead, in John 19:30, the opposition rests on the ambiguity of the subject of τετέλεσται. While it is possible to harmonize the end of Jesus’ life with the completion of his mission, a declaration that seems to announce the end of Jesus’ life directly contradicts John’s other statements about the life that was in Jesus and that he brought for others (1:4; 5:26; 11:25; 14:6 and, e.g., 3:15-16, 36). Even the life that he lays down, he intends to take up again (10:11, 15, 17). Jesus’ mission is complete, but his life is not ended. In Zabala’s next example, Jesus introduces to Nicodemus a spiritual re-birth that is from above, and ‘again’ and ‘from above’ are, indeed, not in opposition. However, in this case the text itself clarifies the double meaning by means of Nicodemus’ misunderstanding (3:4). The meaning of ‘again’ leads Nicodemus to think of a second birth through one’s mother, and it is that birth that is contrasted with the entrance into the kingdom of God which requires a birth from above, by the Spirit (3:5-8; 14:16). While ‘again’ and ‘from above’ are not opposites, ‘flesh’ and ‘spirit’, the double meaning they point to, are contrary to each other. Finally, while glorification might be harmonized with uplifting, to be crucified is not to be glorified.²⁸⁴ Indeed, *double entendres* are specifically useful when describing something ‘undesirable or even improper or indelicate’ such as a crucifixion.²⁸⁵ In the Gospel of John, ‘la croix, instrument de supplice et d’infamie pour Jésus de Nazareth,

²⁸⁴ Tat-siong Benny Liew, for example, describes the harmonization ‘between crucifixion, glorification and community’ as ‘rather intricate. Crucifixion is glorification for both God and Jesus in John, because it manifests Jesus’s unity with God, and this manifestation of unity will result in a community that also manifests the unity between God and Jesus. This double manifestation will, in turn, be a witness that leads to belief, and thus even greater glorification (13.31-35; 17.11, 20-23)’ (‘Ambiguous’, 196 n. 10).

²⁸⁵ Van der Watt, ‘*Double*’, 475. See also Wayne Meeks who calls this Johannine double meaning a ‘jarring bit of gallows-humor’ [‘Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism’, *JBL* 91.1 (1972): 44-72 (62)].

devient pour le Roi-Messie un instrument de salut, de victoire'.²⁸⁶ A contrast between the two possible interpretations, then, cannot be taken as proof that there is no Johannine word play present in 19:13, especially given other examples of contrasts and irony throughout the Gospel.²⁸⁷

If both meanings are possible, is there any reason to discount the transitive reading? Some factors, namely arguments on the basis of the presence or absence of the article (the articular use being reserved, according to de la Potterie, for a permanent structure—see below) and arguments about formulaic usages, can be set aside by looking at two passages in Josephus and two in the canonical New Testament.²⁸⁸ In describing Florus's impromptu tribunal in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 2.14.8 §301), Josephus says that 'standing a judgement seat before them, he sat down' (βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθέζεται) and all of the leading men of the city 'stood before the tribunal' (author translations, παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι). The context is clearly one of judicial inquiry, yet neither ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα nor ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, the phrases that de la Potterie considers formulaic, is ever used.²⁸⁹ Although πρὸ τοῦ βήματος occurs in 2.14.9 §308, the same concept is also conveyed by παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι (2.14.8 §301). And while the platform is clearly temporary (2.14.8 §301), the article is used in both of the phrases. De la Potterie's explanation for the use of the article in this passage is questionable. If, as he says, 'le tribunal, une fois installé, peut et doit être considéré comme le tribunal

²⁸⁶ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 242. Van der Watt similarly describes the contrast between the shame of the cross and the glory it brings ('*Double*', 480).

²⁸⁷ Duke provides a discussion of metaphor and irony and distinguishes them by the relationship of the two layers of meaning: 'Irony says the world of reality is *other* than the world of appearance. Metaphor says the world of reality is *more* than the world of appearance' (*Irony*, 144). Furthermore, Phillips is correct in his caution that the decision about whether meanings are double or not must be made on the basis of Greek, not English semantic domains (*Prologue*, 67). This thesis will not attempt to analyse each occurrence of irony or metaphor in detail but simply notes these elements to point out that both complimentary and oppositional layers of meaning are present in the Fourth Gospel, so the possibility of two meanings for John 19:13 cannot be opposed on the basis that these meanings would be in opposition. Other examples could be adduced, such as Barrett's description of 'the investigation in ch. 9, where ostensibly the blind man is examined while through him Jesus himself is being tried, only to turn the tables on his accusers by judging them' (Barrett, *Gospel*, 544; Duke, *Irony*, 117-26).

²⁸⁸ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 227-29, 231.

²⁸⁹ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 227-28.

official’, it is unclear how one might subsequently distinguish between the temporary and the official and at which point one ought to expect the article to be used.²⁹⁰ In sum, at least in this first example, the use of the article is (as de la Potterie himself notes) anaphoric, but there seems to be no consistent, typical formula to refer to a tribunal, temporary or otherwise.²⁹¹

In the second relevant use, Josephus reports that Pilate ‘placed his troops in position, while he himself came to the speaker’s stand (αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκεν). This had been constructed in the stadium, which provided concealment for the army that lay in wait’ (*Ant.* 18.3.1 §57 [Feldman, LCL]).²⁹² The article is used in this passage as a ‘particular article’, to describe the temporary βῆμα, that is then ‘particularized ... by a further descriptor’ in the next sentence.²⁹³ Furthermore, since de la Potterie himself describes his rule for the article as ‘une règle à peu près constante’, it cannot be used to determine the interpretant of any one specific passage such as John 19:13, especially given the host of examples for an intransitive interpretant.²⁹⁴

The sense of what today might be called ‘convening the court’ is variously expressed as well, despite de la Potterie’s argument that this is a meaning of the anarthrous use of the phrase.²⁹⁵ I Corinthians 6:4 has the sense of ‘seated for judgement’ although it only uses καθίζω and a direct object. Furthermore, in Acts 25:10 Paul is said to be standing ‘before

²⁹⁰ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 229 n. 3.

²⁹¹ The ‘Anaphorisch...: Rückbeziehung (ἀναφορά) auf Erwähntes, Bekanntes oder als bekannt Gesetztes’. Thus, ‘[b]ei Neueinführung von bisher Unbekanntem ohne Zusammenfassung der Gattung steht daher kein Artikel’ (BDR §252).

²⁹² De la Potterie mentions this passage but does not note the presence of the article (‘Jésus’, 229 n. 1). The connection between a lack of article and a temporary structure is picked up by Verheyden although also without noting this exception (‘De la Potterie’, 834-35).

²⁹³ Herbert Weir Smyth, and Gordon M. Messing, *Greek Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 287 §1120.d. Note that Brown mistakes some of de la Potterie’s argument (*Death*, 2.1391). De la Potterie did not use the presence or absence of the article to distinguish between ‘the judgment chair’ and ‘the judicial platform’ but between a permanent versus a temporary tribunal (‘Jésus’, 231). He did, however, discuss the possibility of other chairs placed on the platform, but this is deduced from context, not from the articular or anarthrous use of βῆμα (234).

²⁹⁴ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 227, emphasis mine.

²⁹⁵ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 229-31.

Caesar's court' (ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος), although he is actually standing before Festus in Caesarea. In Acts 25:6, the Greek text is καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, a participial phrase with the general judicial meaning that is variously translated as 'took his seat on the tribunal' (NJB, NRS, ESV) or 'took his seat in the court' (CEB), or 'convened the court' (NIV). Thus, while Zabala argues that ἐπὶ βήματος cannot have this general judicial meaning in 19:13 because neither the Gospel's author nor its auditors would know such specific terminology, his argument can be strengthened by noting that the consistent usage that de la Potterie posits does not exist.²⁹⁶ Therefore, a lack of an article in 19:13 does not support a transitive reading of καθίζω. It is not the case, *pace* Blinzler, that the phrase *cannot* have such a figurative meaning, but neither does it *necessarily* have that meaning.²⁹⁷ It depends on whether the context 'blows up' a convocation or simply a seat.

The examples above demonstrate that these phrases were not used consistently or formulaically in the first century CE. The word βῆμα, moreover, cannot even be rigidly defined aside from context since it might mean a step (Deut 2:5 LXX), a dais (Esdras A 9:42), or, by metonymy, the judgement seat set on a dais (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.5.2 §140).²⁹⁸ The best way to identify the interpretant in any given context is by the process of abduction that revises a first guess based on whether the verb that follows has a person sitting or standing on the βῆμα (see *J.W.* 2.9.3 §172 and *Ant.* 4.8.12 §209). However, if multiple persons are said to be sitting, or the person said to be on the βῆμα is sitting on something else (e.g., a chair), one would then assume that it is the platform that is meant (*Ant.* 13.4.2 §84; 17.8.4 §201).

In the analysis of John 19:13, then, it seems that the intransitive meaning is the most likely, but that intentional ambiguity is possible, and a technical use based on the absence of

²⁹⁶ Zabala, 'Enigma, Part 1', 22; de la Potterie, 'Jésus', 231.

²⁹⁷ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 356.

²⁹⁸ 'βῆμα', BDAG 175; Blinzler, *Prozess*, 355-56. Brown reverses the metonymy (*Death*, 2.1388).

the article is not to be found.²⁹⁹ The βῆμα is some sort of judgement seat, but whether permanent or temporary, the text does not specify. It is possible that the author expected those details to be known already by his auditors, or to be derived from the words λιθόστρωτος and/or γαββαθᾶ. If so, archaeologists have not so far been able to illuminate these references. Furthermore, it is possible that the lack of an article ‘has been influenced by the Latin *sedere pro tribunali*’.³⁰⁰ However, if this phrase were a calque of Latin, one would expect it to be πρὸ τοῦ βήματος as in Josephus *Ant.* 14.10.19 §240, or, even better, πρὸ βήματος as in *P. Théad.* 15 or Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.10.1 or 4.9.2.³⁰¹ Thus, while Latin influence may provide a reason for the absence of an article, it is no more definitive than other suggestions. Even if it were accepted, it would simply provide another *Haftpunkt* reinforcing the Roman context of the narrative. It would not disambiguate the meaning.

Justin, *I Apol.* 35.6 and *Gos. Pet.* 7 are sometimes brought into this discussion, since in both cases Jesus is seated—the verb καθίζω is transitive.³⁰² These texts are from the second century CE or, for the gospel, perhaps reaching back in its composition to the first, but their relationship to the Gospel of John is debated.³⁰³ The most that can be asserted is that they demonstrate that such a version of the story existed and, if anterior to the Gospel of John, could have influenced its composition.³⁰⁴ It must be noted, however, that, *pace* de la Potterie, it is not ‘la formule’ καθίζω ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος that is found in the *Gos. Pet.* but καθίζω ἐπὶ

²⁹⁹ Therefore, de la Potterie’s argument that Jesus is being installed as a judge and Verheyden’s conclusion that opts for the temporary structure in John 19:13, both based on the lack of an article, can be dismissed (de la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 232; Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie’, 834-35).

³⁰⁰ See the argument in this thesis regarding υἱὸς θεοῦ in 19:7 in Sections 3.2.2 and 4.4.1.

³⁰¹ On calques, see Section 3.2.3.

³⁰² De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 219, 220; Brown, *Death*, 2.1392.

³⁰³ L.W. Hurtado, ‘Christology’, *DLNT* 182; J.B. Green, ‘Peter, Gospel of’, *DLNT* 928-29; Blinzler, *Prozess*, 354-55; Charles E. Hill, “‘The Orthodox Gospel’: The Reception of John in the Great Church Prior to Irenaeus”, in *Legacy of John: Second-Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, *NovTSup* 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 233-300 (261-62).

³⁰⁴ The difficulties with the possibilities for relationship between these texts is well discussed by Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 1’, 24-28.

καθεδραν.³⁰⁵ Furthermore, in one or both cases, depending on the way one reads the Greek in Justin's *Apology*, the author has provided a pronominal direct object so that there is no question that the verb is transitive.³⁰⁶ Thus, these texts do not offer definitive support for the transitive meaning in John 19:13. They only demonstrate possibilities.³⁰⁷

Certainly, the meaning of John 19:13, if the καθίζω was to be read as transitive, might have been clarified by the addition of αὐτόν, especially as one naturally expects 'the judge not the accused to sit on the judgment seat'.³⁰⁸ However, de la Potterie has provided examples in the Fourth Gospel where two transitive verbs connected with καί only required one direct object attached to the first verb.³⁰⁹ These examples are helpful, but their weight is lessened when one notes that in all of those cases there is no ambiguity about the intended recipient of the action.³¹⁰ Furthermore, even without ambiguity, in many of these cases there exist witnesses, sometimes the most ancient ones, which do include a direct object for the second verb (7:34; 10:12; 11:44; 12:3, 47; 14:7, 17; 18:31; 19:16).³¹¹ And although de la Potterie claims that 'la tendance de la tradition manuscrite a été d'ajouter un complement, non de le supprimer', in four or five of these examples it seems at least possible that the reverse has occurred.³¹² The transitive use for καθίζω in John 19:13, then, does not require a direct object, but the lack of one still leaves the possibility of the intransitive use open. Once again, the examples do not definitively decide the question for either side. In such a

³⁰⁵ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 219. The text of the *Gospel of Peter* is that published in Andrew E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts*, ed. Mark Goodacre, LNTS 315 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 58.

³⁰⁶ Verheyden, 'De la Potterie', 832-33.

³⁰⁷ Zabala, 'Enigma, Part 1', 27-28.

³⁰⁸ Zabala, 'Enigma, Part 1', 21.

³⁰⁹ John 5:21; 6:11; 7:34; 10:12; 11:44; 12:3, 47; 13:5; 14:7, 17; 17:26; 18:12-13, 31; 19:6, 16, 19; 21:13 (de la Potterie, 'Jésus', 219 n. 1, 223-25).

³¹⁰ Verheyden, 'De la Potterie', 823.

³¹¹ Verheyden, 'De la Potterie', 823-25. Verheyden goes on to provide plausible explanations for the absence of a second direct object in most of de la Potterie's other cases as well (825-30).

³¹² De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 224 n. 9. The passages where NA²⁸ and UBS⁵ suggest that the direct object is original are 11:44; 12:3; 14:7; 18:31. The direct object in 7:34 is marked as disputed. Verheyden provides plausible explanations for the absence of a second direct object in some of these, but the existence of other exemplars such as Mark 14:44; Luke 24:42-43 and Acts 20:11 means that the transitive reading cannot be completely disproved in this way ('De la Potterie', 825-30).

discussion, even one counterexample demonstrates a possibility for interpreting John 19:13.³¹³

De la Potterie further contends that the εἰς τόπον prepositional phrase makes better sense of the flow of motion being depicted when it is understood to modify the first verb, ἄγω—one leads someone into a place; one does not sit into a place.³¹⁴ While I would argue that both verbs should be taken as causatives—‘Pilate led Jesus outside’ likely means that he caused him to be led out—even with this modification, de la Potterie makes a reasonable point. It is countered, however, by the equally reasonable argument that John is not usually precise in his use of prepositions and that εἰς τόπον can be understood in the sense of ἐν τόπον.³¹⁵ In that case, there is no reason to disrupt the sense of the text in the order it is given.

With the question open, the context of the passage must be brought to bear on the development of an interpretant for this Sign. The hidden transcript provides a basis on which to distinguish between what Roman-aware auditors might think likely for a Roman governor, and what might be communicated ambiguously in this verse. Ambiguity—an important aspect of communication within a hidden transcript—quite clearly describes ἡγάγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος as the discussion so far demonstrates. Without pretending to be offering a definitive solution, what follows is my sense of the interpretant, based on abduction through this passage using a Roman encyclopaedia.

³¹³ This is true especially if one admits the possibility of a double meaning. If that is precluded, then probability might weigh more heavily (Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 1’, 21).

³¹⁴ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 221-23.

³¹⁵ BDR §205; Brown, *Death*, 2.1391; see, also, Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 1’, 19-20; Verheyden, ‘De la Potterie’, 822. Verheyden concludes that there is no reason to suppose that εἰς τόπον should be thought to modify ἄγω. Furthermore, de la Potterie discounts examples of καθίζω used with εἰς from the LXX because it is from a different era (‘Jésus’, 222 n. 2). However, this thesis has already shown the importance of the Greek Bible for New Testament Greek (Section 3.2). See, e.g., 1 Kdms 5:11; Is 47:1. Note that Blinzler suggests that the refers to a height upon which Pilate ascended to sit (*Prozess*, 348). That is certainly a possibility, but will not be debated in this thesis.

First, I am unconvinced by the assertion that the dignity of the Roman people makes it unlikely or impossible that a governor would sit a criminal on a βῆμα in jest.³¹⁶ Romans did sometimes behave inappropriately to mock others (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 2.12.1 §224). Pilate is even said to have ‘mixed the blood’ of Galileans ‘with their sacrifices’ (Luke 13:1), quite inappropriate behaviour by any standards.³¹⁷ Jesus is placed on the judgement seat in other texts (*Gospel of Peter* 7; Justin, *Apology* 35.6), although in neither case is it a Roman who seats him there. The context of mockery (*pace* Zabala) is, indeed, present in the Johannine trial narrative (19:2-5) although, I shall argue, not at the βῆμα.³¹⁸ Additionally, standards of behaviour have changed over time, and it seems dangerous to evaluate probable decorum without explicit evidence.

De la Potterie agrees with those who find it unreasonable to think that Pilate would sit a prisoner on his own curule chair, but solves the dilemma differently. He argues for the transitive reading but proposes to translate βῆμα as platform, thus describing Pilate seating Jesus on the same platform, but in a different seat.³¹⁹ It is true that a βῆμα could be a platform used to seat more than one person (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.4.2 §84; Plutarch, *Mor.* 207.3). However, there does not seem to be any reason to read a switch in chairs into the text except to relieve the interpreter’s discomfort with the image portrayed.³²⁰ Ultimately, the lack of pronominal direct object for the second verb as well as the lack of scribal evidence for its

³¹⁶ *Pace* Keener, *John*, 2.1129. De la Potterie finds it necessary to propose a different seat for Jesus in order to answer this argument (‘Jésus’, 219-20, 233-34; cf. below, in this section). The argument that if Pilate had seated Jesus he would then have addressed himself to him rather than to ‘the Jews’ seems to me to be equally without weight (Brown, *Death*, 2.1392-93). See Gniesmer, who also finds this unconvincing (*Prozeß*, 339-40).

³¹⁷ Barrett, *Gospel*, 544. There was no religious-secular dichotomy in antiquity so this narrative cannot be dismissed on the grounds that Pilate might be irreverent in one sphere and not the other. However, whether his irreverence, or tales of his irreverence, towards local gods might provide a precedent for irreverence towards Roman institutions is less certain. The story does demonstrate, however, that the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand.

³¹⁸ See below in this section; Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 1’, 24.

³¹⁹ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 233-34. Brown agrees that if one were to take καθίζω transitively, this translation is more probable (*Death*, 2.1389). As mentioned above, however, *pace* Brown, de la Potterie’s argument for a second seat for Jesus on the platform does not depend on the absence of the article but on historical probability (de la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 234; Brown, *Death*, 2.1391).

³²⁰ See, similarly, Artemio M. Zabala, ‘The Enigma of John 19:13 Reconsidered (a Survey of the Contemporary Discussion and a Suggestion)’, *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 23.1 (1982): 1-10 (1-3).

insertion does suggest that Pilate seats himself at the $\beta\eta\mu\alpha$. However, this does not preclude a second meaning, part of a hidden transcript that seats Jesus as judge.³²¹

Secondly, as part of the abductive process, the dramatic force of John 19:13 must also be taken into account.³²² This verse has often been set in parallel with John 19:5.³²³ In each, there is a slowed pacing of the action. In both, the narrator takes time for description as Jesus emerges. Then, Pilate speaks and in verse 14 his words seem much clearer than they were in verse 5: "Ἰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν."³²⁴ Blinzler argues that it is 'nicht gut vorstellbar' that John might propose 'eine plumpe, geschmacklose und noch dazu sinnlose Wiederholung der Ecce-homo-Szene' especially after 'the Jews' have threatened Pilate in verse 12.³²⁵ The part of the argument based on propriety has already been discussed. Blinzler's point that Pilate would not continue with mockery after he has been threatened is well taken, but the issue is resolved in a reading that allows for both transitive and intransitive meanings. On one level Pilate continues to test the loyalty of 'the Jews', while in the hidden transcript John has Pilate say more than he knows.³²⁶

The dramatic build-up of verses 13 and 14 to Pilate's second presentation of Jesus this time explicitly as $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, suggest to Lincoln that the transitive meaning of the verb $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\zeta\omega$ is 'an additional part of Pilate's humiliation of Jesus, which he employs to mock "the Jews"'.³²⁷ Thus, Lincoln puts the transitive meaning at the literal level of the text and omits a figurative reading (or hidden transcript). This interpretation helpfully keeps verses 13 and 14 together, since in both Pilate mocks Jesus, first by seating him in the judgement seat and

³²¹ For the connection between judge and emperor, see the beginning of this section.

³²² De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 220, 236, 238.

³²³ Barrett, *Gospel*, 544; de la Potterie, 'Jésus', 240, 240 n. 1; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 469.

³²⁴ On the dramatic importance of vv. 13-15, see de la Potterie, 'Jésus', 235 n. 2, 243; Duke, *Irony*, 135; Brown, *Death*, 2.1389-90.

³²⁵ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 349; Verheyden, 'De la Potterie', 819.

³²⁶ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 240.

³²⁷ Lincoln, *Truth*, 134. Zabala suggests that the Gospel's main focus is to make a theological pronouncement about Jesus' kingship, and that the transitive meaning is unnecessary for this ('Enigma, Part 2', 6-8). This is true, although I think that a *double entendre* is a more Johannine solution.

then by calling him βασιλεύς. In the two-level meaning I have proposed, however, there is no mockery: at the narrative level, Pilate sits at the βῆμα and tests ‘the Jews’ one final time (vv. 14-15). At the figurative level, Jesus *is* judge, and he *is* emperor.

The conjoining of the roles of king and judge has been considered problematic by some.³²⁸ Zabala, opting for the intransitive reading of καθίζω, suggests that the theme of judgement is subordinated to that of kingship.³²⁹ However, while the importance of witnessing and judgement throughout the Gospel cannot be denied (cf. 3:11-21), this explanation is unnecessary.³³⁰ It depends on a concept of separation of powers that is taken for granted in many modern societies but did that not exist in antiquity.³³¹ Herod, for example, is described as ‘wearing his royal robes and sitting on the βῆμα’ to deliver an address (Acts 12:21). Although most English versions translate Herod’s seat as ‘throne’, the Greek phrase is ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.³³² The emperor was also represented as a judge, and he travelled around the provinces to dispense justice.³³³ In 114-115 CE, for example, Trajan was in Antioch. Dio Cassius points out that ‘many soldiers and many civilians had flocked thither from all sides in connexion with law-suits, embassies, business or sightseeing’

³²⁸ Charles H. Talbert, *Reading John: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles*, 2nd ed. (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2005), 249; Brown, *Death*, 2.1392. De la Potterie argues for their being intertwined in the Johannine trial narrative without noting that they would not have been considered separate themes in antiquity (‘Jésus’, 238-42).

³²⁹ Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 2’, 7. Lincoln explains that “‘king’ as a title has been subordinated to witness (cf. 18:37)”; however, he also notes the Hebrew Bible references that join the two, such as Is 11:1-10 (*Truth*, 135). Kings (or would-be kings) of Israel were clearly expected to judge (e.g., 2 Sam 15:4; 1 Kings 7:7; Prov 20:8). Meeks only briefly discusses the ‘juridical aspect of Moses’ mission’ and omits any reference to Ex 18:13 or indeed Acts 7:27, 35 (*Prophet-King*, 306-307). However, in the latter, Moses is explicitly called ‘ruler and judge’, so the role of judge was clearly a part of the Israelite tradition about him.

³³⁰ Lincoln, *Truth*, 193-207.

³³¹ Jan G. van der Watt, *Family of the King: Dynamics of Metaphor in the Gospel According to John*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Rolf Rendtorff, BibInt 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 409.

³³² Exceptions include the New American Bible and New American Standard, (rostrum), New English Translation (judgment seat), and New Revised Standard (platform).

³³³ Bernard Stolte, ‘Jurisdiction and the Representation of Power, or the Emperor on Circuit’, in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476)*, Netherlands Institute in Rome, March 20-23, 2002, ed. Lukas de Blois et al. (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 2003), 261-68 (262); Millar, *Emperor*, 528-30.

(*Roman History* 68.24.1-2).³³⁴ For Roman-aware auditors such an image would be part of the cultural unit of βασιλεύς and thus was available to form part of the hidden transcript in the Johannine trial narrative that dresses Jesus up in the robes of an emperor. Thus, there is no reason why presenting Jesus as a βασιλεύς would not entail seating him on a βῆμα.

At the narrative level, then, Pilate sits on his judgement seat and continues to refuse to commit himself on a local matter. The ambiguity of the verb καθίζω allows John to express a second meaning, making Jesus appear as judge, a typical role for a Roman *imperator*.³³⁵ As noted above, the second meaning tends to negate the first, so the point of arrival for this discussion is that the Gospel of John portrays in a hidden transcript that it is Jesus, not Pilate, who is judge—a conclusion that is supported by Jesus’ self-control, his questioning of Pilate, and one that has already been endorsed by many scholars.³³⁶ The additional element brought in by the arguments above is that seating Jesus as a judge, since judging was part of the Roman cultural unit of *imperator*, adds another example of Jesus portrayed as the emperor, repeated throughout the trial.³³⁷

6.2.2.5. Scene A’: John 19:12b-18 (cont.)

After the dramatic build-up of verses 13 and 14a, one expects two important elements of a trial, ‘die Feststellung, daß der Angeklagte eines bestimmten Vergehens schuldig ist, und die Angabe, welche Strafe er dafür erhält’.³³⁸ So the Johannine Pilate’s words, ‘Behold your king!’, come as something of a surprise.³³⁹ For Blinzler, the solution is to regard this as

³³⁴ Millar, *Emperor*, 38. See also Seneca, *Controv.* 10.14; Suetonius, *Vit.* 9; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.5.4 §124-31; Millar, *Emperor*, 229; see, further, 528-37.

³³⁵ Barrett, Bond and Ashton also take this verse to be intentionally ambiguous (Barrett, *Gospel*, 544; Ashton, *Understanding*, 227-28; Bond, *Pilate*, 190 n. 105). Brant suggests this possibility as well (*John*, 249). For more on the ambiguity inherent in a hidden transcript, see Sections 1.3.2 and 5.1.4.

³³⁶ See list above, Section 6.2.2.2 n. 226.

³³⁷ De la Potterie concludes that this reversal of judges serves John’s purpose in presenting Jesus as judge pronouncing a negative judgement on ‘the Jews’ who reject him as king. This judgement, according to de la Potterie, is brought to completion at the cross (‘Jésus’, 240-42). Section 7.1.4 will discuss the effect of having ‘the Jews’ pronounce the verdict and sentence against Jesus. All that is asserted for the moment is that John uses ambiguity in 19:13 to communicate in a hidden transcript that Jesus, like Caesar, has a judicial role.

³³⁸ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 351.

³³⁹ De la Potterie, ‘Jésus’, 234. He notes that this absence ‘a été fort bien senti par l’auteur des *Actes de Pilate* (recension B), qui ajoute au récit évangélique une condamnation en bonne et due forme’ (235-36,

an abbreviation for '[d]ieser hat sich als König der Juden ausgegeben', thus providing the declaration of guilt and the particular offense; the latter is repeated on the *titulus* (19:19-22).³⁴⁰ However, Roman law, as has been noted, does not regard simply posing as a king to be an offense. Furthermore, Pilate goes on to question 'the Jews' again: Τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω; (v. 15).³⁴¹ Thus, βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν does not seem to function as a verdict.³⁴² Perhaps, as Zabala suggests, to look for a verdict in a narrative not intended as historical is 'otiose'.³⁴³ He interprets Pilate's words only on the 'theological' level.³⁴⁴ Yet, although the focus of the Johannine trial does not seem primarily historical, it is not uniquely theological either. At the narrative level, Pilate has been reluctant to judge a matter without cause but has used the trial in service of his appraisal of Jewish loyalties. So he takes one last opportunity to see the reaction of 'the Jews' to the declaration of Jesus as βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν and then watches as 'the Jews' pronounce the sentence (v. 15a) and the chief priests affirm their own loyalty to Rome (v. 15b).³⁴⁵

This analysis of the conversation at the narrative level brings into question Piper's assertion that once 'the Jews' challenge Pilate's loyalty 'Pilate now has no way out'.³⁴⁶ It is

emphasis original). This may be the case, but the uncertainty in dating this passage makes it unclear whether this reaction should be attributed to the second century, or a later author ('Pilate, Acts of', *ODCC* 1295). De la Potterie adds that, after such a dramatic build-up, one might expect the Johannine Pilate to pronounce a verdict that is at least clear (237). However, I am reluctant to build arguments on unsupported expectations. Blinzler calls the addition in the *Acts of Pilate* only a clarification, not an insertion, but this seems like special pleading (*Prozess*, 350).

³⁴⁰ Blinzler, *Prozess*, 350. Furthermore, to argue that Ἰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν is the verdict because Pilate is seated ἐπὶ βήματος is to introduce circularity into the discussion (356). The phrase on the *titulus* will be discussed in Section 6.2.2.6.

³⁴¹ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 235.

³⁴² Pace, e.g., Carter who designates 19:12-16a 'Pilate pronounces sentence' and comments that 'Pilate condemns Jesus' (*John*, 309). Indeed, Jesus is certainly condemned, but only implicitly in verse 16.

³⁴³ Zabala, 'Enigma, Part 2', 2-3. See, similarly, Verheyden, 'De la Potterie', 836.

³⁴⁴ Zabala, 'Enigma, Part 2', 3.

³⁴⁵ Thus, I agree with de la Potterie that this declaration of Pilate's has 'un tout autre sens', both, in my view, a continuation of Pilate's test of loyalty but also, with de la Potterie, 'une prophétie inconsciente' ('Jésus', 235, 240). The phrase can, then, along with 18:33, 39; 19:3, 19-22, be termed irony, further supporting the division into two layers of meaning, one of which I have called a hidden transcript (Duke, *Irony*, 89). Blinzler, too, although he argues that Ἰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν is the verdict in abbreviated form, notes that in the subsequent dialogue, Pilate 'hämmt ... den Juden ins Bewußtsein und Gedächtnis, daß die Verurteilung ihres Königs auf ihr eignes, ausdrückliches Verlangen und damit auf ihre Verantwortung hin erfolgt' (*Prozess*, 350). This response of 'the Jews' in verse 15, then, I think, can be construed as the verdict and sentence. For more on the way John nuances this responsibility, see Sections 7.1.5, 7.2.3 and 7.2.5.

³⁴⁶ Piper, 'Characterisation', 152.

true that the accusation by ‘the Jews’ in verse 12b requires Pilate to publicly demonstrate his own loyalty, which seals Jesus’ fate. However, as has been argued above, Pilate’s primary way forward from the beginning has been to ascertain the loyalty of the province.³⁴⁷ Carter, on the other hand, concludes that ‘John’s Pilate is an efficient and powerful governor who in crucifying Jesus protects Rome’s interests against this threat’.³⁴⁸ Yet this chapter has argued that it is not Jesus himself but the possibility of sedition that is threatening to Rome and therefore to Pilate’s interests. When he weighs the need to portray his own loyalty to Caesar before Jesus or before ‘the Jews’, Jesus, who says nothing more, becomes expendable. Neither his fate nor his guilt is ‘a matter of much consequence for Pilate’.³⁴⁹ ‘The Jews’ and Pilate both achieve their objectives.

The previous chapter of this study discussed the connection between truth and hidden transcripts: veiled meanings allow marginalized groups to express their truth publically.³⁵⁰ The strand of the hidden transcript that dresses Jesus in the emperor’s clothes rises to a crescendo as the comparison is repeated three times in two verses: ἴδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ... τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω; ... οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα (v. 14-15).³⁵¹ And to translate βασιλεὺς as king in 19:14-15, with its overt mention of Caesar, seems particularly ill-advised.³⁵² Thus, in the contest between Pilate and ‘the Jews’ as it is depicted in this Gospel, it seems, according to his imperial portrayal, that Jesus wins.³⁵³ Indeed, ‘Pilate is not really the focal figure’ in John 18—19.³⁵⁴ Thus, although this chapter of the study has focused on Pilate, Jesus will come into view more clearly in the analysis in Chapter 7.

³⁴⁷ Section 6.1.2.

³⁴⁸ Carter, *John*, 311; see, similarly, 139, 308-309.

³⁴⁹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 129.

³⁵⁰ Section 5.1.4.

³⁵¹ Section 5.1.4.

³⁵² Bekken, too, on different grounds, agrees with this proposal (*Lawsuit*, 247). For a description of his proposal, see Section 2.1.3.

³⁵³ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 146, 159-60.

³⁵⁴ Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 597. Tolmie argues this on the basis of the ‘large number of empty spaces’ in his characterization. While I have attempted to fill in these spaces on the basis of the Roman encyclopaedia, that does not preclude him from being correct.

Admittedly, if Pilate and ‘the Jews’ are the losers, at least in the hidden transcript, John still makes ‘the Jews’ the biggest losers. For Pilate, when ‘the Jews’ question his loyalty in 19:12, they provoke him to crucify Jesus, something he has not been particularly interested in doing, especially once the possibility of his connection to Rome has been raised. However, for ‘the Jews’, Pilate’s test of their loyalty ‘*provides the occasion* for their dramatic abandonment of loyalty to their God’ although, as Piper notes, ‘it does not *force it*’.³⁵⁵ And this final pronouncement, ‘We have no king but Caesar’, seems an odd victory for them to have achieved.³⁵⁶ Rensberger, indeed, regards it as a victory for Pilate.³⁵⁷ This distribution of responsibility condemns the *betrayor* over the *enforcer*, not the *Jew* over the *Roman*.³⁵⁸ This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Verses 16-18 could almost form a section of their own as both v. 16b and v. 18 are narrative remarks expressing almost the same thing: Jesus is crucified. In between, however, is the walk to the cross. Only ‘the crucifixion in John is Jesus’ triumph’, and this imagery, noted by Keener but not explored, relates to Roman notions of triumph as well as the English cultural unit of triumph (victory) to which Keener refers.³⁵⁹ Indeed, the walk towards the crucifixion at Golgotha shows similarities to a triumphal march that would end at the Capitoline Hill. Allan Georgia (and T. E. Schmidt on whom the lexical connection between Capitoline and Golgotha depends) addresses this possibility for Mark, noting that *κρανίον*, ‘skull’, translates *capitolinus*, an adjective related to the Latin word for ‘head’: *caput*, *-itis*.³⁶⁰ Schmidt connects this (along with Golgotha) to the story of the unearthed ‘human head’ that, according to Livy, gave the Capitolium its name (Livy 1.55.5).³⁶¹ In the Gospel of John,

³⁵⁵ Piper, ‘Characterisation’, 152, emphasis original.

³⁵⁶ Bond, *Pilate*, 183, 191-92.

³⁵⁷ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 92.

³⁵⁸ See Section 7.2.3.

³⁵⁹ Keener, *John*, 2.1133.

³⁶⁰ Allan T. Georgia, ‘Translating the Triumph: Reading Mark’s Crucifixion Narrative against a Roman Ritual of Power’, *JSNT* 36 (2013): 17-38 (32); Schmidt, ‘Mark’, 10-11.

³⁶¹ Schmidt admits that ‘[t]his may be a linguistic and historical coincidence, but to an audience prepared by the context to look for double meanings, it would be a glaring and meaningful coincidence’ (‘Mark’, 10-11). Certainly, the auditors of John are prepared for double meanings, but whether they would be

even the word order of \wp^{66} (εις το[π]ον λεγομεν[ον κρανι]ου), separating as it does τοπον from κρανιου, supports the possibility that it is κρανιου alone that is the name: ‘he went out to the place called “of the Skull”’.³⁶² Furthermore, the better-attested word order, εις τον λεγόμενον κρανίου τόπον, does not preclude this translation. Thus, this adnominal genitive ‘with the function of an adjective’ points nicely to the adjective *capitolinus*.³⁶³ A reference to the Capitoline Hill in the walk to the cross (19:17-18), with Jesus still dressed in the robe and crown of the triumph, present him in the ambiguous role of *imperator* and sacrifice, the glorified condemned.³⁶⁴

The ‘victory, the lauding of a conquering general and assertion of his (momentary) divinity, ... the brutal execution’ all find their counterparts either in the hidden transcript (Jesus’ clothes and the soldiers’ acclamations in 19:1-5) or the narrative (the crucifixion in 19:18).³⁶⁵ Allan Georgia suggests that in Mark, ‘the category of kingship itself is being maneuvered’ by combining Jewish and Roman referents.³⁶⁶ In the Johannine trial narrative,

equally familiar with the Capitolium is less certain. However, knowledge of the Capitoline Hill was not restricted to those who had been to Rome. In the army, ‘the shrine which housed the legionary standards and imperial and divine images’ was placed ‘[i]n the centre of the camp, at the rear of the headquarters building’ and ‘is actually called a Capitolium on one inscription [35 *AE* (1989) 581 (A.D. 208) from Aalen]’ (Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 326). Furthermore, Capitoline Jupiter was honoured on the Capitoline Hill by various cities of Asia Minor [Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 158; see also for offerings on the Capitoline Hill from British allies Fergus Millar, ‘Emperors, Frontiers and Foreign Relations, 31 B.C. to A.D. 378’, *Britannia* 13 (1982): 1-23 (11)]. *Municipia* (‘where local citizens had the so-called “Latin right” and some even full Roman citizenship’) also built Capitolia and ‘on more than one occasion we can see the building of a Capitolium as part of a claim for Roman status (rather than a boast of Roman status already acquired)’ (Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 334-35). There were Capitolia in Oxyrhynchus, Jerusalem and possibly in Syrian Antioch [Josephine Crawley Quinn, and Andrew Wilson, ‘Capitolia’, *JRS* 103 (2013): 117-173 (149)]. Knowledge of the Capitoline Hill in Rome might further spread through the knowledge that the Jewish tax after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem was ‘for the rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome’ (Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 341). Note that Alexander (Aristobulus), ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς, gifted Pompey with an inscribed golden vine that was eventually ‘set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome’ (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.3.1 §36, [Marcus & Wikgren, LCL]). However, there is no way to determine how widely this was known. See also the related *capitolia* in Vergil’s *Aeneid* 8.653.

³⁶² Pace Barrett who translates the phrase as ‘Skull-place’ (*Gospel*, 548).

³⁶³ BDF §162.

³⁶⁴ See, for example, Gniesmer who points out that ‘[d]ie ganze weitere Erzählung hindurch bis zur Kreuzigung bleibt Jesus der Dornengekrönte im Spottgewand’ (*Prozeß*, 280). For more on the triumph, see Section 5.1.2. For a discussion of previous suggestions that John refers to a historical practice of killing kings, see Section 5.1.3.

³⁶⁵ Georgia, ‘Translating’, 22.

³⁶⁶ Georgia, ‘Translating’, 22.

this manoeuvring can be seen in the tension between the hidden transcript that dresses Jesus in the emperor's symbols and the narrative that describes Jesus' humiliation.³⁶⁷ John Ashton suggests that the Johannine trial narrative should not even be called a 'passion'—and this is certainly evident in this final scene.³⁶⁸ The act of crucifixion (v. 18), like the scourging, is described very briefly in only a few words.³⁶⁹ The Gospel quickly moves on to narrate events surrounding the *titulus*.³⁷⁰

6.2.2.6. *Scene X': John 19:19-22*

The jolting juxtaposition of Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων and the crucified man is perhaps obscured for modern readers of the Gospel because of its familiarity. However, what it emphasizes is the conjunction of the power and vulnerability of Jesus in his witness to God, a motif that will be explored in the next chapter of this study. Some have suggested that this title was forced on John since, although it was not carried forward in church tradition, it is a central part of all of the passion narratives (Mark 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26; Matt 27:11, 29, 37; Luke 23:3, 36, 38; John 18:33, 39; 19:3, 19, 21).³⁷¹ So, although John often appears to use the tradition quite freely, perhaps he felt more constrained with regard to the title nailed on the cross.³⁷² Of interest in Scene X', however, is the use that the Fourth Gospel makes of the title, whether it was forced on the narrative from historical events or not.

³⁶⁷ There is even tension in 19:17, where Jesus carries his cross (humiliation), but carries it himself (strength). For these two views, although expressed separately, see Koester, 'Why', 164 n. 4; Brown, *John*, 2.917; Keener, *John*, 2.1134; Moloney, *Love*, 141. Brown cites 10:18 as support.

³⁶⁸ Ashton, *Understanding*, 489; see, similarly, 493.

³⁶⁹ Brown, *John*, 2.900; Moloney, *John*, 502.

³⁷⁰ Other authors have mentioned, too, the positioning of Jesus in the centre, between two 'others' whose identity as ληστής is not mentioned, thus raising the possibility that he has an entourage (Senior, *Passion*, 103; Wright, 'Governor', 267). This is a possibility but one that must be supplied by the rest of the context since the verse itself (v. 18) does nothing to hinder and yet nothing to suggest that.

³⁷¹ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 474. For Lincoln, the possibility that it was 'forced on early Christian tradition' explains why John uses it despite the fact that the 'title, the King of the Jews, was not one derived from Jewish messianic expectation'. See further on this below in this section.

³⁷² He seems to have expanded it, at least from the Synoptics, but whether this is because he was following another tradition or because he felt free to expand the Synoptic tradition but not to restrict or alter it in this instance is beyond the scope of this study.

The first phrase in the inscription, Jesus the Nazarene (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος), is a reminder of Jesus' conversation with Nathanael at the beginning of the Gospel (1:43-51). The man from Nazareth, from whence nothing good can come (1:46), is now, as Nathanael saw, the Son of God and the King of Israel.³⁷³ Nevertheless, to specify that he is the *Nazarene* Jesus also fits within the Roman cultural unit of a Roman governor. Pilate has crucified the man that his soldiers went to arrest (18:5, 7), that is, a specific Jesus of local provenance. 'John may simply be giving us the full legal identification of Jesus'.³⁷⁴

Pilate's motive within the narrative may be twofold: To proclaim that, as best he could determine, he has crucified a local man (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος) that he suspected of being seditious.³⁷⁵ Yet the second half of the inscription allows him to express his responsibility to Rome with a dramatic demonstration of the fate of Jesus, in case there remain any who want to follow him.³⁷⁶ This is not (*pace* Tolmie) simply 'contempt for "the Jews"'.³⁷⁷ For de la Potterie, 'l'affirmation publique de la royauté de Jésus par l'inscription fut comme une dernière avance faite aux Juifs'.³⁷⁸ Some, such as de la Potterie, understand such an 'avance' as an offer to believe in Jesus.³⁷⁹ However, at the narrative level, it is an advance against any possible remaining rebels.³⁸⁰

The 'Jews', however, must now defend their own loyalty to Caesar and argue that the wording should be changed.³⁸¹ They wish to distance themselves from any loyalty to

³⁷³ See Section 4.4.1. 'Israel' as opposed to 'Jews' will be discussed further in Section 7.1.3.

³⁷⁴ Brown, *John*, 2.901.

³⁷⁵ Note that local provenance does not necessarily imply a lack of importance. Many people were known by their origins, for example Apollonius of Tyana. But local provenance in the same location does somewhat lessen the likelihood of Roman connections and provides plausible deniability for Pilate as he has simply crucified the exact person he was asked to arrest.

³⁷⁶ Tom Thatcher, "'I Have Conquered the World': The Death of Jesus and the End of Empire in the Gospel of John", in *Empire in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, McMaster Divinity College Press New Testament Study Series 10 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 140-63 (152).

³⁷⁷ Tolmie, 'Pontius', 596.

³⁷⁸ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 242.

³⁷⁹ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 242.

³⁸⁰ Carter, *John*, 310.

³⁸¹ See Carter on the way Pilate's wording challenges the loyalty of 'the Jews' (*John*, 310). Brown (*John*, 2.902) thinks the imperfect in 19:21 'has conative force' and translates it as 'tried to tell' whereas I see it more as iterative—'kept telling' (BDR §325-326).

Jesus that Pilate's version of the sign might impute to them.³⁸² At the same time, by putting the claim to the title onto Jesus, they communicate the hubris that the Fourth Gospel has repeatedly shown Jesus declining (6:15; 13:4). Carter notes that the phrasing of the request of 'the Jews' for the new placard (ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, Βασιλεύς εἰμι τῶν Ἰουδαίων) mirrors other εἰμι sayings in the Gospel (cf. John 6:35; 8:12; 10:9, 11: 11:25; 14:6; 15:1) and makes 'the Jews', like Pilate, unconsciously proclaim the truth about Jesus.³⁸³ Yet the pronoun ἐγώ, present in all the other 'I am' statements, is missing in John 19:20.³⁸⁴ Furthermore, the Greek word order emphasizes not εἰμι but βασιλεύς.³⁸⁵ Additionally, the petition of 'the Jews' is denied. Pilate prevents them from enacting their will; the text sets the two wills in opposition to each other, and Pilate and 'the Jews' do not become allies.³⁸⁶ Finally, even if their request had been granted, the *titulus* would not become an unconscious proclamation of Jesus by 'the Jews' but a proclamation attributed to Jesus himself (cf. 19:7, 12). For these reasons, I would not count 19:21 among John's εἰμι statements.

Pilate then seals the declaration that Jesus is ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων with his last words to the chief priests: ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα.³⁸⁷ There may be a parallel with 1 Macc 13:38: καὶ ὅσα ἐστήσαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔστηκεν ('and as much as we have set up for you, it has been set', author translation); however, in that passage, the conciseness of an epigram is missing.³⁸⁸ In contrast, the Johannine phrase is 'laconic' and it can easily 'be rendered into a Latin epigram worthy of an authoritarian prefect: *Quod scripsi, scripsi*'.³⁸⁹ It might resonate in such a way for Roman-aware auditors. In any case, it certainly puts a note of

³⁸² Neyrey suggests that the proposed version of the *titulus* implies that 'Jesus vaingloriously assumes honors not rightfully his (19:7, 12)' (*Cultural*, 432).

³⁸³ Carter, *John*, 310.

³⁸⁴ On the metaphor of kingship, see van der Watt, *Family*, 378.

³⁸⁵ Cf. 6:35 and see BDR §472-73.

³⁸⁶ Pace Carter, *John*, 310. The text does, however, recategorize their identities, but that is a different process (see Section 7.1.4).

³⁸⁷ Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.272; Sheppard, 'Gospel of John', 172.

³⁸⁸ Brown, *John*, 2.902.

³⁸⁹ Brown, *Death*, 2.965. Evans suggests, somewhat similarly, that these are 'words sounding like official witness to a document' (*Explorations*, 61).

finality on the scene.³⁹⁰ Pilate has determined that the élite ‘Jews’ are loyal to Caesar, and the cross and its *titulus* allow Pilate to prove his own loyalty to Rome.

What of the figurative level of this scene, that which has been described in this thesis as the hidden transcript? What would Roman-aware Jesus-believers have heard? Many scholars view the gospel narratives of Jesus’ crucifixion as projecting an image of ‘enthronement’ (or ‘coronation’) because of the *titulus* that proclaims his title to the world: ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.³⁹¹ The ‘two others’ (v. 18) mentioned in the previous scene are then taken as Jesus’ retinue.³⁹² This tendency is especially strong for the Fourth Gospel where the crucifixion is described at various points in the narrative as Jesus’ lifting up (ὑψόω; 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34) and glorification (δοξάζω; 12:23-34), and the *titulus* is inscribed in all three languages of the world (19:22).³⁹³

However, while it is possible that the crucifixion scene, when heard by auditors using a Jewish or Greek encyclopaedia, might be interpreted as an enthronement, there is no evidence of such a ceremony in Rome.³⁹⁴ This is not to say that the image of a ruler seated with a wreath above his head was not known. It was.³⁹⁵ However, it showed the emperor as the victor, in a context that pointed to a Roman triumph, rather than what is normally meant in an English-language encyclopaedia by the verb ‘to enthrone’: to ‘install (a monarch or bishop) on a throne, especially during a ceremony to mark the beginning of their rule’.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁰ Sheppard, ‘Gospel of John’, 172.

³⁹¹ Brown, *John*, 2.919; Zabala, ‘Enigma, Part 1’, 18; Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.247; Ashton, *Understanding*, 489; Schmidt, ‘Mark’, 14; Kierspel, *Jews*, 70; Salier, ‘Jesus’, 297; Carter, *John*, 310; Wright, ‘Governor’, 263-74.

³⁹² E.g., Wright, ‘Governor’, 267. Although Schmidt lists examples of Roman emperors seated between two other men, they seem rather haphazard (‘Mark’, 15). Kings and emperors are usually accompanied by others, not only in triumphs or enthronements, and not only two. (See, for example, Augustus, who placed just one man beside himself in an official announcement from a βῆμα [Plutarch, *Mor.* 207.3], or his entrance into Rome at night when he was avoiding a large group of people who would surround him with petitions and acclamation [Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 54.10.4]).

³⁹³ Ashton, *Understanding*, 493, 495; Catrin H. Williams, ‘Another Look at “Lifting up” in the Gospel of John’, in *Conception, Reception, and the Spirit: Essays in Honor of Andrew T. Lincoln*, ed. J. G. McConville and Lloyd Pietersen (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2015), 58-70. Specifically on glorification, see Joel Marcus, ‘Crucifixion as Parodic Exaltation’, *JBL* 125.1 (2006): 73-87 (74-75).

³⁹⁴ See Section 5.1.3.

³⁹⁵ Zanker, *Power*, 230-33.

³⁹⁶ ‘enthronement’, *ODE*.

Although a Roman encyclopaedia provides no cultural unit that would allow the crucifixion to be interpreted as an enthronement, another Roman cultural unit might be ‘blown up’ by the Johannine language for the cross, that of apotheosis.³⁹⁷ Indeed, a dream of crucifixion was thought to predict a turn of fortune for the better, because of the polysemy of ὑψόω.³⁹⁸ In its earlier uses (John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34), this cultural unit connecting crucifixion with being raised to a place of honour was activated. The analogy is not perfect since the resurrection brings Jesus back to earth before his ascension to heaven.³⁹⁹ However, when Catrin Williams examines ὑψόω as a ‘*double entendre*’ in the Fourth Gospel, she concludes that the word, in one sense, ‘is no more than [Jesus’] physical “lifting up” on the cross, but, for those with eyes to “see”, it signifies his exaltation to the Father’s presence’.⁴⁰⁰ This second level, then, ‘with a view to the vertical-spatial perspective of John’s “lifting up” imagery [means that] Jesus’ ascent “from the earth” (12:32) involves his elevation to, and oneness with, the Father’.⁴⁰¹ This adds to Ashton’s discussion of ὑψόω and δοξάζω in which he suggests that ‘[t]he Christian believer is not expected to see the crucifixion as a kind of exaltation or glorification but to *see past* the physical reality of Jesus’ death to its true significance: the reascent of the Son of Man to his true home in heaven’.⁴⁰² It is possible, then, that Roman-aware auditors might, in this ‘lifting up’ of Jesus, hear a reference to the apotheosis of an emperor.

³⁹⁷ Other encyclopaedias of the second century CE, such as a Jewish, Greek, Syrian or Egyptian encyclopaedia, might provide a cultural unit for an enthronement that would fit John’s description, but interpreters must be careful not to read later Roman or mediaeval ceremonies into ancient rituals. See Section 5.1.3.

³⁹⁸ Meeks, ‘Man’, 62 n. 63; Justin J. Meggitt, ‘Artemidorus and the Johannine Crucifixion’, *Journal of Higher Criticism* 5 (1998): 203-208. For an image of apotheosis from Ephesus, see Tilborg, *Reading*, 40-41.

³⁹⁹ Carter, *John*, 318. Carter also argues that ‘the Gospel evokes apotheosis only, finally, to reject it’ because of the Fourth Gospel’s claims for Jesus’ uniqueness, and because of ‘its rejection of any attempts to make oneself a god or to let oneself be made a god (5:19; 10:33)’. The uniqueness of Jesus will be discussed in the next chapter (Section 7.2.1). However, John 5:19 does not preclude Jesus’ deity and John 10:33 is immediately contradicted by Jesus’ response (10:34-38). Conway, on the other hand, does connect the resurrection with an apotheosis (*Behold*, 149).

⁴⁰⁰ Williams, ‘Another Look’, 58, 70.

⁴⁰¹ Williams, ‘Another Look’, 69.

⁴⁰² Ashton, *Understanding*, 496, emphasis original. See, similarly, Udo Schnelle, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), 699.

Apotheosis (ἀποθείωσις), or *consecratio* in Latin, came after the death of an emperor (unless he was remembered as a tyrant) and was instituted by ‘resolutions of the people and the Senate’.⁴⁰³ Some historians have focused on the eagle that was released from the emperor’s funeral pyre to signify that the emperor’s soul was carried to the heavens.⁴⁰⁴ Whether this was actually practised in the first century CE is disputed.⁴⁰⁵ Instead, a witness of some spontaneous event (such as a comet or the form of the emperor himself) was needed to verify that the apotheosis had taken place (cf. Suetonius, *Jul.* 88; *Aug.* 100.4).⁴⁰⁶ Simon Price points to 112 CE as the date when Marciana, the sister of Trajan, ‘was granted the title of *diva* before the funeral’.⁴⁰⁷ He therefore takes this to be the *terminus ante quem* for the need for a witness to a sign for deification. Duncan Fishwick, on the other hand, uses the lack of reference to witnesses after the funeral of Drusilla in 38 CE to decide on that date as *terminus post quem*, after which a witness was not used.⁴⁰⁸ In any case, the release of the eagle was only done in conjunction with imperial funeral pyres, which ‘were not important until the mid-second century’.⁴⁰⁹ So at the time of the final composition of the Fourth Gospel, the focus was more on the witness to demonstrate an apotheosis than on the eagle to symbolize one.

⁴⁰³ Elias Bickerman, ‘*Consecratio*’, in *Le culte des souverains dans l’Empire Romain*, ed. Willem den Boer, Entretiens Sur L’antiquité classique 19 (Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 1973); Klauck, *Context*, 293; Drew J. Strait, ‘Proclaiming Another King Named Jesus? The Acts of the Apostles and the Roman Imperial Cult(s)’, in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 130-45 (135). Strait notes the importance of ‘behavior’ to demonstrate the appropriateness of a *consecratio*. He also points out that in the Book of Acts, there is no vote. In the Gospel of John, there is no vote either. However, if one extends the witnesses in the narrative (see below) to the witnesses among the Jesus-believers (15:27), the vote might be the decision of the community.

⁴⁰⁴ E.g., Carter, following Gradel (Carter, *John*, 317, 320; Gradel, *Emperor*, 305-320). However, Gradel is mistaken to take representations of an apotheosis as evidence of practice.

⁴⁰⁵ Peter Michael Swan, *Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio’s Roman History Books 55-56 (9 B. C.-A. D. 14)*, ed. Donald J. Mastronarde, *American Classical Studies* 47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 343-44.

⁴⁰⁶ Klauck, *Context*, 293, 305. This witness was satirized by Seneca (*Apol.* 1). Suetonius mentions a comet but as a portent of Vespasian’s death, not as evidence of his deification (*Vesp.* 23.4).

⁴⁰⁷ Simon Price, ‘From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors’, in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 56-105 (92).

⁴⁰⁸ Duncan Fishwick, ‘The Deification of Claudius’, *CIQ* 52.1 (2002): 341-49 (348 n. 43).

⁴⁰⁹ Price, ‘From’, 93-95.

After Augustus, deification was increasingly practised, and not only for emperors. Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan and Hadrian deified the previous emperors, but also other relatives such as mothers and sisters.⁴¹⁰ Lynn Cohick has, in this respect, argued that to posit ‘a contest between “gods”, Caesar and Jesus’ in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians is to miss the deification of other members of the imperial family, notably ‘Livia, Augustus’ wife’.⁴¹¹ She proposes that ‘it was the power, influence and benefaction of the family, not simply the power of the ruler, which was venerated’.⁴¹² Certainly, the veneration of the imperial family was important, as was their influence and benefaction. However, in the Gospel of John, several elements must be disentangled. First, the initial comparison between Jesus and Caesar comes before Jesus’ crucifixion (starting with John 18:36-37), and so does not centre only on his death.⁴¹³ Unlike, perhaps, in Philippians, Jesus is described in terms of his power, authority and rule (e.g., 4:43-54; 5:27; 18:36).⁴¹⁴ Secondly, the deification of one person does not detract from the deification of another. The apotheosis of an emperor might provide a helpful Sign with which to communicate the crucifixion of Jesus, whether other people were deified or not. After all, each emperor was deified, in turn, on the model of a previous emperor, even though family members might be deified in between. And because Jesus was a man, he could more easily provide a point of comparison with male members of the imperial family—the emperor, specifically, in the Fourth Gospel, because of such imperial accoutrements as the purple robe.

Yet did it? The Fourth Gospel describes no event that might signal such an abductive turn to Roman-aware hearers. Furthermore, the verb *ὑψόω* is not used at all in the Johannine

⁴¹⁰ Price, ‘From’, 87; Griffin, ‘Flavians’, 47, 54, 56-58; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, ‘Religion’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 984-1008 (987-88); Klauck, *Context*, 309, 312.

⁴¹¹ Lynn H. Cohick, ‘Philippians and Empire: Paul’s Engagement with Imperialism and the Imperial Cult’, in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 166-82 (173-74).

⁴¹² Cohick, ‘Philippians’, 174.

⁴¹³ Section 4.2.

⁴¹⁴ See Sections 4.4.2 and 7.2.5.

description of Jesus' crucifixion (19:16-30), though previous uses of ὑψόω have established that Jesus would be *lifted up* like 'Moses lifted the snake in the wilderness' (3:14), that he would be lifted by 'the Jews' (8:28), and this to 'draw all people to [him]self' (12:32). Once the Roman encyclopaedia is activated in the Johannine trial narrative, these previous statements might cause Roman-aware auditors to interpret the crucifixion as evidence of a *consecratio*, with the cross as the means of Jesus' elevation.

If so, in this interpretant, 'the Jews' passing by become witnesses (19:20). These witnesses are, after all, reading the *titulus* as they see his elevation, combining 'king of the Jews' with the languages of the world. Although as mentioned above, witnesses were not actually used in imperial deifications after sometime in the late first century CE, Christian authors continued to refer to them. Justin Martyr, for example, first compares what Christians say, 'that the Word, who is the first-birth of God, was produced without sexual union, and that He, Jesus Christ, our Teacher, was crucified and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven' to 'what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Jupiter' (*Apology* 1.21).⁴¹⁵ He lists Mercury, Asclepius, Bacchus, Hercules, the sons of Leda, and Dioscuri, Perseus, Bellerophon and Ariadne. Then, he goes on, 'And what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification, and in whose behalf you produce someone who swears he has seen the burning Caesar rise to heaven from the funeral pyre?'⁴¹⁶ Jesus is not burned, so the reference to the cultural unit of apotheosis is not perfect. However, is it possible that, from a Roman-aware perspective, 'the Jews' in John 19:20 become witnesses to Jesus' apotheosis.

Yet what of the title given him on the *titulus*? For Jesus to be declared ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων is, as was discussed *à propos* John 19:2-5, to hide the βασιλεύς-imperator

⁴¹⁵ Translation from Alexander Roberts, and James Donaldson, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A. D. 325* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950).

⁴¹⁶ Translation from Roberts, and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene*. Tatian and Tertullian mention these witnesses as well, but the one to make fun of them and the other to place them in hell (Tatian, *ad Graecos* 10.2; Tertullian, *de Spectaculis* 30.3; Price, 'From', 92 n. 70).

connection within a hidden transcript.⁴¹⁷ The negation of a local, cultural unit for the title is especially evident in John 19:19-20 since the *titulus* is inscribed in all three languages of the Jewish first- and second-century CE linguistic world. However, a local cultural unit is not the same as a Jewish one. If a βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, for the Romans, was a local king, God as king within the Jewish encyclopaedia was not local.⁴¹⁸ As this gospel makes clear, ‘[t]o honor the Son is to honor the Father (5:23); to reject the Son as King is to reject the one who sent him’ (cf. 19:15).⁴¹⁹ And God is ‘a great king over all the earth, king over the nations (Ps 47:2, 7-8).’⁴²⁰

6.3. Conclusion

The Roman reading presented in this chapter is not the only interpretant that can be posited for John 18:28—19:22.⁴²¹ The word πᾶσχα, for example, in John 18:28 and 19:14 frames most of this narrative, and, with its mention again in 18:39, keeps the Jewish backdrop of the Gospel in view even in this very Roman account.⁴²² Furthermore, βασιλεύς is quite a multivalent term and would be understood differently when heard within other encyclopaedias. Yet, if there is, as is often suggested, a ‘universal significance’ attributed by John to these events, it seems to be worked out in the trial narrative in relation to a Roman encyclopaedia.⁴²³ Indeed, although in the rest of the narrative, John frequently explains and translates terms/concepts for an audience unfamiliar with Aramaic words and Jewish practices (cf. 1:38, 41), John 19:13 and 17 seem to do the reverse—explain Roman locations for Aramaic speakers.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁷ Section 5.1.4.

⁴¹⁸ Thompson, *John*, 391. For an introduction to ‘messianic expectation’ in the first century CE, see Keener, *John*, 1.284-89.

⁴¹⁹ Thompson, *John*, 391; see, also, on this God-King connection in the Hebrew Bible, van der Watt, *Family*, 379-80.

⁴²⁰ Thompson, *John*, 391.

⁴²¹ See on ethical interpretations, Section 2.3.1.

⁴²² Lincoln, *Truth*, 203.

⁴²³ Lincoln, *Truth*, 124.

⁴²⁴ Pace Van Belle who categorizes them under ‘[t]raduction des mots hébreux ou araméens’ (*Parenthèses*, 106-107).

The early auditors of the Gospel of John, especially those with some embeddedness in their Roman surroundings would expect that (1) Pilate would crucify Jesus and that (2) Pilate's main concern would be to please Rome. A Roman interpretant highlights a Pilate who is both strong and weak, not manipulated by 'the Jews' (strong) but concerned about his future in the empire (weak).⁴²⁵ In general, although his words and actions have previously been taken as mockery, they have emerged in this study as a way to test loyalties, first those of Jesus and then those of 'the Jews'.

This conclusion is quite at home within the Gospel of John that, as a whole, asks for the loyalty of its hearers to Jesus.⁴²⁶ It is consonant with the 'trial settings' that Lincoln proposes for the Fourth Gospel as a whole, which 'become the vehicle for the exposure of the participants' motives and ultimate allegiances—those of Jesus and "the Jews" in both the public ministry and the Roman trial and those of Pilate in the latter'.⁴²⁷ Not noted before, however, is the way that Pilate also tests motives and allegiance—those of 'the Jews', who are ultimately loyal to Caesar, and those of Jesus whose only loyalty is to the other world (18:36), the truth (18:37), and the one above (19:11). Beyond this, this chapter has described a hidden transcript of Jesus, one who fulfils the cultural unit of a Roman emperor. Thus, while de la Potterie connects the seating at the *βῆμα* with the crucifixion to form a two-part judgement of the world, I have proposed a three-part triumph with Jesus in the dress of *imperator*, his seating as reigning judge, and his apotheosis as a Caesar.⁴²⁸ The further implications of this hidden transcript for ethnicity and power will be the focus of discussion in Chapter 7.

⁴²⁵ This clarifies the weak and strong elements that some analyses simply juxtapose (e.g., Koester, 'Why', 168-69).

⁴²⁶ On the connections between faith, faithfulness and loyalty, see, e.g., 'πίστις', BDAG 818-20; Horsley, and Thatcher, *John*, 140-41, 154.

⁴²⁷ Lincoln, *Truth*, 33.

⁴²⁸ De la Potterie, 'Jésus', 246.

7. A Hidden Transcript That Addresses Identity

Chapter 7 will not only gather the conclusions of earlier chapters but will do so by showing how the data uncovered in this thesis intersects with other analyses of the Fourth Gospel. These include discussions of ethnicity in antiquity, social-scientific analyses, postcolonial approaches, and debates about a Johannine community and about ethics. Ideas of present-day theologians and ethicists will occasionally be brought into the discussion, but those cited should be seen as representative of broader topics that lie outside the focus of this work.

First, this chapter will summarize ancient conceptions of ethnicity. Romans understood themselves as mandated by the gods to spread the gift of civilization. This self-understanding coheres at many points with the references to Jesus' followers in the Johannine trial narrative, as will be shown below. Lars Kierspel's analysis of the function of 'the Jews' in the Gospel will prove fruitful in analyzing how ethnicity 'works' in John 18:28—19:22. Specifically, John describes 'the Jews' and the Romans highlighting their own prioritization of law, while he recategorizes Roman and Jewish identities in order to prioritize loyalty to Jesus.

These issues of loyalty and law are prominent in the hidden transcript of the Fourth Gospel and lead naturally to a discussion of empire in the second half of the chapter. While some have posited that the Fourth Gospel rejects imperial values (both those of the Roman empire and those of colonizing empires in general), and others that it imposes them, this chapter will argue that it does both. More particularly, obedience to Roman law and Jewish *Torah* is not abolished but becomes the arena in which Jesus-believers have to negotiate behaviour within their primary loyalty to Jesus' empire, which has its own regulating agent: the Spirit.

Such negotiations may have occurred in the context of persecution, and this chapter proposes that while extensive evidence of widespread early persecution (by Jews or Romans) is lacking, the stories in circulation may have been sufficient to create a sense of

marginalization among John's audience. So the chapter will end by suggesting that John 18:28—19:22 provides not only the encyclopaedic resources to reframe persecution, but also a narrative that calls Jesus-believers with power in society to embrace vulnerability for the sake of Jesus' empire.

7.1. Ethnic Identity in John 18:28—19:22

Ethnicity in 'both its ancient and modern contexts is a powerful expression of the apparently pervasive human impulse toward social categorization and differentiation'.¹ Ethnicity 'creates a boundary in which cultural difference can develop' through 'categorization, identification and comparison'.² Identity 'markers' are used in this process.³ Thus, this analysis will proceed by first identifying three relevant identity markers from the Roman cultural encyclopaedia. Next, three Jewish markers from the first century CE will be briefly sketched out. The discussion will then turn to the Fourth Gospel to examine previous proposals on its characterization of the Ἰουδαῖοι. These discussions will provide the conceptual framework for examining the trial before Pilate again, analyzing the ways in which this narrative divides people into groups. While Jews would divide the world into Jews and gentiles, and Romans would divide the world into civilized and barbarian, the trial scene problematizes these ethnicities. John 18:28—19:22 recategorizes the labels of Roman and 'Jew.' The Fourth Gospel creates a new, superordinate ethnicity for Jesus-believers.

¹ Aaron Kuecker, 'Ethnicity and Social Identity', in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 59-77 (62).

² Kuecker, 'Ethnicity', 67, 69-72. These three processes could be compared to the elements of sect formation studies by Clark-Soles in order to extend the 'levels of tension' continuum that she proposes, setting churches, sects and cults within the broader category of social groups [*Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 62-63].

³ Kuecker, 'Ethnicity', 67.

7.1.1. Language and developing Roman identity

Language has been a factor (but not a determiner) of ethnicity from at least the time of the Greeks.⁴ Indeed, the very word ‘barbarian’ began as ‘a designation that equated the inferiority of others with their inability to speak comprehensible Greek’.⁵ This insider/outsider categorization coincides with Fishman’s often cited definition of ethnicity in a more general sense: it is ‘an aspect of a collectivity’s self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders’.⁶ Cognitively, ethnic groups exist ‘not as substantial entities but as collective cultural representations, as widely shared ways of seeing, thinking, parsing social experience, and interpreting the social world’.⁷ Thus, language especially as it reinforces the cultural encyclopaedia, is one possible marker of ethnicity and can be deployed effectively, especially in the absence of other markers.⁸

Speakers tend to converge their speech *towards* addressees when they want to be perceived as part of their group, but diverge their speech *away* from addressees from whom they want to express distance.⁹ The audience that the speaker is converging towards need not be present in the exchange or may be a third party to the conversation or speech.¹⁰ Erica McClure has examined modern-day Assyrian-English code-switching and concluded that the main reasons for written code-switching are affirming ethnic identity and clarification.¹¹

⁴ Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 177.

⁵ Harald Haarmann, ‘Ethnicity and Language in the Ancient Mediterranean’, in *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jeremy McInerney (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 17-33 (17).

⁶ Joshua A. Fishman, ‘Language and Ethnicity’, in *Language, Ethnicity, and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Howard Giles, European Monographs in Social Psychology 13 (London: Academic Press, 1977), 15-57 (16).

⁷ Brubaker, Loveman, and Stamatov, ‘Ethnicity’, 45; see also 32, 47. See also J. Albert Harrill, ‘Empire and New Testament: A Methodological Caution’, *Conversations with the Biblical World: Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society and Midwest Region Society of Biblical Literature* 34 (2014): 14-34 (33).

⁸ Harald Haarmann, *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman, Contributions to the Sociology of Language 44 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 38, 260-62.

⁹ See Section 2.2.2. This divergence might express, for example, disapproval, or power over an interlocutor.

¹⁰ Allan Bell, ‘Back in Style: Reworking Audience Design’, in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, ed. Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 139-69.

¹¹ McClure, ‘Oral’, 186-87.

While the use of the social sciences to describe ancient phenomena has sometimes been accused of anachronism, Harrill points out that specific terminology ought to be used when it helps to ‘explain the evidence’ whether or not ‘people in the past expressed an equivalent term in their language, or otherwise would have recognized the category as one of their own’.¹² The purposes described by McClure, particularly affirming ethnic identity, seem to have been present in antiquity as well.¹³ Cicero, for example, expressed his own views more clearly in his private correspondence, whereas in his speeches he ‘had to persuade his audience and, therefore, to play on *their* beliefs and feelings’.¹⁴ Therefore, the language of John 18:28—19:22 that echoes the Roman encyclopaedia, as described in Chapters 4-6, would have the effect of strengthening identification between those at least partially embedded within Roman culture and the text.¹⁵ In this way, this aspect of their identity is made salient and available to be addressed by the text.

Studies such as those that Keyes conducted in Thailand, suggest that ‘[e]thnic groups, unlike races, are not mutually exclusive, but are structured in segmentary hierarchies with each more inclusive segment subsuming ethnic groups which were contrastive at another level’.¹⁶ This hierarchical segmentation can be illustrated from the present day with advertisements on the London Tube in May-June 2015. Seeking to attract British visitors to its city, Las Vegas advertisers printed pictures of their skyline with the caption, ‘*Visit a place where your accent is an aphrodisiac*’ (emphasis original). Despite the multiplicity of accents spoken by British citizens riding the Underground, the advertisers and the public were aware

¹² J. Albert Harrill, ‘Ethnic Fluidity in Ephesians’, *NTS* 60.03 (2014): 379-402 (385).

¹³ The second purpose, clarification, can be seen throughout John’s Gospel as he offers an explanation of terminology in Greek or Aramaic (e.g., 4:25).

¹⁴ P. A. Brunt, ‘*Laus imperii*’, in *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 288-323 (288-89, emphasis added).

¹⁵ Admittedly, everyone in the Mediterranean world would be somewhat embedded within Roman culture, but Chapter 3 has shown that those in the army, administration and commerce had to develop higher cultural competencies.

¹⁶ Charles F. Keyes, ‘Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group’, *Ethnicity* 3.3 (1976): 202-213 (208).

that distinctions meaningful in that social arena would not be relevant in the United States. The higher level identity, in this case British, is called the superordinate identity.

Herodotus (fifth century BCE) provides an early example of such nested identities. He writes that the Athenians reassured the Spartans that they would not make a treaty against them in part because of ‘the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life’ (8.144 [Godley, LCL]).¹⁷ What the Athenians are referring to coheres with the present-day category of a superordinate identity.

Although local identifications can remain prominent, to highlight a superordinate identity tends to reduce conflict between the lower-level groups when those differences are allowed to remain.¹⁸ This happens in a process called ‘recategorization’ in which membership in two different groups are included within a new higher-level identity.¹⁹ The Gospel of John has many affinities with this process as it involves creating a boundary for the new superordinate identity (in this case belief in Jesus; e.g., John 16:27), establishing its new outgroup (in this case those who do not believe; e.g., 10:25), and communicating the antagonisms between the two (e.g., John 17:14).²⁰ Recategorization does not limit or restrict identification with previous groups, but allows instead for a continued primary identification *along with* a recategorization of group identity under a shared ethnic umbrella. This is the process that the Athenians, according to Herodotus, were using to strengthen their alliance to the Spartans. Certainly, Athenians and Spartans differed vastly, for example, in their social

¹⁷ ‘Herodotus (c.490–c.425 BC)’, *OCCL*; Hall, *Ethnic*, 44-45; Harrill, ‘Ethnic’, 392-93.

¹⁸ The explanation in this paragraph is dependent on Esler, ‘Outline’, 29-30. Cor Bennisma describes a similar phenomenon in his discussion of trans-national identities [‘Early Christian Identity Formation and Its Relevance for Modern India’, in *Indian and Christian: Changing Identities in Modern India*, ed. Cornelis Bennisma and P. Joshua Bhakiaraj (Bangalore: SAIACS Press, 2011), 59-76 (64, 69)].

¹⁹ Esler, ‘Outline’, 29.

²⁰ Coleman A. Baker, ‘A Narrative-Identity Model for Biblical Interpretation: The Role of Memory and Narrative in Social Identity Formation’, in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 105-118 (109).

organizations and their building achievements.²¹ However, by appealing to a shared superordinate identity, they reduced the propensity for conflict between them.

Romans as well as Greeks wrote about ethnicity. Augustus, for example, began his discussion of his expansion of the empire not in terms of territory, but in terms of peoples (*gens*) conquered (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 26). Benjamin Isaac argues that this was typical of Roman descriptions of their empire, but this conclusion is overstated.²² While section 26 of the *Res gestae divi Augusti* does begin with references to ‘neighbouring peoples’ (in both Latin and Greek versions), it immediately continues, ‘I brought under control the Gallic and Spanish provinces (*Galliae et Hispaniae provinciae*), and similarly Germany, where Ocean forms a boundary from Cadiz to the mouth of the River Elbe’.²³ As shown in Chapter 5, Vergil also describes the Roman empire in terms of territory (*Aeneid* 6.794-97).²⁴ Thus, ‘physical world’ was relevant for Roman identity; it ‘represented a fixed standard against which achievement could be measured’.²⁵

One effect of this expanding empire was that loyalties were complex.

Multiple and complex identities may have been almost the rule, rather than the exception, in a part of the world where Hellenization, the Roman conquest, the return from the Babylonian exile, and the crystallization of Jewish and of Samaritan identity, the turning of Aramaic into a lingua franca not confined to political or ethnic boundaries, and the geographic instability of the Nabateans and the Idumaeans, among other factors, call up the image of the kaleidoscope rather than that of the mosaic.²⁶

This kaleidoscope of possibilities demonstrates why one must take into account ‘[t]his question of ascribed identity, of belonging or not to some identifiable group persisting through time’ when discussing the Eastern Mediterranean of the first and second century

²¹ Charles Gates, ‘City’, *OEAGR*, §1.3.

²² Isaac, *Limits*, 395.

²³ This is translated from the Latin version. The Greek version does not switch from peoples to territory until the reference to Germany, but the result is the same: both peoples and territories mark the extension of the Roman empire. Translations from Cooley, *Res Gestae*, 90-91.

²⁴ Section 5.2.3.

²⁵ Woolf, ‘Inventing’, 318-19. For more on the *Res Gestae* and its communicative purposes in the East, see Benjamin B. Rubin, ‘(Re)Presenting Empire: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor, 31 BC-AD 68’ (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2008), 129-39.

²⁶ Geiger, ‘Language’, 242.

CE.²⁷ This belonging was not directly tied to one's physical ancestry, but to markers such as 'status', 'wealth', 'location', 'employment', 'religion', 'origin', 'linkage by service or profession to imperial government (or not)', 'whether living under civil or martial law', 'language and literacy', 'gender', and 'age'.²⁸ This range of factors would allow one to claim that one belongs to a particular group by highlighting a factor (or several factors) of importance to that group.²⁹ However, the freedom to construct one's own identity is not unlimited.³⁰ Ethnicity in particular is also subject to construction from others, and one cannot make salient an identity that others deny.³¹

Several ancient authors exemplify the intersectionality of identity claims.³² Dionysius lived and wrote in Rome in the first century BCE. He was 'a Greek from Asia Minor, writing in Greek to explain Roman history and culture to a Greek audience'.³³ He recategorized Romans as originally Greek so that the Roman conquest of Greece could be seen, paradoxically, as a victory and continuation of Greek culture.

Plutarch tells of Sertorius who not only taught *βάρβαροι* (in this case Iberians) to fight using Roman tactics, but also set up schools for their sons so that 'he made hostages of them, while ostensibly he was educating them, with the assurance that when they became men he would give them a share in administration and authority' (*Sertorius* 14 [Perrin,

²⁷ Millar, *Roman*, 5.

²⁸ D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*, Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 217. Cf. Kuecker, 'Ethnicity', 64-69. See, somewhat similarly, Crook, 'Fictive-Friendship', 2/7.

²⁹ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 217; see also, on 'identity, race, and ethnicity', 209-210. See, similarly, Revell, *Roman*, 8, 10-15, 150-52, 193. Brunt also describes what can be known of these tensions, although his references to memory would benefit from interaction with current memory research ('*Laus*', 506-509).

³⁰ As Clarke and Tucker note, these factors were used to construct groups that were fairly discrete, such as 'slave/free; rich/poor; *honestiores/humiliores*; Roman/Greek; Jew/Gentile' ['Social History and Social Theory in the Study of Social Identity', in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 41-58 (44)].

³¹ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 214-15.

³² Mattingly notes that '[w]ars of colonial expansion ... often give definition and new shape to both sides of the imperial equation, with the state building its sense of purpose and identity on its perceived distance and difference from the barbarian "other" while indigenous societies are equally reordered in opposition to the colonial aggressor'. Mattingly only lists 'opposition', but indigenous societies may respond by imitating colonialists as well (*Imperialism*, 211; see further on identity hierarchies, 214-215).

³³ Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 169-70; see also 172-73 on Dionysius.

LCL]).³⁴ Those previously categorized as barbarians were becoming integrated into the empire and their ethnicity was intersected by factors such as language and learning.³⁵

Marcus Cornelius Fronto, a North African born a Roman citizen in the second century CE and educated in Rome, used his ‘barbarian’ identity to position himself among the élite as one who should be given grace. He wrote in Latin to Marcus Aurelius.

I have written a letter to your mother—and, such is my impudence—I have written in Greek. I have enclosed it in a letter I have written to you. You read it first; if there should be any barbarism in it, you, who are fresher in your Greek than I, correct it, and then pass it on to your mother. For I should not like your mother to condemn me as some yokel (Fronto, *Ep.* 1.124; see LCL, p. 124-25).³⁶

In his letter to Lucilla, written in ‘Atticizing Greek’, he asks her to look through any of his mistakes to find his meaning, comparing himself to Anacharsis ‘the famous Scythian’ who did not express himself in perfect Greek and ‘was nevertheless praised for his thought and his ideas’ (Fronto, *Ep. Gr.* 1.5; see LCL, pp. 134-37).³⁷ He compares himself to Anacharsis, he says, ‘not with respect to wisdom, by Zeus, but with respect to the fact that we are both barbarians’. Foreignness could thus be an asset as well as an obstacle in the negotiation of identities.³⁸ And, while Fronto belonged to the élite, he demonstrates that barbarian and Roman identities were neither discrete nor mutually exclusive.

Despite the variability across the Roman empire associated with local identities, there was also a developing sense of a superordinate Roman identity shared by all. Louise Revell’s study focuses on the early second century CE in specific sites in the Western half of the Roman empire and demonstrates the ‘inherent paradox of similarity and variability’ among

³⁴ See, similarly, Tacitus, *Agr.* 21.2. The ‘barbarian’ was constructed less and less as a threatening outsider after the end of the first century CE; images of barbarians even ‘diminished physically in size’ [Brent D. Shaw, ‘Rebels and Outsiders’, in *CAH*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 361-403 (374)].

³⁵ For some of the problems inherent in this process, see Shaw, ‘Rebels’, 380-82.

³⁶ Fronto’s letters are difficult to reference because of the variety of previous editions. The translation used is from Daniel S. Richter, *Cosmopolis: Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 174. I have therefore reproduced his references, but also included page numbers from LCL.

³⁷ Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 173.

³⁸ For other examples of cultural negotiation, see Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 36.17; Lucian, *Pisc.* 19; Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 490; and Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 143, 147, 150, 152.

all of these places.³⁹ Some of this similarity came from the way ‘their identification with a distant political force was mediated through their daily activities of going about their lives’.⁴⁰ Thus, ‘Roman imperialism bound the various peoples of the empire together. They enabled the reproduction of society on two levels; at a local level of face-to-face interaction, but also at an empire-wide level of shared experience and imagined commonality’.⁴¹ This shared experience was delivered, as Brent Shaw points out, through the ‘network’ of cities, ‘citizenship’, imperial cults and ‘the payment of imperial tribute’.⁴² It was propagated ‘on statues, on architecture, on coins’.⁴³ It was enacted during the many Roman festivals ‘in every city and province and army camp of the empire’.⁴⁴ Not everyone participated in all of these elements, but most, even non-élites, experienced at least one of them.

[I]ncreasingly people shared in a common ethnic identity.... This broad discourse of Roman-ness moves the question of an ethnic identity beyond the model of elite-driven Romanization and problematic non-elite emulation. For the people of the provinces, their Roman identity resided within their practical knowledge of how to act within a changing social context, and to enact roles appropriate for them. In part, this was learning how to respond to the new imperial authorities, with its [*sic*] administrative demands, but it was also learning new ways of expressing their place in the local community.⁴⁵

In this way, then, Roman discourse recategorized local identities in ‘an attempt to bring intergroup peace by forming a superordinate identity while retaining subgroup salience’.⁴⁶ The language used in John 18:28—19:22 brings such an identity to salience. Before analyzing that process, the specific ways in which Roman discourse accomplished recategorization for outsiders must be presented.

³⁹ Revell, *Roman*, 10. She looks at *Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica* (Italica), *Municipium Flavium Muniguense* (Munigua), *Colonia Clunia Sulpicia* (Clunia), *Municipium Augusta Bilbilis* (Bilbilis), *Londinium* (London), *Venta Silurum*, *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter), and *Aquae Sulis* (Bath) (27-36). Her study somewhat nuances any dichotomy between ‘privileged estates or castes’ with some mobility and a transnational identity, and ‘immobile peasant communities’, by focusing on the people in between (*pace* Breuilly, ‘Introduction’, xxiii).

⁴⁰ Revell, *Roman*, 10.

⁴¹ Revell, *Roman*, 11.

⁴² Shaw, ‘Rebels’, 362.

⁴³ Woolf, ‘Inventing’, 320.

⁴⁴ Woolf, ‘Inventing’, 321.

⁴⁵ Revell, *Roman*, 192.

⁴⁶ Kuecker, ‘Filial’, 210. See further 210-23.

7.1.2. Roman identity discourse

It was noted above how Romans measured their conquests against the known territory of the world. However, whether or not Romans conceived of their empire with or without boundaries is a matter of debate. Whittaker argues that the Roman empire had no boundaries *per se*. From a ‘cosmological perspective ... there were two parts of the *orbis terrarum imperium*: first, the organized territory of Roman administration, which might be extended, and second, the *externae gentes* who were subjects but not usually worth annexing’.⁴⁷ Greatrex, who argues *for* frontiers, nonetheless begins and ends his discussion by pointing out that the emperors ‘[a]ll believed that they had the right to cross the frontier into barbarian soil and to install forts there if they wished’.⁴⁸ Thus, the Romans conceived of the inhabited world as entirely within Roman responsibility if not under Roman control.⁴⁹

In Aelius Aristides’ panegyric *To Rome* in particular, it is clear that ‘ideology in its various aspects was a powerful structuring principle of Roman communities’.⁵⁰ He covers three topics in his address, as outlined by Rochette: ‘1) Rome s’est imposée comme centre du monde; 2) les Romains sont destinés par nature à commander; 3) par les qualités politiques dont ses dirigeants on fait preuve, Rome a engendré une ère de paix et de prospérité pour les cités grecques, auxquelles elle laisse une relative autonomie’.⁵¹ Some specific quotations will helpfully illustrate these assumptions.

⁴⁷ C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 17, see also 29.

⁴⁸ Geoffrey Greatrex, ‘Roman Frontiers and Foreign Policy in the East’, in *Aspects of the Roman East: Papers in Honour of Professor Fergus Millar FBA*, ed. Richard Alston and Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 3 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 103-173 (106, 155). See, similarly, Horsley, ‘Jesus’, 54. For some of Whittaker’s arguments against Roman conceptions of frontiers, see, e.g., ‘Mental Maps: Seeing Like a Roman’, in *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History, History and General History for John Crook on His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Paul McKechnie, *Mnemosyne Supplements* 231 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81-112 (106-110).

⁴⁹ Aristides, *Or.* 26.10, 28-29, 84, 101-102; Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 291; Brunt, ‘*Illusions*’, 433, 476-77; Woolf, ‘*Inventing*’, 317-18. For Cicero’s similar rhetoric, see Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 291-93. Note that the methods the Greeks used for incorporating others into their conception of the world was quite different; see Elias Bickerman, ‘*Origines gentium*’, *CP* 47.2 (1952): 65-81.

⁵⁰ Revell, *Roman*, 14.

⁵¹ Rochette, *Latin*, 66.

Aristides equates the empire (ἀρχή) with ‘the whole inhabited world’ (59) shortly before the section most pertinent to ethnicity.⁵²

[Y]ou [Rome] have caused the word ‘Roman’ to belong not to a city, but to be the name of a sort of common race (γένος), and this not one out of all the races, but a balance to all the remaining ones. You do not now divide the races into Greeks and barbarians.... But you have divided people into Romans and non-Romans.... many in each city are citizens of yours no less than of their fellow natives (63-64)

In this description of the élite citizenry, one becomes a Roman without leaving behind one’s previous ethnic loyalties.⁵³ This construction of Roman identity did not originate under Augustus; ‘the rejection of blood as a criterion of identity was a central feature of Rome’s foundation legend’.⁵⁴ Thus, the boundaries of Romanness are not impermeable.

However, as Aristides goes on to describe the soldiers, he discusses how men of ability were ‘found’, and then ‘when you [Rome] found them, at the same time you severed their ties with their own country and you gave them your city in return, so that in the future they were ashamed to declare their former origins’ (75). Albert Harrill takes this to mean that ‘the ideology of a strong unit cohesion in the Roman army encouraged soldiers ... to dispose of their native ethnicities and become Roman’.⁵⁵ Yet the foreign origins of the barbarians have not been forgotten even by Aristides because he also describes soldiers as ‘those who both are partners in [the whole inhabited world] and are foreigners’ (85).⁵⁶

⁵² For the equation of empire with οἰκουμένη see also sections 101-102.

⁵³ Louise Revell has noted the problems with using the term *Romanitas*. *Humanitas* might be a good choice, but it requires one to connect with the Roman encyclopaedia as a Roman. Therefore, the term /Romanness/ is used in this thesis as a way to describe Roman identity from the perspective of twenty-first-century readers [*Roman*, xi; cf. Greg Woolf, ‘Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East’, *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 40 (1994): 116-43 (119); Hingley, *Globalizing*, 62-64; Dench, *Romulus*, 31-33].

⁵⁴ Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 132.

⁵⁵ Harrill, ‘Ethnic’, 400.

⁵⁶ Further contradictions between the speech and what is known of second-century CE realities can easily be found. Aristides seems to recognize this himself when he wants to speak of ‘those outside your empire’ (99) despite his earlier assertions that the empire extends to the whole οἰκουμένη. He solves the problem by qualifying his phrase: ‘those outside your empire, if there are any’ (99). Furthermore, he describes the way other rulers colonize and tax the lands under their rule (45), yet Rome, despite Aristides, taxed their lands as well. Aristides claims that the wrath of Caesar prevents abuses of power (65). Josephus does describe appeals to Caesar, but the result is not freedom from poor rule but more oppression (*J.W.* 2.14.6 §294-95). Finally, that

Furthermore, Roman soldiers frequently mentioned their places of origin in their inscriptions, and their units were often named after the ethnicity of the soldiers who originally composed them.⁵⁷ The identity the soldiers acquired, then, was a superordinate one.

There is tension in *To Rome* between the concept of Rome as ‘generous with citizenship’ and the primacy accorded to those with the markers (such as birth as a citizen or education) of higher levels of Romanness.⁵⁸ Praises of Rome such as Aristides delivers exaggerate reality and gloss over the way those born Roman might still vaunt themselves over others whose citizenship was acquired later (e.g., Acts 22:28).⁵⁹ Ethnicity and citizenship were not fixed but negotiated as markers of status.⁶⁰ Such Roman discourse is summarized by Harrill as a kind of ‘kinship diplomacy whose celebratory rhetoric typically asserted a rediscovered *συγγένεια* between previous foes that was unknown to earlier generations. Such diplomacy ... exploited Hellenistic traditions (particularly prevalent in Asia Minor) that mapped Rome onto the Hellenistic East as neither Greek nor barbarian, but as a kind of mediating (transnational), third ethnicity’.⁶¹ Yet the conception of such a reified, transnational identity is problematic because it has no content.⁶² A better term for Harrill’s

soldiers who were fighting to obtain Roman citizenship would be ‘ashamed to declare their former origins’ (75) is unlikely. See, e.g., Pollard who states that ‘[i]ndividuals who had lost one identity on transition from civilian to soldier and who could never acquire a “Roman” identity in any real cultural sense found a new identity as members of an institution, namely, the Roman army’ (*Soldiers*, 8). Dench points as well to the ‘assertions of the superior worth of being born a citizen as opposed to buying the citizenship’ (*Romulus*, 35). See, also, the way ethnicity was encoded in Roman cultic functions (Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 20).

⁵⁷ Millar, *Roman*, 88-89, 357-58.

⁵⁸ Dench, *Romulus*, 35. See also Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 294; Horrocks, *Greek*, 132-33; Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 134; Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 212. Adams also notes this tension: ‘In public therefore (as in speeches) Romans sought to remain true to their Roman identity by using a form of Latin untainted by Greek...Greek culture could readily be presented as decadent, and this decadence could be implied by the contemptuous use of Greek terms relating to activities of which the Romans publicly disapproved as being supposedly typical of Greeks’ (‘*Romanitas*’, 202-203).

⁵⁹ Dench, *Romulus*, 95. The Gospel of John may share a similar ‘othering’ of some believers, for example those who turn back in John 6:60-71, but that cannot be explored in this study.

⁶⁰ See Vergil, *Aen.* 1.278; 11.163-81; 12.191-201; Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 297-98; Kuecker, ‘*Filial*’, 221-23. Furthermore, Vergil ‘confuses ethnic identities’ in a way that is meant to foreshadow the ethnic history of the Romans, with Trojans, Italians, and Greeks recategorized together (*Aeneid* 8.126-33, 313; 12.834-7, 1055-65; Fitzgerald, *How*, 169-70. See, similarly, Kuecker, ‘*Filial*’, 211-17).

⁶¹ Harrill, ‘*Ethnic*’, 401.

⁶² This is not to say that the Romans did not sometimes conceive of themselves in the terms that Harrill reports. A universalizing ethnicity such as what he describes can become a vehicle for normalizing the cultural

concept of a common identity between previous foes that allows them to live separately and yet in harmony is superordinate.⁶³

In the section of the panegyric quoted above, Aristides denies that foreign identities are left behind. He goes further, however, and claims that Roman citizenship is ‘open to all men’ (60).⁶⁴ This, however, was not true.⁶⁵ Aristides himself qualifies this in his next sentence: ‘No one is a foreigner *who deserves to hold office or to be trusted*’ (60, emphasis mine). This leaves the choice of the deserving in the hands of the Romans and glosses over the violent imposition of entry into the Roman empire.⁶⁶ Crucifixion itself is an enactment of this truth for Rome: We have peace because we have conquered. We continue to put an end to anyone who would subvert our violently enforced peace (cf. Quintilian, *Decl.* 274).

Aristides glosses over this reality when he asserts that Rome ‘has never refused anyone’ (62), logically implying that anyone not ‘chosen’ (violently or not) to become a Roman citizen is nobody. Non-Romans who attracted Roman interest either submitted and were (at least partially) assimilated, or they demonstrated their barbarism by their refusal to submit to Roman law and thus deserved their destruction (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.852-53, quoted below).⁶⁷ Romans, then, welcome outsiders into their law-governed midst, and construct

identity of the majority, rhetorically constructing that culture as neutral or even natural. For an example of such a categorization, see Salier, ‘Jesus’, 292-93.

⁶³ Harrill seems to descry a superordinate identity in the letter to Ephesians where he sees an invitation to ‘a new ethnicity’, one that is ‘above that of Jew and Gentile’ (‘Ethnic’, 398). Such superordinate identities contradict Rochette’s view that the Romans succeeded because ‘ils ont octroyé la *ciuitas* non pas à une cite (πόλις) mais à un corps social (γένους)’ (*Latin*, 67). He thus opposes identities that instead ought to be nested.

⁶⁴ Richter, *Cosmopolis*, 133-34.

⁶⁵ An entry level summary of Roman domination can be found in Carter, *Roman*, 1-8. Note, however, that Carter does not separate out public and private transcripts nor distinguish them from actual motivations. On Roman domination, see also Richard Hingley, ‘Cultural Diversity and Unity: Empire and Rome’, in *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, ed. Shelley Hales and Tamar Hodos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 54-75 (62-63).

⁶⁶ See, for example, the Roman subjugation of foreign ethnic groups depicted in the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias and the Gemma Augustea [Dench, *Romulus*, 32; Diana Y. Ng, ‘Asia Minor’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, ed. Elise A. Friedland, Melanie Grunow Sobocinski, and Elaine K. Gazda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 538-51 (540); Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 1047]. Nevertheless, some barbarians remained necessary for Roman self-definition [Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 98].

⁶⁷ See also Vergil, *Aeneid* 11.163-81; 10.688-707; Kuecker, ‘Filial’, 221-22.

those not welcomed as lawless barbarians.⁶⁸ This marker of ‘law’ was quite important to Roman identity. Anchises tells Aeneas, ‘Remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway—these shall be thine arts—to crown Peace with Law (*mos*), to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud’ (6.851-53, [Fairclough, LCL]).

There is tension in Roman thought, however, between natural and positive law. Natural law was ‘universal’, ‘rational’, ‘unwritten’, ‘eternal’, ‘unchanging’, and the province of philosophers.⁶⁹ It ‘was connected with real-world imperialism’ and the mandate that the gods had given the Romans to spread their civilization around the world, enacting their laws for the benefit of the conquered peoples.⁷⁰ Yet this rhetoric did not affect the practical application of the law.⁷¹ Positive law, in contrast, was primarily enacted for the benefit of the élite and for the maintenance of the empire.⁷²

This construction of the Roman world as chosen by the gods (election) to bring the law to all nations, welcoming them (with open arms or force of arms) into the Roman fold, has obvious parallels with a Gospel that offers a Saviour and invites all who believe to come into the family of God (John 1:7, 12) and yet promises wrath to those outside the family (3:36). These three elements—election, law, and accommodation to outsiders—are factors in John’s Gospel as well as in Roman identity discourse. Moreover, they were also elements of Jewish identity discourse—another of the multiple intersecting identities constructed or rejected by turns.⁷³

⁶⁸ Hingley, *Globalizing*, 61-67. For this construction of the Galatians into the ‘barbarian Other’, see Brigitte Kahl, *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), 6-9, 42-75. If Ephesus is posited as the location for the final editing of the Gospel of John, this connection would be particularly pertinent. See also Woolf, ‘Inventing’, 319.

⁶⁹ Christine Hayes, *What's Divine About Divine Law? Early Perspectives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 92. Note that Hayes conflates Greek and Roman attitudes towards law over quite a long period of time (e.g., 86-87 where Hadrian, Stoicism and Plato are all referenced).

⁷⁰ Hayes, *Divine*, 61; Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 291, 295; Brunt, ‘*Illusions*’, 438-40; Woolf, ‘Inventing’, 319.

⁷¹ Hayes, *Divine*, 88.

⁷² Brunt, ‘*Laus*’, 316-22; Brunt, *Roman*, 509; Hayes, *Divine*, 81-86.

⁷³ Section 1.2.3; Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*, ed. Amy Hollywood, Gender, Theory, and Religion (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 35.

7.1.3. Jewish identity discourse

In antiquity, ‘ethnic origin presupposed religious practices’, so the two should not be divorced from each other.⁷⁴ This is particularly evident when discussing Jewish ethnicity. Although Jewish identity is not reducible to such ‘pillars’ as ‘monotheism’ (Philo, *Decal.* 65; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.1.27 §112), ‘election’, ‘covenant focussed in Torah’, and ‘land focussed in Temple’, these do provide markers that were important in Jewish identity construction.⁷⁵ By the time the Fourth Gospel was finalized, the Temple was no longer standing. Yet concepts such as election remained, as Jews negotiated their identity in the Roman world. Election must be mentioned specifically because it intersects with Roman discourse as discussed above, as well as with John 18:28—19:22 (discussed below). *Psalms of Solomon* 9 asserts to Yahweh, ‘You selected the seed of Abraham before all the nations and put your name upon us, Lord, and you will not rescind forever’ (author translation; see, similarly, *Jub.* 15.31-32). Jews responded to election by obedience to *Torah*. Yet using the transliteration of תורה obscures a second parallel with Roman self-identification. *Torah* is also called, in English, ‘the law’ or, in the LXX, νόμος (e.g., Deut. 30:10).⁷⁶ This connection between Jews and the law is particularly important for the Fourth Gospel because, if the use of the terms ἀρχιερεύς and ὑπηρέτης (e.g., 19:6) preserves a memory of the Sadducees, they specifically ‘refused to accept the validity of any ancestral custom that could not be explicitly justified from a biblical text’, thus ‘relying on the written laws alone’.⁷⁷ Thus, it is possible

⁷⁴ Martin Goodman, ‘Nerva, the *Fiscus Judaicus* and Jewish Identity’, *JRS* 79 (1989): 40-44 (40).

⁷⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 2006), 24-48; J. Brian Tucker, *You Belong to Christ: Paul and the Formation of Social Identity in 1 Corinthians 1—4* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2010), 71-72. These two terms, ἀρχιερεύς and ὑπηρέτης, are used especially in the Johannine trial narrative: 7:32, 42, 46; 12:10; 18:3, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26, 35, 36; 19:6, 15, 21.

⁷⁶ Dunn rightly notes that this cannot be used to support a characterization of Judaism as legalistic (*Partings*, 33).

⁷⁷ J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. C. Clifton Black, John T. Carroll, and Beverly Roberts Gaventa, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 87; Martin Goodman, ‘The Place of the Sadducees in First-Century Judaism’, in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays*, AGJU 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 123-35 (132-33). Goodman also argues for a continuing place for the Sadducees after the destruction of the temple (134-35). That argument will not be pursued in this thesis except to note that, if valid, it too could provide data for John’s characterization of ‘the Jews’.

that at least some of the Johannine Jewish leaders were intended to refer to the group who was most particularly identified with the law.

Both peoples, then, Romans and Jews, identified themselves as chosen by god(s) and as people of law. And in obedience to this law and to *halakhic* discussions based thereupon, Jewish markers became visible to others, markers such as circumcision, Sabbath (and festival) observance, and food laws.⁷⁸ The visibility of these markers has also been preserved in ancient sources. Juvenal, for example, describes Jewish behaviour in his 14th Satire:

Some happen to have been dealt a father who respects the sabbath. They worship nothing except the clouds and spirit of the sky. They think there is no difference between pork, which their fathers abstained from, and human flesh. In time, they get rid of their foreskins. And with their habit of despising the laws of Rome, they study, observe, and revere the Judaic code, as handed down by Moses in his mystic scroll, which tells them not to show the way to anyone except a fellow worshipper and if asked, to take only the circumcised to the fountain. But it's their fathers who are to blame, taking every seventh day as a day of laziness and separate from ordinary life (96-106).⁷⁹

In this passage, Juvenal specifically contrasts the Jewish response to Roman versus Jewish law.

Juvenal's polemic also serves as a reminder of polemical passages in the Fourth Gospel, such as John 8:12-59. Such contentiousness 'is typical of that found among rival claimants to a philosophical tradition and is found as widely among Jews as among other Hellenists'.⁸⁰ It is also found in various polemics in the Hebrew Bible against Jewish unfaithfulness.⁸¹ The prophets judged behaviour on the basis of the covenant, and exposed

⁷⁸ Dunn, *Partings*, 39-42; Judith Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 151; Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 4; Hannah E. Hashkes, *Rabbinic Discourse as a System of Knowledge: 'The Study of Torah Is Equal to Them All'*, ed. Jerome Gellman, *Philosophy of Religion: World Religions* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 26, 110, 142-43, 259.

⁷⁹ See, similarly, Plutarch, *Mor.* 169C; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.159. The negative characterization of Jews by the Roman Juvenal is evident in this text. And after 96 CE, the 'acceptance of the burden' of the *fiscus iudaicus* could also serve to identify those who self-identified as Jews (Goodman, 'Nerva', 44).

⁸⁰ Luke T. Johnson, 'The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic', *JBL* 108.3 (1989): 419-441 (429).

⁸¹ Kee, 'Knowing', 257. See, similarly, Nathan Thiel, 'Like (Fore)Fathers Like Sons: The Wandering Israelites and the Johannine Jews' (paper presented at 2016 Joint Regional Meeting of the Midwest Region Society of Biblical Literature, the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society and the American Schools of Oriental Research-Midwest, Bourbonnais, IL, 6 February, 2016).

unfaithfulness (e.g., Isa. 5:8-9).⁸² Hebrew Bible polemic is linked to obedience to the law.⁸³

Thus, Jews are elected by God to follow the laws that Yahweh has given them.

Furthermore, Jews, like Romans, accepted outsiders into their midst.⁸⁴ Philo describes the process:

Having laid down laws for members of the same nation, he holds that the incomers too should be accorded every favour and consideration as their due, because abandoning their kinsfolk by blood, their country, their customs and the temples and images of their gods, and the tributes and honours paid to them, they have taken the journey to a better home, from idle fables to the clear vision of truth and the worship of the one and truly existing God. (Philo, *Virt.* 20.102).⁸⁵

Dio Cassius also notes that the term Ἰουδαῖοι ‘applies ... to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among the Romans’ (37.17.1 [Cary and Foster, LCL]).⁸⁶

Unlike the Romans, however, Jews did not back up their welcome with force. And yet, Jewish discourse did include a note of triumphalism.⁸⁷ ‘In the Final Days, proclaim prophetic and intertestamental texts, the nations will *turn from* their gods, destroy idols, and

⁸² Mary C. Callaway, ‘A Hammer That Breaks Rock in Pieces: Prophetic Critique in the Hebrew Bible’, in *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity: Issues of Polemic and Faith*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Donald A. Hagner (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 21-38 (24; see, similarly, 32).

⁸³ Those scholars, then, who suggest that Johannine polemic is of a piece with prophetic discourse must address the differing function of the law in the two (e.g., Kee, ‘Knowing’, 257; Thiel, ‘Like’). Stephen Motyer specifically does so, arguing that the Fourth Gospel is a ‘refocusing of the prophetic message onto Christ’ [*Your Father the Devil? A New Approach to John and the Jews*, ed. I. Howard Marshall et al., Paternoster Biblical Monographs (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 1997), 150; cf. 128-32, 192-95, 214].

⁸⁴ Williams’ observation that Ἰουδαῖος was used particularly for ‘newcomers to the Jewish community’ highlights this practice (*Jews*, 25). See also Brawley’s discussion of the various trajectories of Jewish inclusion of gentiles (‘Evocative’, 610).

⁸⁵ Note that in this case incomers are required to abandon previous ties, yet, according to Paula Fredriksen, the fact that some people did occasionally reject their previous identities can only be characterized as weird [‘Paul, Practical Pluralism, and the Invention of Religious Persecution in Roman Antiquity’, in *Understanding Religious Pluralism: Perspectives from Religious Studies and Theology*, ed. Peter C. Phan and Jonathan Ray (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014), 87-113 (92-94)]. Philo discusses as well the influence that Jewish laws had throughout the Mediterranean (*Mos.* 2.17-27). See, similarly, Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.40 §282-84.

⁸⁶ See also Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5 For these ancient references, see Gruen, ‘Romans’, 431-32. Note that while Gruen disavows ‘primordialism’, he seems to reject anything except a prejudice against a primordial construction of Jews as proof of anti-Semitism in antiquity. He can thus conclude, ‘Ancients, on the whole, lost little sleep over issues of ethnicity, and, unlike moderns, did not agonize over their identity’ (423-24, 429-30, 434). The discussion above demonstrates that this was not the case.

⁸⁷ For this, see Mic 4:11-13; Is 25:2-3; Zech 14:12-15; Jer 10:10.

turn to the worship of the god of Israel'.⁸⁸ These people are the 'eschatological gentiles'.⁸⁹ They worship Yahweh exclusively, but without adopting Jewish identity markers.⁹⁰

Jewish discourse therefore included election by Yahweh, adherence to a law, and the welcome of outsiders. I suggested above that the terms ἀρχιερεύς and ὑπηρέτης could preserve a memory of the Sadducees. Yet something must still be said about Ἰουδαῖος and two terms that are used somewhat equivalently in the Fourth Gospel: Ἰσραήλ and Ἰσραηλῖτης. In John 1:47, 49, Jesus calls Nathanael an Ἰσραηλῖτης, and Nathanael calls Jesus βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. In 3:10, Jesus asks Nicodemus how he, ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, does not understand what he is saying. And in 12:13, the crowd acclaims Jesus in language drawn from Zeph 3:15: ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ in the LXX).⁹¹ Ἰουδαῖος, on the other hand, occurs 71 times throughout the Gospel, both in very Jewish (e.g., 1:19) and non-Jewish (e.g., 18:33) contexts.⁹²

The two sets of terminology have sometimes been posited as 'insider/outsider' language, with Ἰσραήλ used by insiders and Ἰουδαῖος used by outsiders.⁹³ However, Maurice Casey has demonstrated that the evidence is too variegated to support this hypothesis.⁹⁴ Additionally, legal correspondence from the second century BCE within a Jewish *politeuma* in Herakelopolis, Egypt, shows Ἰουδαῖος already being used for self-identification *within* a

⁸⁸ Fredriksen, 'Paul', 98. Verses that Fredriksen lists to support the turning of the nations to Yahweh include Isa 2:2-4; Mic 4; Isa 25:6; Zech 8:23; Tobit 14:5-6; *Sib. Or.* 3.616, 715-24, 722 (98-99 n. 35). Others include: Zech 14:16-21; Jer 10:6-7; Isa 37:16; Psalms, e.g., 148.

⁸⁹ Fredriksen, 'Paul', 103.

⁹⁰ Fredriksen, 'Paul', 98-99.

⁹¹ Section 4.3.4.

⁹² Ἰουδαῖος is 'the standard designation of a Jew in Greek writing and in inscriptions, incorporates a bundle of attributes, referring to ethnicity (membership of a people with real or fictive genealogical links) and to geography ("originating from" or "belonging to Judea") as well as to membership of a religious group (worshipping the God who resided, or had resided, in the Jerusalem Temple)' (Rajak, *Translation*, 8).

⁹³ Nathan Thiel summarizes previous proposals and then nuances them ["Israel" and "Jew" as Markers of Jewish Identity in Antiquity: The Problems of Insider/Outsider Classification', *JSJ* 45.1 (2014): 80-99; Thiel cites, e.g., Dunn, *Partings*, 192; with some of the history of the debate, see also Kierspel, *Jews*, 71-75]. 'King of the Jews', similarly, may have begun as a 'Roman (or a Gentile) designation' (de Boer, 'Narrative', 151). However, it was also used by Josephus (e.g., 15.10.5 §373).

⁹⁴ Maurice Casey, 'Some Anti-Semitic Assumptions in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*', *NovT* 41.3 (1999): 280-91 (282-83).

Jewish group.⁹⁵ And the same use also occurs in the first century CE among insiders—Josephus (*Ant.* 19.5.2 §283 and, citing Strabo, *Ant.* 14.7.2 §117) and Philo (*Against Flaccus* 74)—and outsiders—an edict from Emperor Claudius referring to the Alexandrian Jews (*P. Lond* 6.1912).⁹⁶ Thus, both insiders and outsiders use the term Ἰουδαῖος. Rather than seeking to explain its use in the Gospel of John, perhaps Ἰουδαῖος ought to be regarded as the unmarked designation, especially given the likely diaspora setting of the Gospel’s final redaction.⁹⁷ The few uses of Ἰσραήλ (and Ἰσραηλίτης), listed above, could then be explained by John’s desire particularly to mark continuity with Hebrew Scriptures and traditions in those passages.

However, to call Ἰουδαῖος the unmarked designation does not identify its referent(s).⁹⁸ Lars Kierspel has examined John’s use of this term and noted not only where it *is* used, but also quite significantly where it is not. He points out that whereas the narrator in John often discusses a conflict with ‘the Jews’, Jesus usually portrays the conflict with ‘the world’.⁹⁹ While others have noted these parallels, they usually conclude, as Evans does, that ‘[t]he Jews in this gospel are also the world and represent it’.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, Kierspel argues that Jesus’ trial and crucifixion (instigated by ‘the Jews’) are a model of the persecution to be experienced by Jesus’ followers (instigated by the world).¹⁰¹ The Jewish persecutors of

⁹⁵ Thiel, ‘Israel’, 86-87.

⁹⁶ See, similarly, *BGU* 4.1151. All cited in Honigman, ‘*Politeumata*’, 7-8, 17.

⁹⁷ Pace, for example, Jane Heath who considers βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων to be ‘more ethnically focused’ (‘You Say’, 243 n. 26).

⁹⁸ For Barrett, for example, “‘The Jews’ represent the world viewed from the religious point of view’ (*Gospel*, 172). This is the view of many scholars, e.g., Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 63; Lincoln, ‘Reading’, 139. Yet to separate out religion as a category in the ancient world has been shown to be anachronistic (Section 1.2.1). Kierspel, by contrast, characterizes ‘king of Israel’ as ‘nationalistic’ and ‘this worldly’, which is equally problematic (*Jews*, 72).

⁹⁹ Kierspel, *Jews*, 93, 214, 222-23.

¹⁰⁰ Evans, *Explorations*, 53. See also Lincoln, *Truth*, 19.

¹⁰¹ Kierspel, *Jews*, 127. See also the argument of Lincoln already mentioned (Section 6.1.1; *Truth*, 181). Raimo Hakola suggests something similar: ‘John understood [the controversies surrounding his community] as imitating the original rejection of Jesus by his contemporaries’ [*Reconsidering Johannine Christianity: A Social Identity Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 112]. For Hakola, Jesus’ innocence and the ‘evilness of Jesus’ opponents’ (105) are heightened and contrasted to justify the actions of a community in the process of severing its Jewish roots. Hakola’s analysis will not be extensively engaged with, but it is worth noting that he tends to flatten out John’s characterization of the ‘world’ to a purely negative response. It would be interesting to compare the way the innocence of Jesus is used in other New Testament texts to see if

Jesus, then, do not *represent* the world but are the first *examples* of persecutors of Christians. They become the cypher (through the irony and ethnic re-categorization of the trial) for the *Roman* oppressors, and, as will be shown below, Pilate and the Roman soldiers are classified alongside the ‘Jews’ in this sense. Thus, Gerry Wheaton misunderstands Kierspel when he ranges his work among accounts that do not connect Ἰουδαῖοι with any historical group of people.¹⁰² In fact, Kierspel proposes that John presents the historical Jews who opposed Jesus in a way that points to the rejection of the followers of Christ by the world. In this way, John rooted his narrative in memory but shaped it for his present day.¹⁰³

This section has proposed that Jewish identity discourse included markers that are in some ways similar to Roman identity discourse. Both groups describe themselves as elected, both value their law, and both have processes (although very different ones) for including outsiders. The next section will bring this information from Roman and Jewish encyclopaedias together for the purpose of analyzing John 18:28—19:22.

7.1.4. Recategorization in John 18:28—19:22

The trial narrative will now be analysed with the aid of the tools of social identity theory, specifically the concepts of ethnic labelling and identity markers.¹⁰⁴ These will highlight the way John facilitates a recategorization of Roman and Jewish identities, thus acting as a ‘leade[r] of recategorization’ for his addressees.¹⁰⁵

it is similar or different from the Gospel of John. See, e.g., 2 Cor 5:21; James 5:6; 1 Pet 2:22. See also Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 96; Reinhartz, *Befriending*, 50.

¹⁰² Gerry Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts in John's Gospel*, ed. Paul Trebilco, SNTSMS 162 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 36-38. Similarly, see Yves Simoens, ‘Un pouvoir peut en cacher un autre; un péché aussi: Interprétation de Jn 19,11’, in *Rediscovering John: Essays on the Fourth Gospel in Honour of Frédéric Manns*, ed. L. Daniel Chrupcala, *Analecta Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 80 (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2013), 531-57 (537).

¹⁰³ Brown also notes that ‘the answers of Jesus to the Roman governor reflect the later answers of the Christians to the authorities of the Roman Empire’ (*John*, 2.860). Although this thesis does not always draw the same conclusions as Brown about the meaning of Jesus’ answers, it does argue in this chapter that at a minimum the honour that Jesus retains provides a hidden transcript in which Jesus models honour for persecuted Christians.

¹⁰⁴ For a justification of the relevance of social identity theory to the Gospel of John, see Philip F. Esler, and Ronald A. Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha: Social-Scientific Approaches to the Gospel of John* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 27, 38-40 (with exception taken to the characterization of John's language as an antilanguage, 39). On antilanguage, see Section 1.3.1.

¹⁰⁵ Baker, ‘Narrative-Identity’, 108-109.

J. Brian Tucker has proposed six criteria for identifying a text that seeks to form the hearers' social identity: (1) the text offers a rival narrative; (2) the text renames the auditors; (3) the text relates the new markers of identity to old markers in a way that recognizes the non-monolithic nature of identity; (4) the text addresses the implications of the new identity in areas of ethics and ethos; (5) the text suggests performances that will embody the new identity; and (6) the text uses discursive practices from the environment to negotiate the new identity.¹⁰⁶ John 18:28—19:22 meets all of these criteria. First, the Johannine trial narrative rivals the claims of Rome (criteria 1).¹⁰⁷ Next, Jesus-believers are called 'those who listen to Jesus because they are from the truth' (18:37) (criteria 2). John 18:36 also may name Jesus-believers οἱ ὑπηρέται of a βασιλεία that is οὐκ ... ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.¹⁰⁸ Thus, 'Jesus has no real subjects as would be true if his kingdom were like other kingdoms; rather he has followers who hear his voice as truth'.¹⁰⁹

The third criterion will be set aside for now, but the analysis below will demonstrate that this passage engages aspects of Roman and Jewish identities, proposing that it does so in order to shape (or strengthen) the identity of Jesus-believers.¹¹⁰ Implications for ethics and ethos (criteria 4-5) of believing in Jesus are perhaps spelled out more clearly in other passages of the Gospel, such as the Farewell Discourse. Yet even in the trial narrative, hearers of the Gospel learn that Jesus-believers do not fight for Jesus' freedom (18:36). Furthermore, Jesus himself models a man who chooses to be vulnerable for the sake of the

¹⁰⁶ Tucker, *Remain*, 51-57. Others who argue that the Gospel of John seeks to create community include Tat-siong Benny Liew who describes it as 'a site of struggle for community' and Warren Carter who argues that the Gospel's 'antilanguage' creates a 'rhetoric of distance' that calls for 'less accommodation to imperial society' (Liew, 'Ambiguous', 193; Carter, *John*, 14-15, 81). For other Johannine narratives and techniques that seek to create community, see Liew, 'Ambiguous', 195-202.

¹⁰⁷ This has been argued particularly in Chapters 4-6. It could be interesting, moreover, to argue that John's narrative rivals those of the other canonical gospels, seeking to form the identity of a community alternative to them, but that will not be attempted in this thesis.

¹⁰⁸ This characterization is uncertain, however, as mentioned previously, because it is expressed within a contrary-to-fact conditional (Section 6.2.1.2).

¹⁰⁹ Brown, *John*, 2.869.

¹¹⁰ I argue below in this section that it is quite difficult to determine whether this is a new identity being created or an ongoing identity being strengthened, particularly in a narrative text.

people of God despite his power to do otherwise.¹¹¹ This suggests, then, both an ethical stance as well as its performance.¹¹² Under the sixth criterion can be placed the elements of Roman and Jewish discourse presented so far in this chapter: election, law, and accommodation to outsiders. The first two markers will be highlighted in the analysis below, demonstrating the way the trial narrative includes Roman and Jewish markers to recategorize ethnicity for the community as John envisages it.¹¹³

A determination of whether this was intended to strengthen an already existing community or to form (or re-form) a new (or disintegrating) community will not be attempted in this thesis. Such conclusions seem to depend on *a priori* assumptions about the historical state of John's audience. Of the three elements required for interpretation: Sign, object and interpretant, the object for such a determination is missing, and cannot, in my view, be reconstructed from the available evidence.¹¹⁴ In Chapters 4-6, what can be known about the historical reality of the first- and second-century CE Mediterranean world (Chapter 3) was used to provide an object against which to produce an interpretant for the Sign of the Johannine trial narrative. However, in order to determine the effect of the narrative on the auditors, one would need a more precise object with more information about the community than the text provides. In Figure 30 below, John's audience is the object, the group identity described in the Gospel is the Sign, but the interpretant, whether the author calls for change or consistency, cannot be determined without knowing the object. In other words, I believe that John's construction can be read from the text—it is open rather than closed—but to what extent his audience already lives up to that construction cannot be determined from the narrative.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The issue of vulnerability will be addressed in the second half of this chapter.

¹¹² In Chapter 1, I noted that the ethics of a culture is correlated with its material existence, and thus may both affect and be affected by it (Section 1.3.2).

¹¹³ Baker discusses these issues in more general terms in 'Narrative-Identity', 112-16, esp. 114.

¹¹⁴ For the definitions of these three elements, see Section 1.2.2.

¹¹⁵ Dokka, 'Irony', 102.

It must be noted that many scholars miss one important aspect of open and closed texts.¹¹⁶ An open text *creates* its own ‘Model Reader’ (Eco’s term) and guides her to the intended meaning.¹¹⁷ Open texts therefore work to *exclude* any reader not willing or able to become the Model Reader. A closed text, by contrast, simply assumes its Model Reader and therefore, paradoxically, leaves itself open to readers who prefer to impose their own model on the text. The principal difference, then, is not the definiteness either of the reader or of the meaning, but the ability of the text to create its reader and therefore the ability of an analysis to discover the Model Reader from the information given in the text. A closed text has *less* information about the Model Reader, not more. The Gospel of John is, in my view, an open text that provides information for its Model Readers and seeks to exclude any unwilling to take on those requirements, but whether its earliest audiences were quite willing to do so or not—that information is not in the text.

¹¹⁶ Open texts are often defined as those that allow for multiple meanings, as opposed to closed texts that only allow one (Chandler, *Semiotics*, 255). However, that is not the important point for Eco. While closed texts aim to produce only one reading, they are closed not because they are closed to other readings. Indeed, they are not, since they can be analysed from any number of perspectives. They are closed, however, to the reader, leaving her on the outside of the text. She thus must choose to take on the requirements of the Model Reader or not. This is the ‘distinction between use and interpretation’ in which use is ‘free’ whereas interpretations are ‘infinite’ but not ‘indefinite and must be recognized as imposed by the semiotic strategies displayed by the text’ (Eco, ‘Theory’, 35-36).

Open texts, on the other hand, are open because they involve the reader in the process of interpretation, giving him the information required for understanding and leading him to draw conclusions and conjectures of his own. On open and closed texts, see Radford, *On Eco*, 39-41.

Note that the terms ‘open’ and ‘closed’ seem to be suffering some semantic shift as they move from Eco, to Bauckham, to Lamb. While Eco’s definitions focus on the text’s openness to the reader’s participation in the meaning-making process, Bauckham connects closed texts to ‘a determinate meaning’ and while he says that open texts ‘leave their meaning more open to their real readers’ participation in producing meaning’ what he seems to mean by this is that meaning itself is left more open [Eco, *Role*, 8-10; Richard Bauckham, ‘For Whom Were Gospels Written?’, in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9-48 (48)]. For Lamb, the meaning-making part of the process has been dropped and an open text is one that can be understood by those outside of a community for which it was intended whereas a closed text ‘is part of the semiotic system of a closed group’ (*Text*, 19, 143).

¹¹⁷ Eco, ‘Theory’, 35-36.

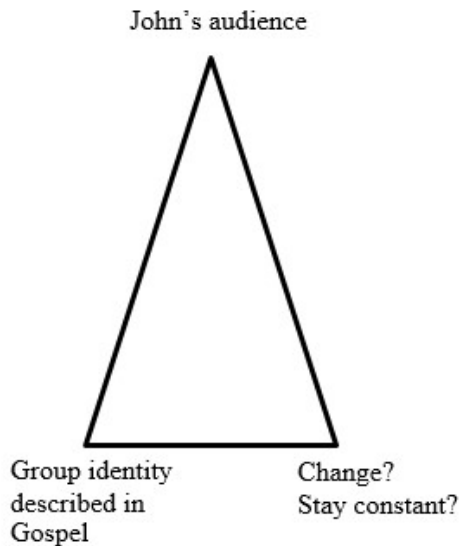


Figure 30: Sign-object-interpretant for identity construction in the Fourth Gospel

The Sign, however—the group identity that John creates in the trial narrative—is accessible. Furthermore, the setting of the trial in Caesar’s court emphasizes its ‘universal significance’.¹¹⁸ For Lincoln, the cosmic trial is one whose cultural unit is found in the Jewish encyclopaedia of Deutero-Isaiah.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, for Carter, the cosmic aspects of the Gospel of John are in opposition to the cosmic claims of Rome.¹²⁰ My analysis adds to Lincoln’s insights the Roman discourse echoed in the text. Yet rather than Carter’s claim of an opposition, it seeks to demonstrate that both Roman and Jewish ethnicities are recategorized in order to establish ‘witness to the truth’ (John 18:37) as a superordinate identity.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 458. On interpreting Pilate’s justice as ‘Caesar’s court’, see Acts 25:10.

¹¹⁹ Although the trial motif is evident in the Fourth Gospel, its cosmic aspects were developed by Lincoln in relation to Deutero-Isaiah (*Gospel*, 12; *Truth*, 38-51). Sigfred Pedersen also sees a cosmological purpose in the Fourth Gospel, but he grounds it in the ‘creation account in the prologue’, which is then reprised in the universalizing claims of Jesus to the Samaritan woman (4:22-24, 42) [‘Anti-Judaism in John’s Gospel: John 8’, in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel*, Aarhus, 1997, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 172-93 (177)].

¹²⁰ Carter, *John*, 155. Bryan suggests four possible responses to the empire: assent and acquiescence, assent with occasional confrontations, peaceable resistance, armed resistance (*Render*, 34-35). This thesis argues that the Fourth Gospel suggests the second.

¹²¹ ‘Witness to the truth’ and ‘Jesus-believer’ will be used almost interchangeably in this chapter, ‘witness to the truth’ when speaking particularly about the superordinate identity created in John 18:28—19:22 and ‘Jesus-believer’, as in the rest of the thesis, for the early followers of Jesus in general and more specifically those addressed by the text (Section 3.1.4). For the frequent use of *μαρτυρία* in the Gospel of John, see, e.g., Lincoln, ‘Life’, 146. On ‘Zeugnis der Wahrheit’, see also Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 225, 261.

Based on the number of soldiers in the garden (a cohort, *σπεῖρα*), the conflict starts out primarily between Jesus and the Romans.¹²² Even in that scene, however, Judas guides Roman soldiers *and* Jewish officials (ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων) to Annas (18:3, 12). The text balances the *number* of Romans with the *will* of ‘the Jews’. Thus, the opposition of Pilate and the Roman soldiers to Jesus is added to the opposition of some of ‘the Jews’ in the rest of the Gospel (e.g., 10:19-21). In this way, the two ethnic groups are categorized together.

The chain of custody begins with ‘the Jews’ who hand Jesus over to the Romans (18:30, 35, 36).¹²³ Romans and ‘Jews’ begin separated as might be expected, inside and outside the Roman space, the *praetorium* (18:28), with Pilate ambiguously travelling between the two places.¹²⁴ However, Jesus starts on the Roman side, and while Pilate continually offers him to ‘the Jews’ (18:31, 39; 19:6, 14), they reject him, suggesting that Jesus himself does not belong with ‘the Jews’, despite his self-identification with them in John 4:20-22.¹²⁵

A key moment occurs in 18:35, when the surface answer to Pilate’s question, ‘Am I a Jew?’ is ‘No’, yet the Johannine answer is ‘Yes’.¹²⁶ The Johannine Pilate’s question refers the conversation to Judaism, while John, at the same time, by the use of *μήτι*, implies that

¹²² Moore, *Empire*, 53.

¹²³ The verb *παράδιδωμι* cannot (*pace* Duke) be translated as ‘betray’ wherever it occurs in the Fourth Gospel as one can hardly think that John 19:30 means that Jesus ‘bowed his head and betrayed his spirit’ (*Irony*, 128). In the context of a trial, the word seems best translated as ‘to hand over custody of someone’ (‘*παράδιδωμι*’ 1b, BDAG 762). Issues of betrayal are related to loyalty and would be interesting to explore. Paul Duke, for example, notes the use of *παράδιδωμι* with differing subjects (18:30; 19:16), yet concludes that both when ‘the Jews’ betray Jesus to Pilate and when Pilate ‘betrays’ Jesus to ‘the chief priests’, the Fourth Gospel makes ‘the Jews’ responsible (*Irony*, 130, 136). However, from the beginning of the Gospel (John 1:10-11), both the world in general, that Jesus is said to have made, and ‘the Jews’ in particular, who are more specifically Jesus’ own, are shown to refuse to him the recognition they might reasonably be thought to owe him. (Phillips shows the way τὰ ἴδια ought not to be read as referring exclusively to ‘the Jews’ in John 1:11 [*Prologue*, 188-90].)

¹²⁴ This word in particular, repeated as it is three time in verses 28 and 33, emphasizes the Romanness of the space.

¹²⁵ Stibbe notes also the sense of brotherhood between Jesus and ‘the Jews’ that comes from their shared Father (8:41; *Storyteller*, 135). Similarly, in 4:22 he clearly identifies with ‘the Jews’.

¹²⁶ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 93; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 63; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 461-62. Heath’s comments on this verse are similar to Pancaro’s on John 18:37 discussed below (‘You Say’, 245).

ethnic categories are not as stable as they might seem. John's proclivity for *double entendres* allows for the possibility that the reader should at one level answer 'Yes, Pilate is a Jew'.¹²⁷ John's other two uses of μήτι function in such a way.¹²⁸ When the woman from Samaria asks, 'This isn't the Messiah, is it?' (4:29) the Johannine answer is 'Yes'. In that narrative, even the Samaritans recognize Jesus as Messiah ten verses later. Similarly, 'the Jews' ask, 'He won't kill himself, will he?' (8:22), and the Johannine answer, because Jesus is able to lay down and take up his own life (e.g., 10:18), is also 'Yes'.¹²⁹ Thus, in 18:35, Pilate joins 'the Jews' (Figure 31). Furthermore, in Jesus' response to Pilate, he sets himself apart from 'the Jews' by using the third person.¹³⁰ He is still in the *praetorium*, in Roman space.

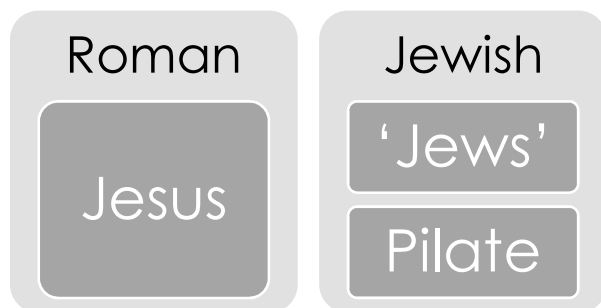


Figure 31: All Johannine characters constructed as Jewish except the Roman, Jesus

Roman soldiers offer a Roman salute to the 'king of the Jews' (19:2). Although the crown and robe turn Jesus into Caesar, the pledge of loyalty to a Jewish king aligns the Roman soldiers's allegiance with what one might expect of Jews, although both groups, again together, reject Jesus in this role. At this moment in the trial, then, Jesus is alone, and he is repeatedly portrayed as a Roman emperor (19:2-5, 7, 12)—Figure 32.

¹²⁷ See on this, e.g., Duke, *Irony*, 129; Bond, *Pilate*, 177, 179; Lincoln, *Truth*, 19-20, 126, 240, 399; Lincoln, 'Reading', 139; Carter, *John*, 302; Heath, 'You Say', 245. However, rather than the recategorization of ethnicities described below, Lincoln sees this statement as categorizing Pilate with 'the Jews' as representatives of the unbelieving world. Still, he points out that people of all ethnicities exist on both sides of the belief/unbelief divide ('Reading', 141-42). The analysis proposed in this section is *pace* those who see only the expectation of a negative answer, such as Brown, *John*, 2.852.

¹²⁸ *Pace* Barrett, as well as Bernard who also points to 21:5, but in that verse NA²⁸ has μήτι with no indication of variants (Barrett, *Gospel*, 536; Bernard, *St. John*, 1.152).

¹²⁹ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 173-74, 176; Duke, *Irony*, 85-86; Carter, *Storyteller*, 120. *Pace* Koester who looks only at the immediate context for the meaning of the question ('Why', 173 n. 24).

¹³⁰ Collins, 'Speaking', 170.

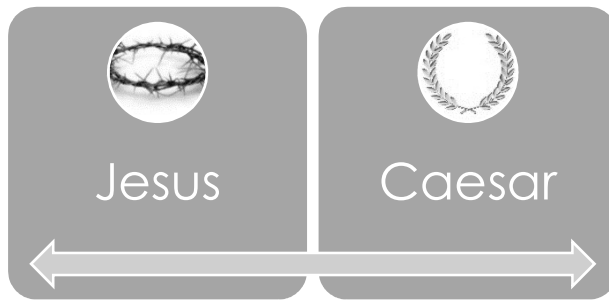


Figure 32: Jesus portrayed as Caesar

As the trial progresses, however, ‘the Jews’ begin to identify themselves as Romans by demanding crucifixion (19:6, 15).¹³¹ Pilate indeed offers to let them crucify Jesus themselves, repeating the connection (v. 6). Furthermore, when ‘the Jews’ remind Pilate of his obligation as Caesar’s friend (v. 11), they construct themselves as loyal to Rome.¹³² Then ‘the Jews’ pronounce the sentence against Jesus (v. 15), and declare their allegiance to Caesar (v. 15), completing their transformation into Romans (Figure 33).¹³³

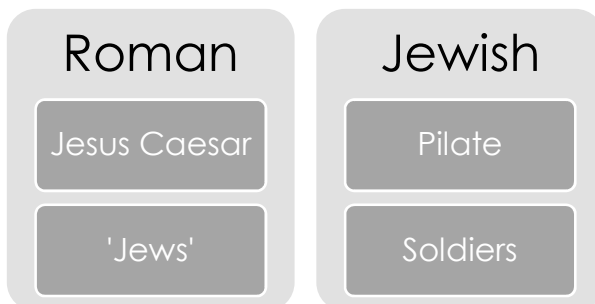


Figure 33: Inversion of ethnicities in John 18:28--19:15

In 19:16 the Johannine Pilate hands Jesus over, and whether he hands him back to ‘the Jews’ or on to the Roman soldiers is ambiguous, at least temporarily until verse 23.¹³⁴ While the Roman Pilate seems to insist that Jesus *is* the ruler of ‘the Jews’, ‘the Jews’ insist that he is not.¹³⁵ Thus, the recategorization begins in 18:1-4, extends throughout John

¹³¹ Although the Romans were not the only people to use this method of execution, in the first century CE, crucifixion was most often done by them. Chapman points out the vivid memory ‘the post-Second Temple generation’ would have of the crucifixions surrounding the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple [David W. Chapman, *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 94].

¹³² Richey, *Roman*, 167; Carter, *John*, 309.

¹³³ See Section 6.2.2.4 n. 337 and 6.2.2.5 n. 345.

¹³⁴ See Carter who believes that the repetition of ‘the *Ioudaioi*’ (18:31, 36, 38; 19:7, 12, 14) is done ‘to underline their opposition to Jesus’ (*John*, 299). I am arguing instead that John is recategorizing them together with gentiles (as represented by Pilate and his soldiers) as subgroups, with ‘witness to the truth’ as a superordinate identity.

¹³⁵ Collins, ‘Speaking’, 174.

18:28—19:22 and ends when the Romans mockingly align themselves with ‘the Jews’, Jesus looks like Caesar, and the Jews demonstrate their allegiance to Rome.¹³⁶ However, the *titulus*, with its Aramaic, Latin and Greek moves Jew, Roman, and Greek side by side, all proclaiming the crucified/glorified Jesus to be the ruler of ‘the Jews’.¹³⁷ This certainly suggests the ultimate triumph of Jewish eschatology—at least for those who accept Jesus as Lord.

For those who see ‘the Jews’ as representative of the unbelieving world, when John characterizes Pilate as a ‘Jew’ (18:35) he is simply showing that Pilate also rejects belief in Jesus.¹³⁸ However, if ‘the Jews’ are understood to be the first example of those who will persecute Jesus-believers, then Pilate has been categorized as another persecutor.¹³⁹ Indeed, the analysis above has suggested that when ‘the Jews’ declare that their βασιλεύς is Caesar, ‘the Jews’ and Romans are categorized together as exemplars of those of any ethnicity who do not ultimately choose Jesus as their Lord and their God (20:28). Those who do, Jewish or gentile, are recategorized under the superordinate identity of ‘witnesses to the truth’.¹⁴⁰

In this way, the claims of Rome as well as those of, for example, Deutero-Isaiah, are engaged, challenged, and re-ordered. To assert that ‘the world rightly belongs to the one who has come into it from above to bring salvific judgment’ (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11 and 19:11)

¹³⁶ The recategorization in John 18:28—19:22 was presented in Laura Hunt, ‘Pilate: Am I a Jew? Romans in the Gospel of John’ (paper presented at Emerging Scholarship on the NT section of the Institute for Biblical Research, SBL Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, 20 November, 2015). See also Genuyt, ‘Comparution’, 134.

¹³⁷ Lémonon sees the ambiguity as a form of blame for the Jews, but agrees that the three languages on the *titulus* mean that Jesus’ death was for the world (*Ponce*, 172, 177; John 12:32). This conclusion was drawn quite early (Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 12). Van Tilborg also sees this blurring of alignment although he does not suggest a reason for it or conclusions to be drawn from it (*Reading*, 166).

¹³⁸ Lincoln, *Truth*, 19-20.

¹³⁹ Jane Heath suggests somewhat similarly that Pilate ‘is a Jew not in the ethnic sense, but in his spiritual kinship to those who have offered Jesus to a Roman trial’ (‘You Say’, 245). Pace Thompson who considers that this phrase ‘distances him from the Jews who have brought Jesus to him’ (*John*, 379). It is this distinction between Pilate and his informants, along with the ethnic recategorization argued for in this chapter, that leads me to conclude that 19:11 evaluates the guilt of the betrayer over that of the enforcer (Section 6.2.2.5).

¹⁴⁰ Rensberger similarly aligns the Jews and Pilate (*Overcoming*, 95).

appropriates both Roman and Jewish narratives.¹⁴¹ Rather than constructing the Jews as those within the family of God and gentiles as those outside, or the Romans as those given an empire by the promise of the gods at whose summit Caesar rules before his death and apotheosis, an empire separating civilized citizens from barbarian Jews, the Gospel of John blurs these familiar distinctions.¹⁴² Both the Romans and ‘the Jews’ are instead addressed as part of ‘the world’ to which Jesus has come; all start as outsiders (John 1:5, 11).¹⁴³ John offers entry into an empire, also ruled by one with power from above (18:36; 19:11).¹⁴⁴ Romans and ‘Jews’ are equally invited to believe and be self-condemned if they reject Jesus.¹⁴⁵

The rejection of Jesus that Pilate and ‘the Jews’ have in common is thus extended into a description of all of humanity.¹⁴⁶ Some Romans and some ‘Jews’ within the narrative are portrayed as the first examples of citizens of the world who reject Jesus as emperor.¹⁴⁷ The empire of the Johannine Jesus includes and simultaneously excludes both Roman citizens and ‘the Jews’, admitting only those who believe.¹⁴⁸ This re-alignment of loyalties is quite different from the way older evaluations of the Gospel distinguished between Pilate

¹⁴¹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 258.

¹⁴² Schnackenburg notes the same blurring as I do although without drawing the same conclusions: ‘The contrast is intentional: The gentile is reluctant to crucify this “king”, the representatives of Judaism disavow him and proclaim instead their loyalty to the Roman colonial power which is otherwise hateful to them precisely on religious grounds’ (*John*, 3.265-66). See, on John’s use of *κόσμος*, Kierspel, *Jews*, 120 n. 69; see, similarly, 177-81.

¹⁴³ For ‘the Jews’, this is an attempt ‘to recall her leaders to fidelity to the covenant’ (Schneiders, *Written*, 81). See also Ruth B. Edwards, *Discovering John: Content, Interpretation, Reception*, *Discovering Biblical Texts: Content, Interpretation, Reception* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 142-55.

¹⁴⁴ Gillespie, ‘Trial’, 72.

¹⁴⁵ On all starting as outsiders, see Craig R. Koester, ‘Jesus the Way, the Cross, and the World According to the Gospel of John’, *WW* 21.4 (2001): 360-69 (361-62). See, similarly, Dunn, *Neither*, 361-62.

¹⁴⁶ E.g., Koester, ‘Why’, 169.

¹⁴⁷ Pace those, like de la Potterie, who see ‘the Jews’ as those ‘qui représentent concrètement le monde’ (‘Jésus’, 247). ‘The Jews’ for example, in 8:33, re-affirm ‘their profound commitment to monotheism’ [Adele Reinhartz, ‘The Gospel of John: How the “Jews” Became Part of the Plot’, in *Jesus, Judaism and Christian Anti-Judaism: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust*, ed. Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 99-116 (107)]. Pace Carter who misses the multiple meanings of *δουλεύω* that Reinhartz notes: both ‘to be enslaved’ but, more importantly in this context, ‘to serve’. He can thus erroneously conclude that ‘they who in 8.33 claimed never to have been slaves of anyone enslave themselves to Rome and recognize the emperor’s rule’ (‘Social Identities’, 243).

¹⁴⁸ John 1:4-5, 7-9; 3:19-21; 8:12; 12:46; Lincoln, *Truth*, 240. However, see also John 5:35; 9:5; 12:35-36 with their suggestions that the light has or will be brought by others, thus extending the empire from the time of Jesus’ life to the time of the hearers of the Gospel.

who ‘represents the world in need of salvation’ and ‘the Jews’ who are ‘simply apostate’.¹⁴⁹ Such an analysis resulted in a reification of group identities such that being Roman, Jewish, or Christian emerged as mutually exclusive.¹⁵⁰ However, when it is noted that to believe in Jesus creates a superordinate identity, then previous ethnic identities do not disappear. Jesus is not presented as *without* identity but as Lord of *all* identities, since he is both a Roman emperor (see Chapter 5) and King of the Jews (John 19:19, 22).

Chapter 5 suggested that the comparison between Jesus and Caesar is not expressed primarily in terms of a contrast with Rome but within a negotiation, in which there are elements of replacement but also a description of the areas of conflict, i.e. some redefinition in terms of truth and honour.¹⁵¹ First, the Roman encyclopaedia is brought into the narrative metaphorically as Roman soldiers and Pilate mock Jesus as not Caesar. Then, Roman-aware auditors are shown that despite the lack of awareness of those Johannine characters, the claims of the Roman empire have been fulfilled by Jesus. Yet in the broader view, the *Aeneid* and its Roman thought world extend the trial of all nations described in the Gospel to include Romans. Ultimately, in facing a crucified Jesus, their encyclopaedia is rewritten so that they can become part of this new community such that for Roman-aware auditors honour is maintained because judgement is meted out according to the God of Israel.¹⁵² To self-identify as a witness to the truth is to claim an honourable identity superordinate to that of

¹⁴⁹ Edwyn Clement Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, ed. Francis Noel Davey, 2nd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 515.

¹⁵⁰ Hoskyns, *Fourth*, 521. See above on reified identity.

¹⁵¹ Warren Carter describes this kind of negotiation with Rome, albeit somewhat inconsistently. See, for example, the list of references to a call to complete antagonism between Jesus-believers and Rome (Section 6.1.3 n. 70). Although he combines his view of the Fourth Gospel as an antilanguage with the work of Scott on hidden transcripts, two approaches that have been differentiated in this thesis, he recognizes the way the mission of the Gospel of John ‘collides with, contests, and repairs Rome’s mission’, a description somewhat close to the negotiation described in this chapter (*John*, 81).

¹⁵² Lincoln, *Truth*, 260. Lincoln’s full sentence is: ‘the narrative presents the world as the place where true judgment has been and is being given, even in the midst of the victimization and violence that can characterize the opposition’s system of justice’. However, outside of the universe of discourse of *Truth on Trial*, this might be misunderstood to mean that justice exists within the Johannine community. That is not what Lincoln means by judgement, which he defines both in relation to Jesus and to his followers: ‘Just as Jesus’ mission constituted a realized judgment of either salvation or condemnation, so the disciples’ mission entails a realized judgement of either the forgiveness or the retention of sins, and this reflects God’s judgment’ (31).

Jew or Roman. Thus, the third of Tucker's criteria for recognizing an identity-forming text, that of relating new markers of identity to old markers in a way that recognizes the non-monolithic nature of identity, is present also in John 18:28—19:22. The markers of election and law in particular have been recategorized such that they are not the exclusive resource of either Roman or Jewish identity. Witness to the truth provides a superordinate identity, 'not built upon heredity or ancestry, but on choice and judgment'.¹⁵³ This judgement will be effected according to criteria different from those of Romans and 'Jews', so that adherence to either or both of these laws seems to be marginalized as a marker for Jesus-believers.

7.1.5. Law in John 18:28—19:22

Scholars sometimes conclude that Jesus' crucifixion is carried out in violation of both Jewish and Roman law.¹⁵⁴ These conclusions proceed primarily from a later Christian perspective and a modern-day sense of justice. In Pancaro's study of the meaning of νόμος in the Gospel of John, he notes that '[t]he Law should lead to the recognition of Jesus' and that, therefore, '[t]he Law is violated by those who condemn Jesus'.¹⁵⁵ Yet regarding the trial narrative, Pancaro concludes that '[i]n the eyes of the Jews the Law demands the death of Jesus because he is opposed to the Law; in the eyes of the evangelist the Law demands the death of Jesus because it was given by God through Moses precisely in order to find its fulfilment in the death of Jesus. The death of Jesus comes about as a result of the Father's will'.¹⁵⁶

Hallbäck notes this as a literary feature as well:

There is ... a conflict of interpretation between Jesus and the 'Jews' respecting his person, a choice between belief and disbelief. But this is a conflict at the cognitive level of the narrative; at the pragmatic level there is no opposing programme. The 'Jews' do not represent an opposing

¹⁵³ Liew, 'Ambiguous', 203.

¹⁵⁴ For those who understand Jesus' crucifixion to be in violation of Roman law, see Section 6.1.2 n. 34. For the crucifixion as a violation of Jewish law, see Pancaro, *Law*, 130-57.

¹⁵⁵ Pancaro, *Law*, 508-510.

¹⁵⁶ Pancaro, *Law*, 510. Thus, *pace* Carter, there is no opposition between Jesus and the combined forces of Pilate and the Jewish leadership ('Social Identities', 241-48. On this see also Carter, *John*, 310). Furthermore, Jesus does not save his followers from Roman power (*pace* 249).

programme to the narrative assignment of Jesus. Evidently the ‘Jews’ are behind the crucifixion of Jesus, and they themselves think of this as an opposing programme. But this is exactly where they are deceived, for it is in fact an auxiliary programme. It is the intention, the assignment, of Jesus to be crucified, and to that end the seemingly contradictory programme enters the principal narrative programme of the Gospel as an auxiliary programme. Jesus himself has to send off Judas during the last Supper; and when he is about to be arrested in Gethsemane, he almost has to insist on being caught.¹⁵⁷

Although Thatcher writes that ‘the events of Jesus’ death were predetermined not by the public transcript of Roman crucifixions, but rather by the imperative that God’s word must be fulfilled’, I suggest that from John’s perspective they are both.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, ‘the emperor’s *Lex* is an actor in the game’.¹⁵⁹ Although Jesus has not transgressed Roman natural law, pragmatic application of Rome’s power, i.e. positive law, demands that he must die.¹⁶⁰ The actions of Pilate happen according to the orientation of his life’s trajectory, but the timing is the hour chosen by God (7:32-44; 8:20-59; 10:31-39; 12:23; 18:6, 11).¹⁶¹

So what happens to the laws of ‘the Jews’ and the Romans in the Fourth Gospel’s superordinate identity?¹⁶² To address this question thoroughly would require a separate study of the function of the identity marker ‘law-abiding’ within the whole Gospel.¹⁶³ In the

¹⁵⁷ Geert Hallbäck, ‘The Gospel of John as Literature: Literary Readings of the Fourth Gospel’, in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel*, Aarhus, 1997, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 31-46 (45). Thatcher notes something similar when he describes the contrast one reads in the levels of meaning of various ‘episodes’ in the Gospel of John ‘in terms of *the difference between their normal public meaning and what John thinks was actually happening*’, in other words, as for Hallbäck, a cognitive contrast (*Greater*, 127; see, similarly, his point that ‘the specific contents of John’s Gospel may be viewed as a specific counter to the claims of imperial power’ [4]).

¹⁵⁸ It is possible that Thatcher is again referencing a cognitive contrast in the meaning of these events. However, I would argue that both meanings are still present, although contrasted (‘Conquered’, 155, 157-58).

¹⁵⁹ Kasper Bro Larsen, *Recognizing the Stranger* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 175.

¹⁶⁰ This distinction is discussed in Section 7.1.2.

¹⁶¹ For the view that orientation affects choice, see Harold W. Attridge, ‘Divine Sovereignty and Human Responsibility in the Fourth Gospel’, in *Revealed Wisdom: Studies in Apocalyptic in Honour of Christopher Rowland*, ed. John Ashton, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 183-99 (189-90). For the reminder that John describes God having decreed the moment, see Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Lecture de l’Évangile selon Jean*, vol. 4 (Paris: Parole de Dieu, 1996), 104-105; cited in Simoens, ‘Pouvoir’, 546. (The Léon-Dufour volume itself was unavailable to me.)

¹⁶² Although Pancaro looks at the function of the Jewish law in the Gospel of John, within the trial narrative he contrasts religious and political in a way that Section 1.2.1 has shown to be anachronistic (Section 1.2.1). Furthermore, his analysis of Pilate sees him as ‘impartial’ and showing ‘sympathy towards Jesus’ in a way that is not consonant with a Roman governor (Pancaro, *Law*, 315, 307-26, esp. 324). Genuyt notes the two laws in play as well (‘Comparison’, 135).

¹⁶³ Andrew Lincoln points out, for example, that Jesus ‘contrasts with Moses and the law’ as early as 1:17 (*Truth*, 14, 147).

Johannine trial narrative, however, only ‘the Jews’ and Pilate discuss any law, as they shift back and forth between accusations and implications, each usually claiming to be law-abiding themselves. When Pilate asks for the accusation (18:29), he is following Roman legal procedure.¹⁶⁴ In the next verse, ‘the Jews’ also present themselves as law-abiding, since they claim that Jesus has done ‘something evil’ (v. 30).¹⁶⁵ The law used as a standard for judging that evil, however, is not overtly specified. Nevertheless, since it is ‘the Jews’ who have judged him as an evildoer (*κακὸν ποιῶν*), they seem to have already evaluated him on the basis of their own law, which Pilate recognizes when he suggests that they complete the process by judging ‘him according to [their] own law’ (v. 31, author translation).¹⁶⁶ Thus, whether or not historically Jews were permitted to put people to death, the rhetorical effect of the phrase in verse 31, ‘we are not permitted to kill anyone’ is a claim for a Jewish identity that abides by Roman law by bringing Jewish transgressors to Rome for execution.¹⁶⁷

Pilate declares a lack of *αἰτία*, grounds for accusation against Jesus (v. 38). This is not, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the same as a declaration of innocence.¹⁶⁸ Instead, Pilate is positioning himself as a law-abiding judge who will not try a case without reasonable grounds for Roman involvement.¹⁶⁹ He then refers ‘the Jews’ to their own tradition (*ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῶν*)—and for Romans tradition was the basis of law (v. 39).¹⁷⁰ Romans regularly deferred to local law, so Pilate is abiding by Roman law, by deferring to Jewish law.¹⁷¹

I have separated legal punishment from illegal violence (according to the Roman encyclopaedia), and thus consider the flogging and slapping in 19:1-3 as part of the trial

¹⁶⁴ Bickerman, ‘*Utilitas*’, 198; Tolmie, ‘Pontius’, 584.

¹⁶⁵ Lincoln, *Truth*, 37; Larsen, *Recognizing*, 177-78.

¹⁶⁶ Joel C. Elowsky, ed. *Commentary on the Gospel of John: Theodore of Mopsuestia*, ed. Thomas C. Oden and Gerald Bray, L., Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2010), 152.

¹⁶⁷ For an entrée into the historical debate, see Wright, ‘Governor’, 176.

¹⁶⁸ Section 6.2.1.3.

¹⁶⁹ Tolmie again suggests that Pilate is attempting ‘to fulfill his judicial role in a just way’ (‘Pontius’, 587-89).

¹⁷⁰ Wilhelm Kierdorf, ‘*Mos maiorum*’, PC.

¹⁷¹ For references to Romans allowing provincials to follow their own laws, see Section 6.2.1.1, especially n. 138.

procedure, since it would be considered a normal part of the judicial process in antiquity (*Dig.* 48.10.15.41).¹⁷² And the debate about the source of ‘authority’ and the assigning of ‘guilt’ in verse 11 again leave the question of Roman or Jewish gods and laws open and ambiguous.

In John 18:40, by choosing Barabbas, ‘the Jews’ for the first time declare themselves to be rebellious to Rome by choosing a rebel over Jesus.¹⁷³ This unique example becomes clearer when one disentangles the two-level communication. Rather than putting the information in the mouth of Pilate or ‘the Jews’, the narrator steps in and declares Barabbas to be a rebel.¹⁷⁴ While it is true that ‘the Jews’ make the choice of freeing Barabbas rather than Jesus, it is the narrator who characterizes this choice as treacherous. The irony, then, as many have perceived, is that law-abiding ‘Jews’ choose to set a rebel free.¹⁷⁵ However, in their role as first among many of all ethnic or religious designations, the narrator ironically expresses the reality that some of those most concerned about following the law may ultimately kill those that Jesus-believers would regard as ‘of the truth’ and set free those who are not of the truth.¹⁷⁶ Pilate, as will be discussed below, does the same.

Pilate again follows Roman law by declaring a lack of cause for Jesus’ trial in 19:4. He suggests Jewish rebellion and characterizes himself as law-abiding in verse 6 when he offers Jesus to ‘the Jews’ for crucifixion. ‘The Jews’, however, reject that characterization and instead declare themselves to be following their own law (v. 7).¹⁷⁷ Indeed, ‘it is their stance toward the law that defines the opponents of Jesus and that is the source of their determination to see him sentenced to death’.¹⁷⁸ The tables are turned in verse 12, when ‘the

¹⁷² Glancy, ‘Torture’, 125.

¹⁷³ Duke, *Irony*, 131; Carter, *John*, 304-305.

¹⁷⁴ See Section 6.2.1.3 for definition of *ληστές*; Lincoln, *Truth*, 130.

¹⁷⁵ Malina, and Rohrbaugh, *Commentary*, 263; Koester, ‘Why’, 168; Bond, ‘Remembered’, 71.

¹⁷⁶ See Pliny’s correspondence discussed below.

¹⁷⁷ Barrett argues that a ‘particular statute’, namely the ‘law of blasphemy’ (Lev 24:16) is meant, not the Torah as a whole, but either meaning is sufficient for ‘the Jews’ to be describing themselves as law-abiding (*Gospel*, 541).

¹⁷⁸ Lincoln connects this with their behaviour throughout the Gospel (*Truth*, 124-25).

Jews' call Pilate's obedience to Caesar into question. They are now appealing to *his* law, 'the law of the Roman Caesar'.¹⁷⁹ Whether Pilate sits himself or seats Jesus at the judgement seat, he abandons his brief fear of Jesus' imperial connections and demonstrates loyalty to Caesar in the way 'the Jews' demand (19:16).¹⁸⁰ Thus, Jesus has now been condemned 'according to both Jewish and imperial law'.¹⁸¹

Bro Larsen has noted, however, that there is a third law in play, the "'law" of the implied author, i.e. the value system by which Jesus is recognized in his proper divine roles'.¹⁸² For Bro Larsen, this is what Jesus calls 'the truth'.¹⁸³ Truth in John, and its importance to Jesus' declaration of his empire, has been discussed briefly in Chapter 6.¹⁸⁴ And in this thesis, the truth of John's Gospel has been equated with the hidden transcript of Jesus-believers, according to which Jesus is not guilty, but dies in obedience to God (John 18:11). Bro Larsen's analysis brings up another point: 'the negotiation concerning which "law" is going to be the valid one in judging Jesus is a struggle for power. No law works without a power that substantiates it'.¹⁸⁵ For Bro Larsen, the 'weakness' of Pilate and the injustice of 'the Jews' (18:40; 19:15) together 'undermin[e] the legitimacy of both systems'.¹⁸⁶ I have argued in this thesis against a weak Pilate, and I do not conclude that the systems lack legitimacy. Instead, Jesus redefines Pilate's power (19:11): 'tu es toi-même sujet d'une loi que tu ignores, ton pouvoir est la marque d'un assujettissement à quelqu'un d'Autre'.¹⁸⁷ Yet the narrative does oppose Jesus' truth to the Jewish and Roman laws used to silence that truth.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ Larsen, *Recognizing*, 178.

¹⁸⁰ Evans, *Explorations*, 61.

¹⁸¹ Larsen, *Recognizing*, 178.

¹⁸² Larsen, *Recognizing*, 178-79.

¹⁸³ Larsen, *Recognizing*, 179.

¹⁸⁴ Section 6.2.2.4 (e.g., n. 329); Thompson, *John*, 380.

¹⁸⁵ Larsen, *Recognizing*, 179.

¹⁸⁶ Larsen, *Recognizing*, 180.

¹⁸⁷ Genuyt, 'Comparution', 143.

¹⁸⁸ This is not to say that Roman and Christian identities were always in reality completely at odds. The very fact that such recategorization was necessary points to the intersectionality of Roman, Jewish and Christian identities in the ancient world (Castelli, *Martyrdom*, 35).

If those hearing the Gospel are called to re-prioritize their ethnic allegiances, it seems that they are also called to de-emphasize obedience to any law.¹⁸⁹ Jesus is part of a different empire; he is of the truth. The truth, then, is a marker of the superordinate identity and as such overrides allegiances to Roman or Jewish law, but only in the cases where they conflict.¹⁹⁰ For example, in the debates over the Sabbath (John 5 and 9), Jesus' choices to heal are consistent with the healing brought by God through obedience in the Hebrew Bible (Ex. 15:26) but are inconsistent with the interpretation of this law followed by 'the Jews'.¹⁹¹ Thus, this passage does not abolish law altogether but calls followers of Jesus to stop considering 'law-abiding' (in its Roman and Jewish cultural units) as *the* primary marker of ingroup categorization.¹⁹²

In this way, it seems that 'Scripture has to be understood in the light of the word of Jesus'.¹⁹³ Similarly, while Jesus submits to the authority of Rome's representative, he also refuses to give Pilate clear answers. He thus demonstrates for Jesus-believers an identity that understands Roman law in the light of the Johannine truth.¹⁹⁴ Jesus also brings up this point: 'For this I was born and for this I have come: so that I might bear witness to the truth' (18:37, author translation).

The opposition between Jesus-believers, on the one hand, and Romans and Jews, on the other, is not an absolute clash but a negotiation of loyalties—plural because they are

¹⁸⁹ Genuyt also notes this confusion of ethnicities and laws, but not the superordinate identity ('Comparison', 145).

¹⁹⁰ Richey recognizes that Jesus is 'supreme' over Caesar, yet sets the choice for believers in terms of an opposition 'between Christ and Caesar' (*Roman*, 163-66). Others also note the greater claim for Jesus' power, e.g., Tilborg, *Reading*, 216.

¹⁹¹ Carter also notes the connections between Jesus' healings and the *Torah*'s concern for justice (*John*, 162).

¹⁹² On the function of criteria and characteristics (called 'markers' in this thesis) in social identity, see Kuecker, 'Ethnicity', 70-72.

¹⁹³ Lincoln, *Truth*, 55. Lincoln continues: '... which supersedes it' but a discussion of supersession and its attendant concerns will not be engaged in at this juncture.

¹⁹⁴ For Jesus as a model for believers, see Sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5. The universe of discourse of the Fourth Gospel, when viewed as a paradigm shift, appropriately re-uses old symbols in new ways [Dirk-Martin Grube, 'Reconstructing the Change from Judaism to Christianity as a Paradigm Shift', in *Orthodoxy, Liberalism, and Adaptation: Essays on Ways of Worldmaking in Times of Change from Biblical, Historical and Systematic Perspectives*, ed. Bob Becking (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 225-47 (243)].

nested within one another.¹⁹⁵ Thus, later followers lived among others, up to the point at which their understanding of the truth of Jesus conflicted with social customs (*Diogn.* 5).¹⁹⁶ The problem with the empire and serving within it was one of idolatry, not empire itself.¹⁹⁷

If loyalties were being negotiated, and law-abiding was devalued in the superordinate identity of ‘witness to the truth’, one must ask what would replace law as a method of evaluation. How will the ethics and ethos of the community be judged? This is a question better asked of the Gospel of John as a whole and cannot be pursued at length at this juncture. However, a fruitful lead might be found in Andrew Lincoln’s insight that Jesus’ words ‘serve as the judge, the final criterion of [the] truth’ (cf. 1:17).¹⁹⁸ On this basis, the law must now be interpreted with ‘the hermeneutical key provided by Jesus’, specifically in his revelation of himself as the Son of the Father.¹⁹⁹ Certainly, the Spirit which, as has already been noted, certifies truth empowers that reflection for later witnessing communities (e.g., 3:34; 4:23-24; 14:17; 16:13; 20:22).²⁰⁰ Jesus’ words and the gift of the Spirit, then, becomes the arena for appropriate judgements to be made.²⁰¹

What would be the effects of such recategorization, where ethnic identity in general and ‘law-abiding’ as a marker, is de-emphasized and allegiance to Jesus becomes primary? Can conclusions be drawn from such a description to elucidate discussions about violence in John, about the existence and composition of a possible Johannine community, and about the ethos of marginalization and the ethics of power? Suggestions for further discussions on these issues will be developed in the second half of this chapter.

¹⁹⁵ For the way loyalty is connected to service to the gods, see Teresa Morgan, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith: Pistis and Fides in the Early Roman Empire and Early Churches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 137-42.

¹⁹⁶ Bennema, ‘Early’, 67-69.

¹⁹⁷ Gordon L. Heath, ‘The Church Fathers and the Roman Empire’, in *Empire in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall, McMaster Divinity College Press New Testament Study Series 10 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 259-79 (264-65, 266, 270, 275, 279).

¹⁹⁸ Lincoln, *Truth*, 109. See also Genuyt, ‘Comparution’, 136.

¹⁹⁹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 237; see further on the relationship between Jesus and the law, 231-38. Similarly, for Bro Larsen, this key is the ‘truth’ by which Jesus is recognized in his ‘proper divine roles’ (*Recognizing*, 179).

²⁰⁰ Section 5.1.4 and see Lincoln, *Truth*, 122, 242-55, 248.

²⁰¹ Genuyt, ‘Comparution’, 137.

7.2. A Hidden Transcript

So far this chapter has briefly described some elements of Roman and Jewish identities as understood in the first century CE, emphasizing three markers that they have in common: election, law and accommodation to outsiders. I have pointed to some of the places in John 18:28—19:22 where John seems to be re-categorizing Roman and Jewish identities, marginalizing law and emphasizing ‘witness to the truth’ as a superordinate identity. The second half of this chapter, then, will outline some salient factors modelled by the Johannine Jesus who functions as a prototype of this new identity. After first revisiting the topic of hidden transcripts, demonstrating the way the superordinate identity of ‘witness to the truth’ intersects with issues of violence brought up by postcolonial studies, evidence will be gathered for the possibility that the early Jesus-believers of John’s audience constructed themselves as marginalized, oppressed, or persecuted Jesus-believers. I shall argue that Jesus, as a group prototype, models not just honour through persecution, but also vulnerability from a place of authority.

7.2.1. A hidden transcript that negotiates empire

Chapter 1 presented the concept of a hidden transcript, a term referring to the discourses created by oppressed people that challenge the metanarratives of the élite.²⁰² Unlike antilanguages, which are only intelligible to those who use them, hidden transcripts are only partially disguised from those they oppose.²⁰³ I have argued throughout this thesis that the Gospel of John produces such a transcript, one that provides a metanarrative for subordinated people.²⁰⁴ Particularly in Chapter 5, the ambiguous language of John 19:1-5 was shown to appropriate Roman language and symbols to present Jesus as a Roman

²⁰² Section 1.4.2. The focus of this study is on a hidden transcript used among a marginalized group although, as was noted in Section 1.3.2, élite groups also develop them.

²⁰³ Sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.

²⁰⁴ On the function of a hidden transcript in this regard, see Section 1.3.2. For an entrée into contemporary discussions of issues of power, see Kathy Ehrensperger, *Paul and the Dynamics of Power: Communication and Interaction in the Early Christ-Movement* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 16-34.

emperor. However, it does this without complete transparency by using the title βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (19:3). Further ironies, ambiguities and *double entendres* in John 18:28—19:22 have been added as elements of a hidden transcript that expresses the truth of a Johannine community in a way that pushes up against other metanarratives in John’s world without crossing the line into an outright challenge.²⁰⁵ It is specifically its points of contact with the Roman metanarrative that have been the focus of this thesis.²⁰⁶

This section will consider two relationships posited by other scholars between the Roman empire and the identity of the Johannine Jesus-believers: parallel (but not intersecting) or in complete opposition.²⁰⁷ The section will then elaborate the view with which the previous section ended, that the two groups only clash at the point(s) where ultimate allegiance to Jesus’ truth contravenes obedience to the laws of other identities. The trial narrative establishes a superordinate identity within which previously established identities (and therefore their current human rulers) are subordinated but not destroyed.

Some have sought to sidestep these issues on the grounds that an empire ‘not from this world’ is not political (18:36).²⁰⁸ It is true that Jesus distinguished those ‘of the world’ from those ‘of the truth’ (18:36, 37), but origins are not the same as presence. Furthermore, the Gospel of John clearly engages with human government, especially in the trial narrative (19:11)—the very act of allowing himself to be crucified by the Roman empire (while not allowing himself to be stoned by ‘the Jews’) shows Jesus’ engagement in the world (19:18; 8:59). This last topic will be discussed below in Section 7.2.5. At this juncture, I simply note

²⁰⁵ See Sections 1.3.2 and 5.1.4.

²⁰⁶ Segovia, ‘Gospel’, 158–60. Both material and textual production have been discussed already in Chapters 3–6 (Segovia, ‘Gospel’, 160–61). This concern for the locus of meaning, addressed in Chapter 2, is also present in postcolonial analyses (Segovia, ‘Gospel’, 161–63).

²⁰⁷ Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 83–84.

²⁰⁸ For Heath, for example, Jesus’ kingship ‘is not a title or role that is readily understood in the usual political or religious categories’ (‘You Say’, 242).

that one cannot be in the world in a way that does not acquiesce or engage with human power structures, so Jesus' rule cannot be abstracted from political interests.²⁰⁹

The second approach to the comparison of the empire of Jesus to the empire of Rome is that of complete opposition.²¹⁰ Indeed, it would seem that to dress Jesus up in the trappings of Caesar would inevitably require a rejection of Rome.²¹¹ In this case, the Gospel of John would be 'a text bent on claiming and exercising power—absolute power—in both the religious and political spheres at once. It invalidates and displaces all existing institutions and authorities, values and norms, ideals and goals, while promoting and emplacing alternative authorities and institutions, norms and values, goals and ideals'.²¹² Section 7.2.2 has shown, however, that the Gospel of John reproduces markers of identity such as election and accommodation to outsiders. So while this thesis has argued that Jesus is depicted in the language of Caesar—dressed up in his clothes so to speak, in order to 'provide a point of comparison', that is, language with which to understand John's message—this does not require that Jesus be in complete opposition to the Roman empire.²¹³

It must be noted at the outset that if the identity that John describes is intended to replace Roman identity and Roman power, it might also be designed to replace *all* identities and powers. And whether this is interpreted as salvation or colonialism depends in part on one's evaluation of these present powers. Jesus is certainly presented as unique in the Fourth

²⁰⁹ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 97.

²¹⁰ See, for example, Paul Middleton, *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity*, ed. Mark Goodacre, LNTS 307 (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 70; Rensberger, 'Politics', 406; see also 410.

²¹¹ Section 5.2.5. For example, Carter writes that the absolute opposition between Jesus and Rome that he finds in the Gospel of John (e.g., Section 6.1.3 n. 70) is a call put more distance between Jesus-believers and the agents and agencies of the Roman empire (*John*, 11-15).

²¹² Segovia, 'Gospel', 157.

²¹³ For some examples of those who read opposition between Jesus and Rome in the Gospel of John, see Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 97; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 462; Salier, 'Jesus', 300; Richey, *Roman*, 156, 175; Skinner, *Trial*, 103-104; Carter, 'Social Identities', 243-45; Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 64. Meeks adduces Acts 17:7 (alongside John 19:15 which will be discussed below) as evidence of 'the conflict between church and empire' (*Prophet-King*, 73). However, as has been shown in Chapter 6, the passage in Acts simply demonstrates the Roman concerns about the assembling of possibly treasonous people discussed in Section 6.1.5. Piper's view is closer to mine, although he views the synagogue as the principal opponent of Jesus-believers ('Characterisation', 161).

Gospel, which may suggest he replaces Caesar (1:14, 18; 5:22, 27).²¹⁴ For example, the ἀληθῶς in John 4:42, suggests an exclusive claim when the Samaritans profess that Jesus is ‘truly Saviour of the world’.²¹⁵ Yet this uniqueness seems primarily centred around Jesus’ relationship to the Father (e.g., 1:1), as well as his relative authority over all (e.g., 3:31).²¹⁶ I propose, instead of opposition, a three-part exploration of the relationship between John and the Roman empire: First, Jesus’ empire—as John depicts it—does not authorize physical violence against anyone. Jesus is greater than Caesar, but this does not mean Caesar’s defeat. Instead, Rome’s choices are absorbed into God’s ‘life-giving purposes’ while Rome’s representatives remain responsible for their actions.²¹⁷ Secondly, citizens of Jesus’ empire should expect violence against them. This means that his empire cannot be called peaceful in the sense that it is violence-free. Thirdly, citizens of Jesus’ empire await final vindication. This will be rescue and salvation for them but there is the expectation of violence against those who do not believe in Jesus.²¹⁸ These three topics will be explored, but the thoughts offered in this chapter can only be considered suggestive of further research directions.

It is clear that in the earliest readings of John’s Gospel, there was no absolute opposition between Jesus and Caesar. While early church fathers used military images to describe the Christian life, ‘[t]hese references did not create a militaristic community that acted out the violent images of Revelation: the earliest Christians did not take up the sword when persecuted’.²¹⁹ They pre-empted imperial language but did not pick up imperial

²¹⁴ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 105.

²¹⁵ Salier, ‘Jesus’, 293, emphasis mine. See, also, Richard J. Cassidy, *Christians and Roman Rule in the New Testament: New Perspectives* (New York: Crossroad, 2001), 46.

²¹⁶ See, e.g., Williams, *I Am He*, 303-304; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 12, 42, 47-48. For an overview of the scholarly debates on the development of Christology with references to the place of the Gospel of John within that development, see Chester, ‘High’.

²¹⁷ Thompson, *John*, 85-86.

²¹⁸ For Jan van der Watt as well, ‘the Johannine group must be regarded as a political entity’, although he calls it more traditionally ‘the Kingdom of God’ [Harold Attridge, Warren Carter, and Jan van der Watt, ‘Are John’s Ethics Apolitical?’, *NTS* 62.3 (2016): 484-97 (495)].

²¹⁹ Heath, ‘Church’, 163-64, quote on p. 164. They did, however, eventually take up the sword—this will be discussed below. On this, see, for example, Adolf Harnack, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, trans. David McInnes Gracie (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 27-64. Martin, too, notes the inherent tension in the New Testament between declarations of non-violence and divine

arms.²²⁰ Instead, '[t]hey live in their respective countries, but only as resident aliens; they participate in all things as citizens, and they endure all things as foreigners. Every foreign territory is a homeland for them, every homeland foreign territory' (*Diogn.* 5.5 [Ehrman, LCL]).²²¹ So opposition is not the only possible interpretation for the relationship between the universe of discourse of the Gospel of John and the discourse of empire in the context from which it emerges.

John demonstrates that faith in Jesus does not always demand a complete rejection of another allegiance. Jesus calls Nathanael a true Israelite and uses the Hebrew Bible for their discussion (1:47, 51), affirming Nathanael's previously established identity while, as has been shown, presenting an alternative interpretation of the law.²²² In his conversation with the wise woman of Sychar, the Johannine Jesus modifies Samaritan (and, indeed, Jewish) understanding of the place of worship, but affirms her concept of Messiah (4:21-26).²²³ John shows his listeners Nicodemus who must negotiate his own identity as a Pharisee (John 3:1-21; 7:50-52; 19:39-40). Furthermore, Pilate's authority, while subordinate, is affirmed. Jewish and Roman identities, then, are not incompatible with that of Jesus-believers in the sense of not being able to exist nested one within the other. They may, on occasion, require choice between loyalties.²²⁴ Polycarp, for example, considered that to

violence 'in the cause of God or from God or God's agents' ['Response to Downing and Fredriksen', *JSNT* 37.3 (2015): 334-45 (344-45)].

²²⁰ Johannes Nissen, 'Community and Ethics in the Gospel of John', in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel, Aarhus, 1997*, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, *JSNTSup* 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 194-212 (208).

²²¹ Cf. Heath, 'Church', 279.

²²² Section 6.2.2.6; Sean Freyne, 'Vilifying the Other and Defining the Self: Matthew's and John's Anti-Jewish Polemic in Focus', in *'To See Ourselves as Others See Us': Christians, Jews, 'Others' in Late Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, *Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 117-43 (128, 135).

²²³ Reinhartz and Benny Liew note the former but not the latter (Reinhartz, 'Colonizer', 186; Liew, 'Ambiguous', 203).

²²⁴ For the correlations between belief and behaviour, see Section 1.3.2. Cf. Attridge, Carter, and van der Watt, 'Apolitical', 496.

swear ‘by the Genius of Caesar’ was an act that conflicted with his loyalty to Jesus (‘How can I blaspheme my King [βασιλεύς] who saved me?’).²²⁵

The semiotic theories used in this thesis lead one to expect a universe of discourse in the text that seeks to edit the cultural encyclopaedias of its hearers.²²⁶ Rome’s power is shown to be inferior to God’s (and therefore to Jesus’) since the most that Rome can do is crucify Jesus and he is able to recover from that.²²⁷ Indeed, ‘the Johannine Jesus ... is an envoy from a distant realm who claims the world through which he is journeying and all its inhabitants for the supreme power which he purports to represent’.²²⁸ Clearly, a take-over has been effected.²²⁹ Just as Rome has client kings, Caesar is now a client king of Emperor Jesus, and ‘witness to the truth’ is the superordinate identity.²³⁰ This means that when Jason Ripley writes that ‘Jesus’ death ... is also on behalf of the whole world..., implicitly challenging imperial claims to lordship over all’, it is not Caesar’s lordship that is challenged but his lordship specifically *over all*.²³¹

This contradicts the assumption that a takeover or invasion implies the destruction of previous inhabitants. Indeed, Thatcher argues that ‘in the Fourth Gospel the normal public meaning of the cross is profaned in a way that makes Caesar and his agents helpless victims

²²⁵ Mart. Pol. 9.3; translation from Michael W. Holmes, ed. *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 235.

²²⁶ Desogus, ‘Encyclopedia’, 520. Peter Oakes has similarly proposed that in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians, Paul envisions a conflict with Rome—one that he addresses by ‘redrawing the map of the universe.... the universe is not as it appears. The Christians have a secure place close to the real central power’ [‘Re-Mapping the Universe: Paul and the Emperor in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians’, *JSNT* 27.3 (2005): 301-322 (321-22)].

²²⁷ Carter, *John*, 140; Carter, ‘Social Identities’, 247; Attridge, Carter, and van der Watt, ‘Apolitical’, 496.

²²⁸ Moore, *Empire*, 45. Cf. Thatcher, *Greater*, 6, see also 11.

²²⁹ Thatcher, ‘Conquered’, 159. See, also, David R. Kirk, ‘Heaven Opened: Intertextuality and Meaning in John 1:51’, *Tyndale Bulletin* 63.2 (2012): 237-56; R. Alan Culpepper, ‘The Weave of the Tapestry: Character and Theme in John’, in *Characters and Characterization in the Gospel of John*, ed. Christopher W. Skinner, Library of New Testament Studies 461 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 18-35 (32).

²³⁰ Cassidy, *Christians*, 40, 48; Salier, ‘Jesus’, 300. Thatcher goes so far as to assert that ‘Christ is, in every way, greater than Caesar’. Yet, is he truly greater in every single respect? (‘Conquered’, 141; similarly 143). Note that Thatcher specifies in his earlier work that ‘Jesus is ... always more than the most we could imagine in terms of power and authority’, so perhaps his greater than statements are meant always to be focused on those aspects (*Greater*, 124).

²³¹ Ripley, ‘Behold’, 230.

of the Christ who conquered the world (16:33)'.²³² By calling the Romans and 'the Jews' victims of Christ, Thatcher, at least, reproduces the violence of empire in his description of Christ's rule. Yet is this true of John as well? In its 'claim to all of the territories of this world' is there, as Swanson proposes, 'a darker side to the Johannine myth that follows from its mapping of the outside world'?²³³

In some ways, the Fourth Gospel does replicate the behaviour of Rome. Like Rome, Jesus Caesar does not remove subordinate rulers.²³⁴ Johannine Christianity could exist under Rome's rule because the text maps Rome's empire as a power subsumed under God (19:11).²³⁵ John considers that God is able to enact his will *through* the deeds of Rome, even the violent ones (such as the crucifixion of Jesus).²³⁶ Rome continues to rule with God's approval (19:11), but the violence that occurs pursuant to its judgements is itself exposed and judged (e.g., 16:11).²³⁷

In contrast, rather than simply imposing its own truth onto that of others, the Johannine text speaks the language of others, as this thesis has suggested that John does with the Roman cultural encyclopaedia. And to use the symbols of another to describe one's own truth is also to invite them into the community, bringing their symbols with them.²³⁸ For example, it is because of the characterization of Jesus as an *imperator* rather than a *rex* (Chapter 4) that Roman-aware auditors can respond to the Gospel's invitation to belief without the concern of submitting to a tyrant. In Chapter 1, I mentioned Thatcher's insight that 'John's image of Christ is always a photographic negative, a mosaic built up from

²³² Thatcher, 'Conquered', 140.

²³³ Tod D. Swanson, 'To Prepare a Place: Johannine Christianity and the Collapse of Ethnic Territory', in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 7 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 11-30 (26). Cf. Reinhartz, 'Colonizer', 186-91; Dube, 'Savior', 123, 130.

²³⁴ Moore, *Empire*, 45.

²³⁵ Thatcher, *Greater*, 80-81.

²³⁶ Hauerwas, *Peaceable*, 85; Ripley, 'Glorious', 8. For the way this hidden transcript continues through the description of the crucifixion, see Thatcher, 'Conquered'.

²³⁷ Ripley, 'Glorious', 10.

²³⁸ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 149. Indeed, the Gospel of John includes language from 'a diversity of backgrounds' [George W. MacRae, 'Fourth Gospel and *Religionsgeschichte*', *CBQ* 32.1 (1970): 13-24 (15)].

thousands of tiny words, symbols, and ideas that he found on the cognitive trash heap of ancient Mediterranean culture'.²³⁹ Because the Gospel of John uses Roman cultural units, Romans are invited to participate in Jesus' empire.

However, as Stephen Moore asks, if Jesus' empire cannot dislodge 'Roman hegemony', '[o]f what use it is then?'²⁴⁰ Indeed, Roman hegemony is not dislodged, as Moore surmised. However, this authorization of subordinate powers does not give governments carte blanche, unlike in Romans 13:1-5.²⁴¹ Their actions serve to reveal their own allegiance—whether God or the devil (8:42-47). And to reveal the terminus of evil is also to warn against that choice, not to abrogate individual responsibility (19:11).²⁴² The script of the world is enacted but the explanation for it is subverted. The Roman empire along with all powers working against Jesus-believers are subsumed under God's rule.

7.2.2. A hidden transcript that recategorizes violence

The empire of Jesus is often described as peaceful, or non-violent (cf. 18:11).²⁴³ In order to critique that characterization, three different kinds of violence have to be distinguished: First, there is the perpetration of violence such as that committed by Caesar's armies—acts that physically harm another person or people, enacted by a more powerful aggressor. Secondly, there is suffered violence—encounters with more powerful forces of any kind that leave one physically harmed. Thirdly, there is non-physical violence, either perpetrated or suffered, in which one is required to acquiesce to another's will, particularly their ideology, without any physical harm being involved.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Thatcher, *Greater*, 6.

²⁴⁰ Moore, *Empire*, 51.

²⁴¹ Brown, *Death*, 1.842; Senior, *Passion*, 92; Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 98. *Pace* Moore, the power given to human governments is not unlimited (*Empire*, 72). *Pace* Richey, there seems to be no indication that John views God as dispensing different 'sorts' of power (*Roman*, 184).

²⁴² Attridge, 'Divine', e.g., 184, 188.

²⁴³ Wright, 'Governor', 249. See further below, n. 369.

²⁴⁴ This might better be termed 'domination' or 'power-over', but since I am responding in this section to those who equate the imposition of an ideology with violence (specifically colonization), I shall retain the use of that term, only adding the adjective 'ideological' in order to distinguish it from physical and suffered violence. Cf. Ehrensperger, *Dynamics*, 16-34, esp. 22; Reinhartz, 'Colonizer', 181, 186.

The first kind of violence, physical, is not a legitimate part of Jesus's empire, at least within the identity markers provided by Jesus as a prototype of recategorization.²⁴⁵ However, the second kind of violence—suffered violence—clearly is. Jesus-believers are called by Jesus' example to endure violence in certain instances (see Section 7.2.4). This voluntary martyrdom is missing from discussions of non-violence in Jesus' empire, and yet it is an important aspect of the Fourth Gospel's engagement with violence.²⁴⁶ Section 7.2.3 will list evidence for such suffering among early Jesus-believers, and Section 7.2.5 will discuss the choices that Jesus as a prototype gives to Jesus-believers about how and when to acquiesce to suffer physically. Ultimately, the fact that Jesus' empire includes suffered violence means that one cannot call it 'peaceful'.

Perhaps this aspect of Jesus' empire is overlooked because the Fourth Gospel itself does not dwell on it. In a discussion of Jesus' humanity, Thatcher suggests that John 'seems uncertain what to do with it', sometimes 'wallowing in the wounds of the cross (see John 6:53-58; 19:31-35; 20:26-27)'.²⁴⁷ He is certainly correct to note that Jesus is sometimes vulnerable, as will be discussed further below. Yet the verses cited by Thatcher, while undoubtedly emphasizing the vulnerability of Jesus, do not seem to be 'wallowing in the wounds of the cross', especially when compared with other accounts of physical violence in circulation at the time. To take one example, Vergil, describing the encounter of a Greek companion of Ulysses (and thus referencing Homer's *Odyssey*), has the Greek survivor describe the Cyclops: 'he seized in his huge hand two of our company and, lying back in the midst of the cave, crushed them on the rock, and the splashed courts swam with gore; I saw when he munched their limbs, all dripping with black blood-clots, and the warm joints quivered beneath his teeth'.²⁴⁸ A crucifixion cannot have presented a less gory image, if John

²⁴⁵ Schlier, *Relevance*, 218; Ripley, 'Glorious', 7; Bekken, *Lawsuit*, 253.

²⁴⁶ See, e.g., those listed in n. 371.

²⁴⁷ Thatcher, *Greater*, 7.

²⁴⁸ Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.622-33. See also the frequent references to blood and brains in the battle scenes of the *Aeneid*, for example, *calido sanguine* (with hot blood, 9.422) and *arma cruenta cerebro* (weapons spattered with brains, 9.753).

had chosen to describe it in all its details. Instead, it is briefly noted, and the narrator moves on (e.g., 19:18).²⁴⁹ Other descriptions of physical violence also seem quite mild (18:31-32; 19:1, 18, 30, 34). This choice to minimize the suffering of Jesus and his followers may be part of the hidden transcript, written from or to a community reticent to expose the violence of their overlords who have claimed to bring peace (Tacitus, *Agr.* 30). On the other hand, it is more likely that the euphemisms used for the physical violence against Jesus (e.g., John 2:19-21) recategorize episodes of seeming shame and defeat as simple manoeuvres within Jesus' takeover of the world (6:33). Physical harm, whether enacted by human beings or as part of the sickness of the world, is being taken over by God's glory (11:4, 14, 49-52; 12:23-33), as even the perpetrators are invited into his empire.²⁵⁰

Yet, to invite others is not the same as to compel entrance. This point raises the third aspect of violence, ideological violence. Within the narrative of the Fourth Gospel is found an implied trial where those who do not believe in Jesus are accused (5:45) and may be condemned (3:18; 8:24; 9:41; 12:48), but still await sentencing (3:36; 5:29; 15:6).²⁵¹ Many verses and passages express some sort of rejection of those who reject Jesus, sometimes, in context, 'the Jews', but always as the first examples of those who reject Jesus in the wider world: they will be condemned (3:18; 5:29; 12:48), under God's wrath (3:36); accused (5:45); guilty (9:41); overcome (16:33); will die in their sins (8:24) and will metaphorically be cut off and burned (15:6).²⁵² In the Fourth Gospel, 'if there is a positive realized eschatology of life, there is also a negative realized eschatology of judgment'.²⁵³ Thus, in one sense, the Roman model of conquest is replicated—those who refuse to submit are

²⁴⁹ Brown, *John*, 2.900.

²⁵⁰ Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld, *Killing Enmity: Violence and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 94.

²⁵¹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 210.

²⁵² I have included the verses that carry a sense of ideological violence or doom, but omitted other verses (such as 8:44) that have been used to justify violence but that in themselves express antipathy but not physical violence. See, e.g., Kierspel, *Jews*, 103.

²⁵³ Lincoln, *Truth*, 70; see also 72-73, 108-109, 197, 207-222.

violently overthrown.²⁵⁴ And yet, there are differences. First, in John's narrative faith in Jesus is not directly coerced.²⁵⁵ Secondly, as was the case with the episodes of violence against Jesus, John does not indulge in any 'revenge fantasy' projected into the future.²⁵⁶

Thatcher's view of the empire instituted by God includes both loving service and violence. On the one hand, he points to Jesus as he washes the feet of his disciples as an example of contrast with the Roman empire:

Viewed in this light, the genius of the footwashing lies in the fact that Jesus anticipates and precludes the emergence of anything like a new imperial order within his eschatological community. No one steps in to take the throne once the ruler of this world is cast out. In fact, there are no thrones, only footstools, and masters find themselves in the place of slaves, washing the filthy feet of the people over whom they have authority.²⁵⁷

Yet this peaceful kingdom seen from the inside stands in stark contrast to its relationship to those outside the community:

Within John's little tradition, the relationship between Jesus and the Jewish authorities is essentially reversed in a way that makes them victims of Christ's superior wisdom and divine agenda. Since these individuals are portrayed as agents of empire, their demise marks the death of one of Rome's three powerful heads, all of which are crushed by Jesus' outstretched arm.²⁵⁸

To describe a Jesus who crushes Rome suggests, as Thatcher notes, the 'demise' of Rome's representatives. While Jesus' footwashing may point to a βασιλεύς who resists enacting power over others against their will, the very theme of judgement of the world and the language of expulsion/exorcism (12:31) seem to argue that Jesus' kingdom has an ideological violence of its own. The offer of eternal life to those who believe does imply death for those who do not.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ Dube, 'Reading', 65. Pace Ripley, 'Glorious', 9.

²⁵⁵ Jason J. Ripley, 'Killing as Piety? Exploring Ideological Contexts Shaping the Gospel of John', *JBL* 134.3 (2015): 605-635 (630).

²⁵⁶ Thatcher, *Greater*, 134.

²⁵⁷ Thatcher, *Greater*, 138.

²⁵⁸ Thatcher, *Greater*, 54. Statements such as this occur throughout the book; see, e.g., '[t]hese and other statements from the Fourth Gospel look to me like a categorical assertion that Rome has been conquered, judged, and doomed' (135).

²⁵⁹ For more on this implicit violence, see Section 7.2.1.

This explains how Segovia perceives the Gospel of John as ‘deeply conflicted: espousing, on the one hand, a radical postcolonial vision and program in the face of Rome and all worldly power—a manifesto of exposé, rejection, and resistance; yet deploying, on the other hand, severe imperial-colonial policies of its own vis-à-vis all those deemed outside such a vision and program—a strategy of exclusion, dismissal, and condemnation’.²⁶⁰ While this implicit threat of ideological and perhaps even physical violence is reserved for an undetermined future, it does seem to hang, like a sword of Damocles, over the whole Gospel. Rome, as well as the rest of the world, is the object of God’s love, *and* the target of critique.²⁶¹ The physical violence of the world is absorbed into God’s offer of life, and the physically violent themselves are invited to join Jesus’ empire and renounce physical violence (3:16; 12:32). However, if it chooses not to be transformed from within, the world is destined for a lack of life, i.e. death (8:24).²⁶² Caesar’s world is divided into those who live in loyalty to him and those who do not ... yet. John uses this image of the emperor to re-divide the Jew/gentile world along similar lines, into those who proclaim their loyalty to Jesus and those who do not. And there is a ‘yet’ as well; John points to a judgement still to come (12:48).

The impending doom of the Fourth Gospel has been described as a ‘loving, but perhaps still unwanted, invasion’.²⁶³ If the Gospel is understood as a solution offered to a violent world, then Jesus is engaged in a rescue mission to save people from their enslavement as perpetrators and as recipients of that violence. Jesus’ victory, in that case, is

²⁶⁰ Segovia, ‘Johannine’, 305.

²⁶¹ Moore, *Empire*, 73.

²⁶² Lincoln, *Truth*, 197. For Yoder Neufeld, it is ‘confidence in the vindication of God’ that allows one to choose ‘vulnerability’ (*Killing*, 33). For Canisius Mwandayi and Lucky Hwati, God’s violence is only for the purpose of restoration, a thought that deserves further development in their stimulating essay [‘Precursor to Restoration: Biblical Violence in Perspective’, in *The Bible and Violence in Africa: Papers Presented at the BiAS Meeting 2014 in Windhoek (Namibia), with Some Additional Contributions*, ed. Johannes Hunter and Joachim Kügler, Bible in Africa Studies 20 (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2016), 171-78].

²⁶³ Swanson, ‘Prepare’, 27.

a victory ‘over evil’.²⁶⁴ It is this offer of rescue that prevents John from being ‘the gospel of the imperial status quo’.²⁶⁵ However, this assumes that one can trust the solution on offer. Otherwise, a Gospel that ‘asserts the primacy of its message, and its absolute truth, to the exclusion of all others’ will certainly be experienced as ideological violence.²⁶⁶ This perhaps further explains the presentation of Jesus as an *imperator* that one can trust rather than as a *rex* who will tyrannize his people (Chapter 4). Those marginalized by others could conceivably need such assurances.

7.2.3. A hidden transcript for persecuted Jesus-believers

Roman ideology asserts divine support for Roman conquest. Good citizenship involved maintaining the *pax deorum*, which included participation in various forms of emperor worship.²⁶⁷ Cities of the empire cooperated as well, competing for status (and therefore benefits) through their expressions of honour to Rome, Roma and Caesar.²⁶⁸ Because they would not participate in these cults ‘Christians threatened not just the carefully cultivated reputation of a city, but the social and perhaps even the cosmic order—the very symbols of reality’.²⁶⁹ Therefore, to refuse to sacrifice to the *genius* of Caesar was an act of treason as well as atheism.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Ottmar Fuchs, ‘How to Deal with Violence in Biblical Texts: Some Considerations Towards Biblical Hermeneutics of Violence’, in *The Bible and Violence in Africa: Papers Presented at the BiAS Meeting 2014 in Windhoek (Namibia), with Some Additional Contributions*, ed. Johannes Hunter and Joachim Kügler, Bible in Africa Studies 20 (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2016), 11-34 (25-26).

²⁶⁵ Moore, *Empire*, 74.

²⁶⁶ Reinhartz, ‘Colonizer’, 172, 181, 186. See, similarly, Moore, *Empire*, 70; Segovia, ‘Gospel’, 158.

²⁶⁷ Salier, ‘Jesus’, 287; Harrill, ‘Empire’, 21.

²⁶⁸ Middleton, *Radical*, 48-54.

²⁶⁹ Middleton, *Radical*, 54. Middleton notes the same appropriation of imperial symbols that I have noted, but concludes that the two systems were ‘mutually incompatible’, 40; see similarly 54-61.

²⁷⁰ Alistair Kee, ‘The Imperial Cult: The Unmasking of an Ideology’, *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 6.2 (1985): 112-28 (123-24). For his claim that Judaism was a *religio licita* (121), see Paula Fredriksen, ‘Mandatory Retirement: Ideas in the Study of Christian Origins Whose Time Has Come to Go’, in *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal*, ed. David B. Capes, April D. DeConick, Helen K. Bond, and Troy Miller (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 25–38 (32-35). Note, too, Kee’s mistaken divorcing of religion from politics and ideology (125-26).

Winter notes an inscription from Ephesus which lists ‘forty-three who were summarily sentenced to death, because they “violated” cultic veneration and insulted official envoys from Ephesus’ as a precedent for the execution of those who refused to participate in honouring a deity (*Divine*, 303). The inscription, *IEph* 2, is referenced incorrectly as *I. Ephesos* 572. However, it is from the second half of the fourth century BCE and is thus too early to provide a precedent of immediate relevance (although as an inscription it could have served

By present-day standards, Roman response to resistance may be said to reveal the violent nature of the empire in contrast to its claims of peace.²⁷¹ However, Romans themselves constructed physical violence as the appropriate response to rebellion. Indeed, military service was part of the *cursus honorum*, and crucifying local resistors was a not unusual part of Roman military activities (Philo, *Pro Flaccus* 10.83-85).²⁷² John 16:33 could have been said by the Roman empire to its people with regard to Roman elite discourse: ‘These things I have said to you so that you would have peace. In the world you have troubles, but be encouraged, I have overcome the world’.²⁷³ The cross itself is an enactment of this truth for Rome: We have peace because we have conquered. We continue to put an end to anyone who would subvert our violently enforced peace.²⁷⁴ The question at hand, however, is this: did John’s auditors experience this violent enforcement of Roman peace?²⁷⁵

Warren Carter argues against any persecution of the audience of John’s Gospel primarily because of the lack of evidence for it during the reign of Domitian, ‘when, so it is argued, much of the Johannine Gospel narrative was coming together’.²⁷⁶ It is true that ‘[s]cholars now agree that there is little sign of State persecution under Domitian’.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Carter assumes but does not make the argument for assigning the composition

as a visible reminder of the ancient practice) [Aurian Delli Pizzi, ‘Impiety in Epigraphic Evidence’, *Kernos* 24 (2011): 59-76 (70); Winter, *Divine*, 303; Packard Humanities Institute, ‘Searchable Greek Inscriptions’].

²⁷¹ Kee, ‘Imperial’, 126.

²⁷² Thatcher, ‘Conquered’, 146-47.

²⁷³ Author translation; cf. Thatcher, ‘Conquered’, 140.

²⁷⁴ Quintilian, *Decl.* 274; Thatcher, ‘Conquered’, 145, 147.

²⁷⁵ Whether or not there existed one or many Johannine communities, whether they were sectarian or not, and whether the Fourth Gospel was actually intended from the beginning to circulate widely are broad topics much debated. For an introduction to this wide-ranging discussion, see Ruth Sheridan, ‘Johannine Sectarianism: A Category Now Defunct?’, in *The Origins of John’s Gospel*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong, *Johannine Studies* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 142-66.

²⁷⁶ Tertullian, *Apology* 5.4; Warren Carter, ‘Jesus and the Romans Remembered: A Perspective from John’s Gospel’ (paper presented at SBL, Atlanta, GA, 22 November, 2015).

²⁷⁷ Middleton, *Radical*, 45; see summary of debate, 43-45. See also Kierspel, *Jews*, 184-86. In a more detailed debate about possible connections between John 20:28 and Domitian’s purported use of κύριος καὶ θεός, *1 Clem.* 64:1 must be taken into account as well (Kierspel, *Jews*, 198-99).

of the Fourth Gospel to Domitian's reign.²⁷⁸ With the new uncertainty surrounding the dating of P⁵², a different argument is required if that date of composition is to be maintained.²⁷⁹

Similarities between the letters of Ignatius and the Gospel of John, especially *πρόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ τοῦ ὑπάγει* (*Phil.* 7.1; cf. *John* 3:8), make it unlikely that the Gospel can be attributed a date later than Ignatius, but the dating of his letters is also disputed.²⁸⁰ The *terminus post quem* for the writings of Ignatius is 110 CE, and even this early date would allow the Fourth Gospel to be situated in the early second rather than the late first century CE.²⁸¹ If Book 10 of Pliny's letters is dated to *ca.* 109-12 CE, and he discusses his previous judicial procedures in dealing with Christians, this reference to Roman trials, sporadic and localized though they likely were, could be relevant for the Fourth Gospel.²⁸² This argument brings into question Carter's claim that the *Letters to Trajan* (10.96-97), testifying to persecution in Bithynia in the early second century CE, are too late and too far away from Ephesus to be relevant for the Gospel of John.²⁸³

Regardless, whether widespread persecution existed is in some ways immaterial. 'Even if persecution was limited, stories of such events clearly circulated widely'.²⁸⁴ Indeed,

²⁷⁸ For this argument, see, for example, Dunn, *Neither*, 79-80.

²⁷⁹ On the dating of the Gospel and the importance of P⁵², see, e.g., Lincoln, *Gospel*, 17-18. For a discussion of the dating of papyri for theological purposes, see Pasquale Orsini, and Willy Clarysse, 'Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography', *ETL* 88.4 (2012): 443-74; Brent Nongbri, 'The Use and Abuse of P52: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel', *HTR* 98.1 (2005): 23-48.

²⁸⁰ Holmes, *Apostolic*, 131; Dunn, *Neither*, 115-16.

²⁸¹ For this date for Ignatius, see, for example, J. B. Lightfoot, ed. *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp*, vol. 1, Part 2: Ignatius & Polycarp, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1889), 30.

²⁸² Sherwin-White dates these letters to 109-11 [*The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 80-81]. Cassidy dates them to 110 CE, incorrectly citing Sherwin-White (*John's Gospel*, 98 n. 5; see also 24). Cassidy concludes on this basis that persecution during the reign of Domitian is 'probable', but that is not a necessary conclusion. It could simply be that Jesus-believers were being tried from the beginning of Trajan's reign (98 CE) (*John's Gospel*, 19). Peper and DelCogliano date the correspondence to the fall of 111 CE ['The Pliny and Trajan Correspondence', in *The Historical Jesus in Context*, ed. A.J. Levine, Dale C. Allison, Jr., and John Dominic Crossan (2006), 366-71 (366)]. Wilken dates it to the fall of 112 CE [*The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 15]. See Section 6.1.3 for communication in the Roman empire. For the way another second-century CE writer appropriated the Gospel of John in a context of persecution, see Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 83-86.

²⁸³ Carter, 'John, Jesus'. See, similarly, Lincoln, *Truth*, 303-304.

²⁸⁴ Peter Oakes, 'A State of Tension: Rome in the New Testament', in *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context*, ed. John Riches and David C. Sim, Early Christianity in Context Published under JSNTSup 276 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 75-90 (80). See, similarly, D. S. Potter, 'Persecution of the Early

rumours serve to distribute information in life-threatening situations, when ‘events of vital importance to people’s interests are occurring and in which no reliable information—or only ambiguous information—is available’.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, ‘[a]s a rumour travels it is altered in a fashion that brings it more closely into line with the hopes, fears, and worldview of those who hear it and retell it’.²⁸⁶ Thus, although Pliny’s letters may not reflect a ‘standardized procedure’, to expect standard procedure is to impose modern legal practice on the evidence; in any case, a lack of standardized procedure would not impact on the circulation of stories of martyrdom.²⁸⁷

While the sporadic nature of persecution is frequently cited as evidence of the early Christians’ tendency to exaggerate the dangers that they experienced, the unpredictability of persecution was itself destabilizing. Isolated experiences of exceptional cruelty no doubt reverberated in the Christian unconscious long after the events themselves. In fact, one of the functions of early Christian martyrdom literature was to perpetuate this process and amplify the echoes of earlier struggles. In the absence of detailed Roman evidence, the Christian’s place in the Roman legal system is crafted by Christians themselves.²⁸⁸

The important point is not that persecution occurred frequently, but that it occurred at all. Tacitus wrote *ca.* 115 CE of the persecution of Nero after the fire of 64 CE (*Annals* 15.44). Pliny’s letters mention ‘a great many individuals’ who are ‘being brought to trial’ (*Ep.* 10.96.9), as well as anonymous lists (10.97.2).²⁸⁹ The anonymity of the betrayers parallels the anonymity of ‘the one who handed me over to you’ (ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι) who ‘has the greater guilt’ (John 19:11b). There is likely no literary dependence in this case, but rather perhaps similar experiences of rumours and betrayals. The torture of ‘two slave-women, whom they call deaconesses’ (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96.8 [Radice, LCL]) and John’s

Church’, *ABD* 5.231-35; Castelli, *Martyrdom*, 38; Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.250; Lincoln, ‘Life’, 159. Brown posits that this persecution came ‘by Jews’ through ‘denunciation to the Romans’ but this is not necessary for the arguments of this thesis (*Community*, 43).

²⁸⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 144.

²⁸⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 145.

²⁸⁷ Lincoln, *Truth*, 304.

²⁸⁸ Candida R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions*, ABRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 12. See also Fredriksen, ‘Paul’, 105.

²⁸⁹ Cassidy, *John’s Gospel*, 26.

prediction of Peter's martyrdom at the hands of the Romans (21:18-19) provide further examples of stories of persecution.²⁹⁰

Such stories seem to have circulated from the earliest days of the Jesus movement.²⁹¹ Experiences or expectations of persecution are present throughout the New Testament writings, from that of Paul (e.g., Acts 14:2-6) to 1 Peter (3:13).²⁹² And while Middleton rightly points out that suffering is not the same as martyrdom, both produce stories and rumours.²⁹³ Indeed, Chapter 1 of this study noted that physical repression carries with it strong elements of mental coercion specifically in the form of memories and future potentiality.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, when power by outsiders is perceived as unjust, a 'sense of collective victimhood' develops even if the unjust treatment happened in the past.²⁹⁵

Indeed, the Fourth Gospel characterizes Pilate as three times proclaiming a lack of cause for a charge against Jesus (18:38; 19:4, 6). Scott notes that oppressed or marginalized groups do not confuse domination with justice.²⁹⁶ They curse the rulers as they 'curse the weather'.²⁹⁷ Thus, marginalized or oppressed Jesus-believers might hear this narrative about a Roman governor who crucifies a man without cause as a reminder that there is no justice to be expected if they find themselves facing a Roman judge (15:20).²⁹⁸ Indeed, the entire trial motif in the Fourth Gospel 'suggests a community looking not for vengeance but for justice'.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁰ Cassidy, *John's Gospel*, 81-82; Lincoln, *Truth*, 299, 305-306; Moore, *Empire*, 60.

²⁹¹ Thompson, *John*, 395-96.

²⁹² For an initial overview, see Paul Middleton, *Martyrdom: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: T & T Clark, 2011), 31-34. For a more detailed discussion, see Kierspel, *Jews*, 185-86. See also Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. John J. Collins, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 32-33.

²⁹³ Middleton, *Martyrdom*, 34. For examples of some possible early charges, see 'doing evil' in John 18:30, as well as 1 Peter 2:12; 3:17; 4:15 and Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44 (Barrett, *Gospel*, 533).

²⁹⁴ Section 1.3.2; Mitchell, 'Everyday', 559.

²⁹⁵ Hakola, *Reconsidering*, 2, 148-49. Cf. Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 111.

²⁹⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 19-80.

²⁹⁷ Scott, *Domination*, 80.

²⁹⁸ See Sections 6.1.2 and 7.1.2; Schnackenburg, *John*, 3.253.

²⁹⁹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 414. See also Cassidy, *Christians*, 40-42, 48-50; Ripley, 'Genre', 24-26; Dunn, *Neither*, 360.

Some have assumed that John's mentions of Jesus-believers being put out of synagogues (9:22; 12:42; 16:2) indicate that it was Jews who created the situation of marginalization or oppression.³⁰⁰ However, there is little to no evidence to support such assumptions.³⁰¹ Others have suggested that a discourse of persecution might develop even if Christians themselves had chosen to leave the synagogues, in order to justify that choice.³⁰² This is possible, but would have little impact on the effect of the stories once they joined the narrative of victimhood. The Jewish war, as well as the 'expectation of Rome's overthrow by God' held by at least some Jews and Christians (4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and Sibylline Oracle 4), would both have influenced the attitudes of Jews and Jesus-believers to some degree, constructing them as marginalized people in need of justice.³⁰³ Furthermore, the Johannine 'Jews' are better understood as the first examples of persecutors rather than as perpetrators of any ongoing persecution.³⁰⁴ The stories of Paul's experiences with various Jews around the Mediterranean might have travelled as rumours (Acts 13:45, 50; 14:2-6, 19; 17:5-9, 13; 18:12, 17; 21:27-32, 36; 24:1, 9; 25:7), later joined by stories of persecution by the Romans. The Gospel of John, indeed, promises persecution from the world (15:20) and from the synagogue (16:2).³⁰⁵

The narrative of persecution does not, however, require that Jesus-believers be in conflict with the Roman empire at every point. The conflict only, but significantly, exists

³⁰⁰ See, e.g., Lincoln, 'Reading', 140. See somewhat similarly, Lincoln, *Truth*, 28, 31, 34; Michele Murray, *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism = Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), 74-76; Jörg Frey, 'Das Johannesevangelium und seine Gemeinden im Kontext der jüdischen Diaspora Kleinasien', in *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, 21.-24. Mai 2009, Leipzig, ed. Roland Deines, Jens Herzer, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 274 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 99-132 (130); Ripley, 'Killing'.

³⁰¹ Reinhartz, 'Gospel of John', 112.

³⁰² Hakola, *Reconsidering*, 23, 106-107.

³⁰³ Oakes, 'State', 78-79. Note that Oakes posits a degree of separation between Jews and Christians, such that the destruction of the temple 'was a catastrophic trauma for Jews but not, to anything like the same extent, for most Christians'. However, this claim ignores the intersectionality of these identities.

³⁰⁴ Kierspel, *Jews*, 153.

³⁰⁵ Carter, *John*, 214. For the synagogue context for John 16:2 as well as arguments for intra-Jewish violence as a context for Johannine descriptions of persecution with a concomitant Johannine rejection of physical violence against either Jews or Romans, see Ripley, 'Killing'.

when the different evaluations of the world result in conflicting demands for action.³⁰⁶ It is too stark, then, to say (*pace* Rensberger) that the ‘authority of Rome over those who adhere to [Jesus] is dissolved’. Instead, Andy Crouch’s insight found in the foreword to *Jesus is Lord, Caesar is Not*, but sadly not pursued in any of the contributions to the volume, is most appropriate: ‘To say “Jesus is Lord” does not seem actually to entail saying “Caesar is not [Lord]”. Rather it entails not saying “Caesar is Lord”’.³⁰⁷ To pledge allegiance to God, for Jesus-believers as for Jews, does not entail repudiating Caesar.³⁰⁸ While loyalty to Jesus, as the superordinate identity, is paramount, loyalty to synagogues and to Rome does not disappear.

The characters in the Gospel of John negotiate these loyalties to Jews and Romans alike and struggle specifically at the point where their loyalties conflict. The parents of the blind man (John 9:22) are afraid of being put out of the synagogue for confessing the truth. An unspecified group of leaders fear the Pharisees and do not confess their faith (12:42). Immediately before the trial before Pilate, John pointed out Peter’s fear of the servants that kept him from confessing the truth (18:25-27). If witnessing to the truth incurs suffered violence from any power, John insists that fear must be overcome and faith proclaimed, even in the face of death.³⁰⁹ Thus, ‘[t]he Fourth Gospel confronts the issue of Israel’s freedom in the late first-century Roman Empire with an alternative to both zealotry and collaboration, by calling for adherence to the king [I would say to the emperor] who is not of this world, whose servants do not fight but remain in the world bearing witness to the truth before the rulers of both synagogue and Empire’.³¹⁰ Witnessing to the truth is the superordinate identity.

³⁰⁶ Nissen, ‘Community’, 205.

³⁰⁷ Andy Crouch, ‘Foreword’, in *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies*, ed. Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013), 7-14 (13).

³⁰⁸ Brown, *Death*, 1.849.

³⁰⁹ Cornelis Bennema, ‘Virtue Ethics in the Gospel of John: The Johannine Characters as Moral Agents’, in *Rediscovering John: Essays on the Fourth Gospel in Honour of Frédéric Manns*, ed. L. Daniel Chrupcala, *Analecta Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 80 (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2013), 167-81 (173); Ripley, ‘Genre’, 29.

³¹⁰ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 100.

John's antithesis, then, is primarily between fear and truth—the truth of the witnessing community about Jesus and about God's evaluation of the world. This antithesis opposes the evaluations of those outside the Johannine community without prompting physical resistance to their authority.³¹¹ If John's audience is made up of people who are or who expect to be persecuted, what does the hidden transcript say to them? The final two sections of this chapter will argue, first, that it communicates that Johannine believers are honourable in God's empire even if they are shamed in Rome's. And secondly, John's Gospel suggests that in God's empire the powerful are called to vulnerability for the sake of the invitation for outsiders to come in (12:32).

7.2.4. A hidden transcript that creates honour for the marginalized

The insight that John reverses the public transcript of Rome, replacing the shame of the cross with Jesus' glorification, is not new.³¹² The Gospel of John addresses the question: 'Do not the death of the Messiah and the fate of his followers as recipients of the world's hostility and persecution give the lie to the sovereignty of their God in history?'³¹³ The shame of Jesus' trial and subsequent execution would appear to demonstrate 'to Gentiles that he was a powerless victim of the state and to Jews that he was cursed by God'.³¹⁴ Yet the Gospel asserts that there is another world with another truth where, despite appearances, it is Jesus and Jesus' father who rule (18:36; 19:11).³¹⁵ Such a re-ordering of evaluations is typical of a hidden transcript that gives honour to those dishonoured by others.³¹⁶ The comparison of Jesus with Caesar does not completely occlude the suffering of Jesus in John's description

³¹¹ See Jan van der Watt's contribution to the recent *Quaestiones disputatae* where he notes that 'it seems as if John does not develop his metaphorical ethics in terms of direct confrontation with the Roman Empire, but rather with an inner perspective, focusing on the well-being of the group being addressed' (Attridge, Carter, and van der Watt, 'Apolitical', 494).

³¹² Thatcher, 'Conquered', 150. See, similarly, Lincoln, *Truth*, 299; Segovia, 'Gospel', 187-89; Thompson, *John*, 393.

³¹³ Lincoln, *Truth*, 189. That a similar question has been asked of Yahweh and answered in the narratives of Israel is of interest to the Fourth Gospel although not to the arguments pursued in this thesis.

³¹⁴ Thatcher, 'Conquered', 148. See, similarly, Skinner, *Trial*, 98.

³¹⁵ Segovia, 'Gospel', 186.

³¹⁶ See Section 1.3.2.

(19:1-3, 18).³¹⁷ Yet I have suggested that it transforms it into an acclamation, a triumph and an apotheosis.³¹⁸ Such a retelling of the story of Jesus forms ‘the identity of the communities for which they were written’.³¹⁹ Jesus becomes, in John’s retelling, a prototype for Jesus’ followers, especially any who were also tried before a Roman judge.³²⁰

In the Gospel of John, God is the judge who does not condemn Jesus-believers. Undoubtedly, to go to God for justice would make sense for those who had been formed by trial narratives such as what is offered by Deutero-Isaiah.³²¹ Roman trials, by contrast, were arenas for the shaming of the poor.³²² So why would gentile Jesus-believers expect justice in Yahweh’s court?

The Gospel of John answers that question by showing Jesus rejecting the shame that Pilate and ‘the Jews’ assume is his.³²³ It reorders the world for the oppressed, depicting the leader of the oppressed as the emperor of the world. Because Jesus is obedient to God the Father, he receives glory from him (8:54-55).³²⁴ This glory would accrue to his followers as well (5:44; 12:26, 43; 17:10, 22; 21:19).³²⁵ By showing a Jesus who is shamed yet retains his honour, the trial narrative demonstrates for those fearful of persecution that they can ‘fac[e] the threat of martyrdom themselves (16:2)’.³²⁶ As Jesus kept his honour when

³¹⁷ Although Brown says ‘kingship’ rather than ‘Caesar’, see similarly *John*, 2.863.

³¹⁸ Section 6.2. On the masculinity of Jesus particularly through the mocking scene in John 19:1-5, see Ripley, ‘Behold’, 222-23. On the impassivity of Jesus in the Johannine trial narrative, see similarly Nicholson, *Death*, 164.

³¹⁹ Baker, ‘Narrative-Identity’, 105.

³²⁰ Baker, ‘Narrative-Identity’, 109. Esler distinguishes between a prototype and an exemplar, but this distinction is primarily meaningful for current group members rather than for prototypical characters in texts (‘Outline’, 33-38). See similarly Esler, and Piper, *Lazarus*, 34-38, esp. 36. For the way Jesus actually did become a model for Christian martyrs, see Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19-111.

³²¹ Lincoln, *Truth*, 288-89. Note that the Hebrew Bible, too, recognizes the uncertain justice dispensed in human courts (Pro 25:7-12).

³²² Neyrey, *Cultural*, 412. See also Lincoln, *Truth*, 285-89.

³²³ Some elements of the trial that emphasize the view of Pilate and ‘the Jews’ that Jesus is being shamed include: *κακὸν ποιῶν* (18:30); *τί ἐποίησας*; (18:35); he is set side by side with the *ληστῆς* (18:40); he is flogged, mocked and slapped (19:1-3); he is considered worthy of crucifixion (19:6, 15, 18); he is considered to be a lawbreaker (19:7).

³²⁴ John uses a *double entendre* with the word *δοξάζω* to reframe ‘the shame of the cross’ (van der Watt, ‘Double’, 466-81).

³²⁵ Lincoln, *Truth*, 297-300; Lincoln, ‘Life’, 160, 160 n. 19.

³²⁶ Ripley, ‘Behold’, 231. See, similarly, Lincoln, *Truth*, 183, 200-203; Gniesmer, *Prozeß*, 286; Cassidy, *Christians*, 43; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 63.

standing accused before Pilate, disciples can fulfil their commission, in that they are sent to the world as Jesus was sent by the Father (20:21).³²⁷ This common sending argues against Teresa Morgan's assertion that 'John makes little of Jesus as a model for imitation'.³²⁸ The Gospel frequently and explicitly calls people to follow Jesus (1:43; 10:4-5, 27; 12:26; 13:36-37; 21:19, 22) and also asks disciples to imitate Jesus in his service to others (13:14), so Jesus is more of a model (or, in social identity terminology, a prototype) than might be supposed.³²⁹ The Johannine Jesus also calls his followers to testify bravely before authorities (15:27).

This conclusion coheres well with Reinhart Staats's argument that the formula adopted in later church creeds, 'crucified under Pontius Pilate', can be explained not primarily as a historical reference, but rather that it 'ursprünglich einen martyrologischen Sinn gehabt hat', connecting the trials of the martyrs to Jesus's own trial before a Roman authority.³³⁰ I Timothy 6:12-14 demonstrates this same use of the memory of the trial: 'You also confessed the good confession in the presence of many witnesses. I charge you before God, who gives life to everything, and before Christ Jesus, who testified to the good confession before Pontius Pilate, that you keep this command ...' (author translation).³³¹ Jesus is the prototype of one who witnesses to the truth and is glorified in suffering and

³²⁷ Section 6.1.1; Lincoln, *Truth*, 128; Cornelis Bennema, 'Religious Violence in the Gospel of John: A Response to the Hindutva Culture in Modern India', in *Violence and Peace: Creating a Cultura of Peace in the Contemporary Context of Violence: Papers from the 15th Annual Centre for Mission Studies Consultation, Ubs, Pune*, ed. Frampton F. Fox (Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2010), 129-67 (138); Ripley, 'Behold', 234. Reinhartz notes a lack of mission to the Gentiles (so, too, Dunn, *Neither*, 369). However, she does not take into account the recategorization discussed above that puts all those who do not believe in Jesus as outsiders in the world ('Colonizer', 177-78). The Latin and Greek on the *titulus* also point to a proclamation that is to gentiles as well as Jews.

³²⁸ Morgan, *Faith*, 436, see also 402. Morgan does note John 13:34-35 as an exception (402 n. 50).

³²⁹ Lincoln notes that this emphasis on Jesus as a 'paradigm' for those undergoing trials is highlighted by contrasting it with Peter's poor performance (*Truth*, 28, 31, 34, 250; cf. Rensberger, 'Politics', 407). Note that this sending is problematic when followers of Jesus use it to justify imposing their ideology on others (Warner, 'Fourth', 165; Dube, 'Savior', 129-30; Ripley, 'Glorious', 12). On this see Section 7.3.5 in the present chapter.

³³⁰ Reinhart Staats, 'Pontius Pilatus im Bekenntnis der frühen Kirche', *ZTK* 84.4 (1987): 493-513 (505). See, similarly, Schlier, *Relevance*, 217-18; Bammel, '*Titulus*', 354. Note that although Stephen Liberty helpfully lists many of the early uses of this formula, his conclusions, which are based on reading the Gospel of John as fully historical, and which betray an anti-Jewish bias, are not to be followed ['The Importance of Pontius Pilate in Creed and Gospel', *JTS* 45 (1944): 38-56].

³³¹ Brown, *John*, 2.861; Schlier, *Relevance*, 217-18.

crucifixion. Thus, Jesus-believers who have chosen fear over faithful proclamation would be called upon to make a bolder choice, knowing that the shaming that follows is not, among God's children, one that dishonours them.

In this way, the Johannine trial narrative operates 'as resistance literature combating marginalization'.³³² By downplaying the virtue of abiding by the law, the narrative would enable persecuted Jesus-believers to construct themselves as virtuous and honourable despite not abiding fully by either Roman or Jewish law. Part of the message that the hidden transcript conveys is that the identity of a Jesus-believer is honourable, even if Romans marginalize, oppress, or persecute them. Thus, 'those who by believing in Jesus have become children of God' have 'gained the ascendancy over this world' (see also 16:33), but this is a hidden ascendancy, not evident to outsiders.³³³ This is why there is no overt, direct confrontation between Jesus-believers and Rome.³³⁴ Furthermore, the declaration that Jesus is in some ways like Caesar means that 'the mastery of the Roman lords and emperors would have provided the model for the mastery of Christ by default'.³³⁵ That the Fourth Gospel overrides this default and provides a paradigm for a different type of emperor will be the focus of the next section.

7.2.5. A hidden transcript that calls for the vulnerability of the powerful

The previous section discussed the way John 18:28—19:22 might help Jesus-believers from the first or second century CE to retain a sense of honour, despite being

³³² Skinner, *Trial*, 180 n. 43. For a discussion of the way the Gospel as a whole constructs such a vision of community, see Liew, 'Ambiguous', 208-10. For a discussion of the way language (such as the text of the Gospel of John) exercises authority, see John Edwards, 'The Power of Language, the Language of Power', in *'Along the Routes to Power': Explorations of Empowerment through Language*, ed. Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman, and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer, Contributions to the Sociology of Language 92 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 13-34 (15).

³³³ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 98. Castelli notes that the concept of status is 'ironically' reused in Christian identity since it 'implicitly undermined the effectiveness of the system of law' (*Martyrdom*, 41). For further examples of inversions of Roman realities, particularly the recategorization of those enforcing Roman law to the status of lawless, see 43, 47, 67.

³³⁴ See somewhat similarly Rensberger, 'Politics', 410.

³³⁵ Joerg Rieger, *Christ & Empire: From Paul to Postcolonial Times* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 41. Yet cf. Thatcher, *Greater*, 136-39. Section 7.3.5 will have more in common with Thatcher's views.

perceived by outsiders as lawbreakers. In this last section, I would like to offer some suggestions for further research by outlining the way Jesus in the Johannine trial narrative is also a prototype for Jesus-believers who are not marginalized but who, instead, have some power.³³⁶

Pilate, clearly, has power in this narrative—delegated power that I have therefore termed authority.³³⁷ He rightly asserts that he has the authority to kill Jesus or to set him free (19:10). And he is motivated in the use of that authority, as I have described it, by his own best interest.³³⁸ As he is reminded by Jesus (v. 11), he uses his authority in the way that will best show his loyalty to Caesar.³³⁹ He does not need to consider the interests of Jesus, or of ‘the Jews’, or even the interests of justice, except as they might impinge on his perceived loyalty to Caesar.³⁴⁰ This is ‘power-over’, used for domination.³⁴¹ Pilate does not see himself as evil, but he is pragmatic and puts a continuation of the status quo above all (cf. 19:12, 16).

‘The Jews’ have some power in this narrative as well. In a sense, it is negative power—the power to threaten the status quo by questioning the loyalty of Pilate.³⁴² They have the ability to leverage that power, to a limited extent, to obtain what they want. And what they want is also to maintain the status quo with regard to their own power (11:48). They also use their power for domination, putting their own demonstrable loyalty to Caesar above other concerns (18:30-31; 19:15).

³³⁶ Nevertheless, power and powerlessness are not opposite social positions, but change for each person from social group to social group, from physical location to physical location, and even from day to day. Therefore, the previous section and this one are not relevant to different groups of people but rather to the same people at various times. Additionally, I must note that, as I construct an interpretant for this section most particularly, the object that prompts my interpretation of the Sign of John 18:28—19:22 is not only the first- and second-century experiences of Jesus-believers as best as I can imagine them, but also some present-day oppressive behavior that seems to me to poorly reflect the paradigm of this narrative unit. See Lincoln, *Truth*, 8-10, 414, 417, 422, 429-30, 458-59 and 495; Moore, *Empire*, 49. Note that Moore’s ‘world-conquering Johannine Jesus’ is quite similar to Thatcher’s Jesus who crushes the power of Rome (John 16:33) (Thatcher, *Greater*, 54).

³³⁷ Section 4.4.2.

³³⁸ Sections 6.1.2-4.

³³⁹ Section 6.1.3.

³⁴⁰ Section 6.1.2.

³⁴¹ On ‘power-over’, see Ehrensperger, *Dynamics*, 20-22. On distinguishing between an imbalance of power that is dominating and one that is ‘transformative’, see 27-33.

³⁴² Scott, *Domination*, 90-96. See also Ehrensperger, *Dynamics*, 20-21, 30.

What power does Jesus have? In other scenes in the Fourth Gospel, he has demonstrated that he does have power—the power to heal, to raise the dead, and to escape harm himself (4:50; 11:43; 10:39). Jesus’ power from God is made clear throughout the Gospel (e.g., 3:35; 13:3).³⁴³ Even in his death, ‘Jesus does not die as a victim. He is aware and even in control of his own destiny’.³⁴⁴ Yet in the Johannine trial narrative, he chooses not to use that power, for the sake of making life available to the world (17:1-5). Like Pilate and ‘the Jews’, he maintains his loyalty to the one who has given him his authority, but unlike them, he does not harm others (e.g., 5:27).³⁴⁵ This, too, is power-over, but exercised for the purpose of transformation.³⁴⁶

In demonstrating his loyalty to the Father, Jesus not only does not harm others but he allows himself to be harmed for the sake of his mission (19:1; 12:27). He makes himself vulnerable.³⁴⁷ Vulnerability for Pilate and ‘the Jews’ would be to risk losing their own power and positions—and this they do not do.³⁴⁸ Vulnerability for Jesus does not consist in risking his own physical harm—he does this repeatedly in the Gospel and although he is hurt, he is

³⁴³ Eben Scheffler, arguing for non-violence, notes that John depicts ‘Jesus’ non-violent attitude ... emphasised by the fact that he refrains from violence from a position of power’ [‘Jesus’ Non-Violence at His Arrest: The Synoptics and John’s Gospel Compared’, in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. G. Van Belle, BETL 200 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 739-49 (743)]. See, also, Cassidy, *Christians*, 37-38.

³⁴⁴ Thompson, *John*, 377. See, similarly, Thatcher, *Greater*, 40, 128; Colleen M. Conway, ‘Was Jesus a Manly Man? On Reading Masculinity in the New Testament’, *WW* 36.1 (2016): 15-23 (19).

³⁴⁵ I have not forgotten, however, the eschatological harm promised. One solution is that of Volf, who argues that the violence in the Gospels and, indeed, in other New Testament texts, is not a model for Christians to emulate now but the eschatological judgement of a just God [Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 303]. As will be argued below (Section 7.3), whether such a solution is hoped-for or judged repulsive depends in part on one’s current experience of injustice. In any case, it firmly removes physical or ideological violence from the purview of Jesus-believers.

³⁴⁶ Ehrensperger, *Dynamics*, 27-29; John Painter, ‘The Death of Jesus in John: A Discussion of the Tradition, History, and Theology of John’, in *The Death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Gilbert Van Belle (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 327-61 (346, 360).

³⁴⁷ Vulnerability, as I understand it, is the willingness to risk an encounter with an ideological otherness that challenges one’s own ideology, especially the aspects of one’s own ideology that empower one to act [Hans Jochen Margull, ‘Verwundbarkeit: Bemerkungen zum Dialog’, *Evangelische Theologie* 34 (1974): 410-20 (410-11)]. Vulnerability is often not a choice; see Catriona Mackenzie, Wendy Rogers, and Susan Dodds, ‘Introduction: What Is Vulnerability, and Why Does It Matter for Moral Theory?’, in *Vulnerability: New Essays in Ethics and Feminist Philosophy*, ed. Catriona Mackenzie, Wendy Rogers, and Susan Dodds, *Studies in Feminist Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-29 (4-9).

³⁴⁸ Orchard, *Courting*, 208.

not permanently harmed (11:8; 20:14).³⁴⁹ Instead, the Gospel repeatedly asserts that the ultimate harm to Jesus is for him to be rejected (e.g., 1:10-11; 8:55).³⁵⁰ On the one hand, Jesus' vulnerabilities are expressive of his humanity (Tertullian, *Flesh of Christ* 9).³⁵¹ Yet for the Son of God to become human is, from the opposite perspective, an expression of vulnerability in itself. He is 'Gott ..., der sich nicht überhaupt, sondern in der Knechtsgestalt "dialogisch" kundtut, also in der Knechtsgestalt verwundbar wurde (ist, sein wollte?)'.³⁵² And his very coming into the world provoked a choice that demonstrated that not everyone would believe in him (3:17-19). For example, to include Judas among his closest disciples is to make himself vulnerable to a betrayal which he knows is imminent (6:64, 70-71).³⁵³

And as a result of the choice that Jesus' presence provokes, guilt is assigned. In John 19:11, Jesus sets out the guilt of Pilate and the greater guilt of the one who betrayed him. Pilate's guilt comes as a result of his loyalty to Caesar—he becomes the means by which 'the Jews' express their hatred of Jesus (7:7). Guilt for 'the Jews' is the same as that of the world—it is rejecting Jesus (5:38). The rejection of Jesus motivates the attempts to kill him—and Pilate's guilt is less because he is simply the time and place that God has chosen to allow that rejection to bear its fruit (5:18).³⁵⁴ According to the Gospel of John, Jesus dies in order to provide life for the world *and* he dies as a result of his rejection (3:15; 7:30). In the trial narrative, however, his death has not yet occurred. In John 18:28—19:22, he has

³⁴⁹ Section 7.2.1. This is *pace* Orchard who assumes vulnerability must be physical, although she does not define it and includes the footwashing as Jesus' self-chosen 'victimal behaviour' (Orchard, *Courting*, 17-18, 169-70; Painter, 'Death', 345).

³⁵⁰ Painter, 'Death', 343, 360; Simoens, 'Pouvoir', 551. Cf. Deut. 7:10.

³⁵¹ Edwards, *John*, 54; Lincoln, *Gospel*, 327; Devillers, 'Croix', 404-405; Neyrey, *Cultural*, 467. See also Marianne Meye Thompson who, while arguing against Käsemann's 'naïve docetism', frequently points to passages in the Gospel where Jesus becomes vulnerable since humanity (as opposed to deity) is just that—vulnerable (e.g., *Incarnate*, 3, 113). This does not, however, mean that the humanity and divinity of Jesus can be seen separately in the Fourth Gospel (Thompson, *John*, 249).

³⁵² Margull, 'Verwundbarkeit', 420.

³⁵³ Koester, 'Why', 177. There is no indication, as Orchard supposes, that Judas is not among those that Jesus loved (*Courting*, 169; John 13:1). In fact, John 1:11 suggests that reaching out to one's own does not guarantee they will reciprocate. See, for example, the description of Jesus' actions in Bennis's characterization of Judas which, while not mentioning vulnerability specifically, point out Jesus' love even for him (*Encountering*, 131).

³⁵⁴ Section 7.1.5 n. 161.

simply chosen not to escape, not to use his power to preserve his own status quo, but to allow those who reject him to express that rejection to the fullest extent (16:2-3).

Rejection of Jesus is prompted by his witness.³⁵⁵ Yet to bear witness to a truth that is different from that of the other makes one vulnerable to ‘the otherness of the other’.³⁵⁶ To protect Christians from that other, the Fourth Gospel has become, in some times and places, an invitation to enact both physical and ideological violence.³⁵⁷ The Johannine Jesus models a different response to an encounter between differing truths. Although characterized as a powerful emperor, he models vulnerability, specifically when his ‘bearing witness ... has brought the violence and hatred of the world upon him’.³⁵⁸ This is because at the trial before Pilate, his time—the time that God has chosen—has come (17:1).³⁵⁹ Pilate’s choice comes to fruition but Jesus is able to bring life to the world through Pilate’s choice.³⁶⁰

Although Jesus chooses to be vulnerable in his trial and crucifixion, he does not make that same choice absolutely or universally. In John 2:23-24 the narrator communicates Jesus’ unwillingness ‘to entrust himself to the many who believed, because he knew what was in them’.³⁶¹ His journey to Jerusalem, to the temple, at the time of Sukkot (7:1-23), is especially interesting because he makes himself vulnerable (vv.1, 25-26, 44), apparently for the sake of teaching the people (v. 14) and yet does so carefully, in a way that minimizes his risk, because his ‘time is not yet here’ (vv. 6, 30).³⁶² And it is because he does not make himself

³⁵⁵ That witness provides everyone with the opportunity to believe in him and be transformed, but it does not require it (Painter, ‘Death’, 359).

³⁵⁶ Volf, *Exclusion*, 267-68; Bennema, ‘Religious’, 146-47. Conversely, for the other to listen to someone else’s truth is also a stance of vulnerability.

³⁵⁷ Volf, *Exclusion*, 306; Dube, ‘Savior’, 130-33; Reinhartz, ‘Love’, e.g., 121.

³⁵⁸ Orchard, *Courting*, 206. While the use of vulnerability as a method of discussion and confrontation cannot be discussed at this juncture, some thoughts are offered in Margull, ‘Verwundbarkeit’; William C. Placher, *Narratives of a Vulnerable God: Christ, Theology, and Scripture* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), esp. 41-45, 87-108; Volker Küster, ‘Toward an Intercultural Theology: Paradigm Shifts in Missiology, Ecumenics, and Comparative Religion’, in *Theology and the Religions: A Dialogue*, ed. Viggo Mortensen (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 171-84 (179-82). See too Lincoln, ‘Reading’, 143-48.

³⁵⁹ See Section 7.1.5.

³⁶⁰ Somewhat similarly, see Thompson, *John*, 372.

³⁶¹ Lincoln, *Gospel*, 238. (It would be interesting to explore further the fact that it is to those who believed that the Johannine Jesus does not choose to be vulnerable.)

³⁶² Brown, *John*, 1.318. Some commentators discuss the mounting tension between Jesus and his opponents without noting the parallel tension inherent between Jesus’ vulnerability and his power, e.g.,

completely vulnerable—but retains the power to effect his free movement—that he is not apprehended (v. 30) and, indeed, can go on speaking with ‘the Jews’ despite what the narrator relates of their violent wishes (8:20, 37, 40, 44, 59).³⁶³

Therefore, Jesus is neither a servant who is kicked from one powerful abuser to the next nor is he a sword-wielding emperor. These two opposite positions are exemplified by Helen Orchard and John Painter. If Painter leans to the side of Jesus’ power, and Orchard leans to the side of Jesus as ‘*an active participant in his own victimization*’, it is only because both are in the text.³⁶⁴ It is the choice of the powerful to be vulnerable.³⁶⁵ What must be noted is that, as Painter rightly points out, Jesus’ power is one that allows him to go into ‘the heart of darkness of the world, not to destroy it, but to *transform* it by the power of the light of the love of God, which is incarnate in him (see 3,19-21; 8,12; 9,5.39-41; 12,35-36.46)’.³⁶⁶ The God ‘above’ and the disciples ‘in the world’ are, in this way, in unity with each other despite the apparent intrusion of the Roman empire between the two.³⁶⁷

The goal of Jesus—to bring people to himself knowing that not all will believe—suggests a response to Alan Culpepper’s comment that ‘There is a great deal of talk about love in John, but Jesus does not seem to be very loving’.³⁶⁸ In this Gospel, Jesus’ love is not that of a lover seeking to please the beloved; it is rather the grim determination to do what must be done to bring the offer of life (3:15, 17; 6:51; 10:10-11, 15-18; 11:51-52; 12:23-25, 32).³⁶⁹

Moloney, *Love*, 97-98. He does, however, note the ‘violence... of the mounting attempt ... to eliminate Jesus’ (124).

³⁶³ Moloney, *John*, 247, 316-17.

³⁶⁴ Warner, ‘Fourth’, 162.

³⁶⁵ Painter, ‘Death’, 345; Orchard, *Courting*, 100, emphasis original.

³⁶⁶ Painter, ‘Death’, 345.

³⁶⁷ See, somewhat similarly, Catrin Williams’ description of John’s use of ὑψόω (Williams, ‘Another Look’, 69-70).

³⁶⁸ Culpepper, *Anatomy*, 111.

³⁶⁹ Lincoln, ‘Reading’, 145, 149; Koester, ‘Why’, 176.

7.3. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Roman reading of John 18:28—19:22 proposed in this study opens avenues for future research on a wide range of topics. The trial narrative recategorizes ethnicity and creates ‘witness to the truth’ as a superordinate identity strengthening community among those who believe, both gentile and Jew. It highlights election and accommodation to outsiders, but relativizes obedience to both Jewish and Roman laws. It emphasizes witnessing as a mark of honour among Jesus-believers and expects that ultimately all will believe in Jesus or be cut off (15:2). However, for the present that the text addresses, Jesus models vulnerability to outsiders for the sake of the offer of life.

Jesus’ model of vulnerability seems to have been easy to ignore when the hidden transcript was brought into the public discourse. Those who define themselves by their struggle against oppressors tend to glory in their victory once the oppressors are gone. This may be why ‘[r]eaders of the Fourth Gospel often claim ... absolutizing powers over others’.³⁷⁰ Those who ‘struggle, in whatever way possible’ may become those who ‘take up this all-powerful Jesus and claim to rule in his name, justifying their power as an extension of his’.³⁷¹

Such domination, especially backed up by physical violence, are sometimes countered by Jesus’ rejection of such tactics (18:11, 36).³⁷² For N. T. Wright, for example,

³⁷⁰ Musa W. Dube, and Jeffrey L. Staley, ‘Descending from and Ascending into Heaven: A Postcolonial Analysis of Travel, Space and Power in John’, in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, *The Bible and Postcolonialism* 7 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 1-10 (10).

³⁷¹ Rensberger, *Overcoming*, 122, 123, 126. See also Dube, ‘Savior’, 123, 130.

³⁷² Many scholars describe Jesus’ kingdom as one of ‘peace’ or ‘non-violence’; see, e.g., Hauerwas, *Peaceable*, 83; Kee, ‘Knowing’, 276; John Dominic Crossan, ‘Roman Imperial Theology’, in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 59-73 (73); Skinner, *Trial*, 96; Trost, *Who*, 123, 161; Sheridan, *Retelling*, 220, 224. For Eben Scheffler, because of the temple incident (John 2:13-17), non-violence is defined as ‘physical violence that can destroy human life’ [‘The Historical Jesus and (Non-)Violence: A Contemporary Challenge’, in *The Bible and Violence in Africa: Papers Presented at the BiAS Meeting 2014 in Windhoek (Namibia), with Some Additional Contributions*, ed. Johannes Hunter and Joachim Kügler, *Bible in Africa Studies* 20 (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2016), 91-115 (105)].

Jesus' kingdom is different in that it enacts the 'victory of *love*', and enacts God's 'truth'.³⁷³ Yet his summary of the issue reveals the problem inherent in this conclusion: 'Bearing witness to the truth means telling, and enacting, God's judgment on the untruth of the present world, and enabling the launch of the new one'.³⁷⁴ What actions could not be justified in the name of correcting untruth? What physical and ideological violence might not be rationalized as an enactment of God's judgement?

Painter claims '[t]hat the light shines in the darkness is not an act of violence. It is God's way of bringing something out of nothing, good out of evil, life out of death. In it there is the *possibility* of the *transformation* of the world and this can only be through persuasion rather than force or violence'.³⁷⁵ Yet this is just where the problem lies. Should an invitation to transformation, to the family of God (1:12), and to life (3:15), with a threat of ideological and perhaps physical violence in the end for those who refuse it (3:18, 36), be described as a mission of rescue or colonization? In the end, it depends on whether the other feels that such a rescue is welcome or not.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ N. T. Wright, and J. P. Davies, 'John, Jesus, and "the Ruler of This World": Demonic Politics in the Fourth Gospel?', in *Conception, Reception, and the Spirit: Essays in Honor of Andrew T. Lincoln*, ed. J. G. McConville and Lloyd Pietersen (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2015), 71-89 (85, 86).

³⁷⁴ Wright, and Davies, 'Conception', 86; see, also, 87.

³⁷⁵ Painter, 'Death', 346.

³⁷⁶ One way forward might be to listen to voices both from above and from below, as Klaus Wengst does for the *pax Romana* [*Pax Romana and the Peace of Jesus Christ*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 10].

8. Concluding Synthesis

In the multicultural milieu of the early Roman empire, intersecting cultures required intersecting cultural and linguistic competence to be able to communicate effectively. Umberto Eco's threefold semiotic theory based on Charles Peirce's triad of Sign-object-interpretant provides the term 'encyclopaedia' to discuss such competencies. In addition to the Jewish encyclopaedia, the Gospel of John uses words and concepts of importance in the Roman encyclopaedia, particularly in John 18:28—19:22. To analyse this narrative unit with the tools of semiotic analysis is, in contrast to Empire Studies, to attend to the impact of the Roman empire on the biblical text primarily at the level of its language, bringing in issues of power only secondarily as they are raised in the initial analysis. While the Gospel of John is too open a text to be considered an antilanguage, James Scott's term 'hidden transcript' describes the way the text regularly appeals to Jesus-believers' knowledge of what it calls 'the truth' in what seems to be a polemical context, and yet always with an element of deniability (20:28).

After Chapter 1 has set forth these introductory issues, Chapter 2 goes on to explain semiotic theory in more detail. In particular, the way Signs blow up or narcotize contextual references that are tied to culture allows for auditors with different cultural competencies to understand texts differently. However, interpretation is not unlimited, because texts offer clues and confirmations that serve as guides and checks to unconstrained interpretation. Eco's object—the event or item in the world outside of the text that prompted the author to communicate—also serves to limit interpretation. While that world is no longer directly accessible to twenty-first century CE interpreters, the available information about that world informs and constrains the interpretation offered in this thesis (particularly in Chapter 3 and in Sections 4.1, 4.3-4, 5.1.1-2, 6.1.2-5, 7.1.2).

In a multicultural environment such as existed in the Eastern provinces under the Roman empire, authors are able to switch from one encyclopaedia to another, accessing the

cultural units that they need. When these switches occur, authors signal them by embedding words or phrases particular to the new encyclopaedia. Once activated, the cultural units of the second encyclopaedia, including literary allusions, are available to the auditors as they interpret the text. In a literary allusion in particular, the reference may be brought in as a point of comparison or of contrast, and that information will be expressed in the frame in which it is set. These theories, explored in Chapter 2, demonstrate not only the importance of the cultural milieu of the Gospel of John for the interpretation of the text, but also the way these can be brought together in analysis.

Chapter 3 describes some of the context in which the Fourth Gospel was produced. Using evidence from Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria, it outlines the existence of Roman retainers who, while not necessarily Roman citizens or Latin speakers, had to develop competencies in Roman culture in order to function in the army, to serve the Roman administration, in law, or in commerce. Such people left epigraphical and papyrological evidence of these linguistic competencies. Furthermore, the Gospel of John, particularly John 18:28—19:22, contains similar words and phrases, some of which reflect the presence of Latin in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first and second century CE. These terms justify the production of an interpretant of the Johannine trial narrative that is rooted in the Roman encyclopaedia.

When Chapter 4 begins such an endeavour, it first encounters the term βασιλεύς and its attendant ambiguity. Used in Greek for both kings and emperors, βασιλεύς is repeated three times in John 18:33-37, and, from the perspective of the Roman encyclopaedia, it raises the question of legitimation. Yet earlier episodes from the Fourth Gospel can be interpreted, once that question is raised, to answer it immediately. Jesus is appropriately humble about his aspirations to rule (John 6:15). Jesus has the consensus of God (Section 4.3.3). And Jesus has the consensus of the people (John 12:12-15). In the rest of the trial narrative (John

18:38—19:22) this Roman evaluation is confirmed as Jesus is declared to be ‘son of God’ (*divi filius*) and to have been given authority (*imperium*).

Having broadly established some points of similarity between the Johannine Jesus and Caesar, Chapter 5 narrows the focus onto John 19:2-5. There, Jesus is dressed in imperial attire and hailed by Roman soldiers. In some ways, his robe and crown and even the mocking words of the soldiers mimic a Roman triumph. Such elements began to be used, after Augustus, in imperial contexts outside of the triumph itself, to highlight the status of the emperor. Then, in verse 3, Roman soldiers hail Jesus as in the acclamation of one who will become emperor. However, the title they use is different: ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. I have suggested that in this way, John hides the blasphemy of calling Jesus the emperor.

The comparison between Jesus and Caesar is raised again in verse 5 when auditors are reminded of Jesus’ imperial dress and Pilate presents Jesus to ‘the Jews’ with the words, Ἴδου ὁ ἄνθρωπος. This phrase seems to echo the presentation of Augustus in Vergil’s *Aeneid* (6.791) where Aeneas’ father Anchises presents the shade of the future emperor with the words, *hic vir, hic est*. This literary allusion works differently in different frames. In the immediate context, it provides a contrast between imperial Augustus and the beaten Jesus that fits with the mockery of the soldiers. When interpreted in the frame of John 18:28—19:22, however, it joins the rest of the comparisons between Jesus and Caesar to suggest that the truth, which I have argued is the hidden transcript of Jesus-believers, is that Jesus fulfills the Roman messianic expectations and is the ruler of Caesar. This presentation then joins the other cultural descriptions of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel which have the capacity to range Romans or Roman-aware auditors among those the Gospel calls to faithful loyalty.

Loyalty, Chapter 6 argues, is of key importance in John 18:28—19:22. Approaching the text with a Roman encyclopaedia, Roman-aware auditors would expect that Pilate’s primary concern would be to keep the peace of Caesar and demonstrate his own loyalty to him. In pursuit of these goals, Pilate uses mockery to test the reaction of ‘the Jews’ to find

out whether they are loyal to Jesus (18:28—19:5). Having determined that they are not, he then continues his testing to find out whether they are loyal to Caesar, which is a related but not identical question (19:6-22). In the midst of each cycle of conversations, Pilate attempts to determine, first, whether Jesus is seditious and, secondly, whether he is dangerous to Pilate's future. Once he has been assured of the loyalty of 'the Jews', and has become reasonably assured that Jesus is not a personal threat to him, crucifying Jesus is an expedient solution to the matter.

The Johannine trial narrative, in the course of Pilate's tests, raises questions about some Roman identity markers (being elected by the gods, abiding by the law, and welcoming foreigners). These markers are also important to Jewish identity, and the various positioning of the characters of the trial narrative—both physical and verbal—recategorizes Pilate and 'the Jews' together. Furthermore, the law in particular comes into question as 'Jews' and Pilate negotiate whose law they will follow while Jesus stands in the midst of them and is categorized by both as a law-breaker, 'the Jews' explicitly so (19:7) and Pilate by crucifying him (19:16). In this way, Chapter 7 argues, Jesus becomes an exemplar of a witness to the truth, a superordinate identity that prioritizes witnessing over law-abiding.

The truth, for Jesus-believers, is that empires must be negotiated. While Jesus admonishes his followers not to commit acts of physical violence (18:11; 19:36), they also are to expect that such acts will be committed against them. It seems likely, or so I argue in Section 7.2.3, that those whom the Gospel addresses were in some way, or expected to be, marginalized or persecuted. In such a situation, Jesus provides the exemplar of one who is shamed by the world, but honoured by God, a re-ordering of the evaluations of others typical of hidden transcripts.

What of the forceful imposition of ideology in which Christians have sometimes engaged? Jesus, portrayed as powerful in John's Gospel, also provides an exemplar who does not use his power to impose his truth—at least not in the narrative. He chooses to lay

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aside his power even to escape from violence, when doing so serves to draw people to belief (12:23-32). It is to such vulnerable witnessing that his followers are also called (15:27—16:4).

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Appendix

Authors:	Bultmann	Brown, Bond	Meeks, de la Potterie, Carter	Lincoln	Griesmer	Keener	Zimmermann	Brant	Bennema
Scene divisions in John 18:28 to 19:22					18:28		18:28		
John 18:	28-32	28-32	28-32	28-32	29-32	29-32	29-32	28-32	
	33-38	33-38a	33-38a	33-38a	33-38b	33-38a	33-38a	33-38a	
	39-40	38b-40	38b-40	38b-40	38c-40	38b-40	38b-40	38b-40	
John 19:	1-7	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	1-3	
		4-8	4-7	4-7	4-7	4-8	4-8	4-7	
	8-12a	9-11	8-12	8-11	8-12	9-11	9-11	8-11	
	12b-16a	12-16a	13-16	12-16a	13-15	12-16	12	12-15	12-16a
		Brown wants to include 17- 22	17-22 (de la Potterie does not include 17- 22; Carter skips vv. 17-18 and only includes 19- 22)		16a-b		13-16a		Adds: 19-22
					Epilogue: 16c-22				