

NOTES

¹Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism

("A Crossroad Book"; New York: Seabury, 1974), pp. 111-116.

²E. g., R. Fuller, "The 'Jews' in the Fourth Gospel," Dialog, 16(1977), p. 35; E. J. Epp, "Anti-Semitism and the Popularity of the Fourth Gospel in Christianity," CCAR Journal, 22:4(Fall, 1975), pp. 35, 43, 45-52; M. A. Getty, "The Jews and John's Passion Narrative," Liturgy, 22:3(March), 1977), p. 6; K. Jaspers, Myth and Christianity (New York: Noonday, 1958), p. 21; S. Sandmel, A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament (New York: University Publishers, 1960); C. K. Barrett, The Gospel of John and Judaism, trans. from German by D. M. Smith (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970), pp. 70f.; and R. E. Brown, The Gospel according to John ("Anchor Bible," 29, 29A; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1966), pp. LXX-LXXV (with hesitation). For other examples see R. Leistner, Antijudaismus im Johannesevangelium? ("Theologie und Wirklichkeit," 3; Bern: H. Lang, 1974), pp. 9-67; and also E. Grässer, "Die antijüdische Polemik im Johannesevangelium," New Testament Studies, 11(1964), pp. 86f.

³See Getty, pp. 7f.

⁴For Israel as a vine in Rabbinic literature, see Hullin 92a; Exodus Rabbah 36:1 (based on Ps. 80:8 [9]). For a general discussion, see Brown, pp. 669ff.; C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Unvi. Press, 1954), pp. 410ff.

⁵Dodd, pp. 82-85.

⁶On bread, see Genesis Rabbah 70:5; Pesiqta deRav Kahana 11:1; Canticles Rabbah 1:19; cf. Exodus Rabbah 25:7; on light, see Prov. 6:23; Sifre on Numbers 6:25, parag. 41; Ketubbot 111ab; Deuteronomy Rabbah 7:3; cf. Bava Batra 4a; Avot deRabbi Natan, text b, 31; on water see Mekhilta deRabbi Yishmael, Bahodesh, 5, p. 222 (Horovitz); Sifre on Deuteronomy 11:22, parag. 48; Ta'anit 7a; Tanna deve Eliyahu, p. 198 (Friedmann); Numbers Rabbah 1:6; etc.;

on wine see Ta'anit 7a (bar.); Pesieta deRav Kahana 12:13; Canticles Rabbah 1:19; and Exodus Rabbah 25:7.

⁷For a full discussion, see J. T. Townsend, "The Jerusalem Temple in New Testament Thought," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Harvard Divinity School, 1958), pp. 174-183; R. Schnackenburg, The Gospel according to St John, trans. K. Smith, New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), p. 352; R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, a Commentary, ed. C. F. Evans (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), pp. 113f.; Brown, pp. 121-125; O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A. S. Todd and J. B. Torrance ("Studies in Bibl. Theol., 10; London: SCM, 1953, pp. 71-74.

⁸Townsend, pp. 170-173; Brown, pp. 180f.; Cullmann, pp. 80-84; F.-M. Braun, "In Spiritu et Veritate," Revue Thomiste, 52(1952), pp. 270f.

⁹The passage has many exegetical difficulties. See Townsend, pp. 183-196; Brown, pp. 320-331.

¹⁰On the scriptural allusion, see Brown, pp. 937f.; R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, a Commentary, trans. G. R. Beasley Murray et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), p. 677; cf. Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 43f., who feels that the allusion is more akin to Ps. 33:21.

¹¹For surveys of various interpretations, see E. E. May, Ecce Agnus Dei! ("Catholic Univ. of America Studies in Sacred Theol.," ser. 2, no. 5; Washington: Catholic Univ., 1947); S. Virgulin, "Recent Discussion of the Title 'Lamb of God,'" Scripture, 13(1961), pp. 74-80.

¹²So Brown, pp. 395f.; but cf. H. G. Wood, "Interpreting the Time," New Testament Studies, 2(1956), pp. 265f., according to whom the thieves are "violent revolutionary leaders."

¹³John also refers to Jesus as God in 1:1 and, according to good textual evidence, 1:18. Heb. 1:8-9 is the only other place in the New Testament where where it is certain that Jesus is called "God." See Brown, "Does the New Testament Call Jesus God?" Theological Studies, 26(1965), pp. 545-573.

¹⁴ See Brown, John, pp. 533-538. See also E. D. Freed, "Did John Write his Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" Novum Testamentum, 12(1970), pp. 251-253, on the Samaritan background of the usage, and Bultmann, pp. 225f., n. 3, for the non-Jewish background. On the meaning of the Hebrew divine name, see F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," Harvard Theological Review, 55 (1962), pp. 225-259.

¹⁵ The text was corrected to "I am Lord" in the margin of Codex Marchalianus.

¹⁶ See A. E. Millgram, Jewish Worship (Philadelphia: Jewish Publ. Soc., 1971), pp. 96-101.

¹⁷ John's second most common designation of Jesus' opponents is "Pharisee(s)," which appears nineteen times. The probable reason is that, when the gospel was written, Pharisees dominated Judaism. See Brown, John, p. LXXII.

¹⁸ So Barrett, pp. 71f. See Ruether, p. 114; Sandmel, p. 277; D. M. Smith, "The Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source," Journal of Biblical Literature, 95(1976), pp. 231-241.

¹⁹ E. g., Leistner, pp. 69-150; J. R. Michaels, "Alleged Anti-Semitism in the Fourth Gospel," Gordon Review, 11:1(Winter, 1968), pp. 12-24; R. T. Fortna, "Theological Use of Locale in the Fourth Gospel," Gospel Studies in Honor of Sherman Elbridge Johnson: ATR Supplementary Series, 3(1974), pp. 93-95, who concludes that John is polemical but "not in any racial sense anti-semitic." For other writers with similar views, see Leistner, passim, who includes a survey of Jewish views on John (pp. 57-63). See also the following note.

²⁰ E. g., H. Mulder, "Ontstaan en Doel van het Vierde Evangelie," Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift, 69(1969), pp. 233-258; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Destination and Purpose of St. John's Gospel," New Testament Studies, 6(1960), pp. 117-131; W. C. van Unnik, "The Purpose of St. John's Gospel," Studia Evangelica, I, ed. K. Aland et al. (TU, 73; Berlin, 1959), pp. 382-411. For others see Grässer, p. 87. According to Fortna, The Gospel of Signs ("SNTS Monograph," 11; Cambridge: Univ. Press; 1970), pp. 223-225, 228-230, and

W. Nicol, The Sēmeia in the Fourth Gospel ("Suppl. to NT," 32; Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 77-79, John used a source intended for Jews.

²¹So also W. A. Meeks, "'Am I a Jew?'—Johannine Christianity and Judaism," Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty, Part I, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 163, 167ff.; Robinson, "The New Look on the Fourth Gospel," reprinted in idem, Twelve New Testament Studies ("Studies in Bibl. Theol.," 14; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1962), pp. 94-106.

²²Particularly influential today is the Gnostic interpretation of Bultmann, both in his commentary and in his Theology of the New Testament, Vol. II, trans. K. Grobel (New York: Scribner's, 1955). For others with Gnostic or Hellenistic interpretations of John, see the surveys of Leistner, pp. 9-47; G. MacRae, "The Fourth Gospel and Religionsgeschichte," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 32(1970), pp. 13ff. See also Meeks, pp. 167-169.

²³See the surveys of A. Wind, "Destination and Purpose of the Gospel of John," Novum Testamentum, 14(1972), pp. 26-69; Leistner, pp. 51-56; and Barrett, pp. 1-19. See also J. D. Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," Novum Testamentum, 17(1975), p. 11, n. 1, for a recent bibliography of studies (by J. Bowman, G. W. Buchanan, Freed, Meeks, and C. H. H. Scobie) which use a Samaritan approach to John.

²⁴Meeks, p. 185: see also pp. 167-170.

²⁵See S. Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine, New York: P. Feldheim, 1965), and idem, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine ("Texts and Studies of JTSA," 18 (New York: Jewish Theol. Seminary of America, 1962).

²⁶"Call no man on earth your father" (Matt. 23:9) also probably concerns relying upon the fatherhood of Abraham. See Townsend, "Matthew 23:9," Journal of Theological Studies, 12(1961), pp. 56-59.

²⁷It is possible that some Jewish sacrifices were offered in Jerusalem even

after the destruction of the Temple. So K. W. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A. D. 70," New Testament Studies, 6(1960), pp. 269-280. See also H. Bietenhard, "Die Freiheitskriege der Juden unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian und der messianische Tempelbau," Judaica, 4(1948), pp. 84-108, 161-167. On the dating of John after the fall of Jerusalem, see below, pp. 21ff., and n. 85.

²⁸See H. J. Schoeps, "Die Tempelzerstörung des Jahres 70 in der jüdischen Religiousgeschichte," Coniectanea Neotestamentica, 6(1942), pp. 1-46; J. R. Brown, Temple and Sacrifice in Rabbinic Judaism ("Winslow Lectures," 1963; Evanston, Ill.: Seabury-Western Theol. Seminary, 1963).

²⁹It is sometimes claimed that the Qumran sect considered their community to have replaced the Jerusalem Temple. So B. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament ("SNTS Monograph," 1; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 1-46; however, his arguments are based, at least in part, on faulty translations. See my review in the Journal of Biblical Literature, 84(1965), pp. 328f.

³⁰E. g., CD 8:3-18. On the situation generally, see J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History," Revue Biblique, 81(1974), pp. 215-244.

³¹John 10:30: "I and the Father are one," is no exception. The unity of Son and Father that the evangelist had in mind is explained in 17:1: "That they may be one, even as we are one." See also 17:21.

³²See Meeks, "The Divine Agent and his Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel," Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. E. S. Florenza ("Univ. of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity," 2; Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame, 1976), pp. 43-54; idem, The Prophet-King ("Supplements to Novum Testamentum," 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 138-142.

³³Tanhuma, Buber recension, part 4, pp. 51f. // Numbers Rabbah 15:13; see also Pesiqta deRav Kahana, 32:9 (= Suppl., 1:9); Midrash on Psalms, 90:1. See also Meeks, Prophet-King, pp. 192-195.

³⁴It is unlikely, however, that John depends directly upon any of the Synoptic Gospels. See below, p. 17.

³⁵See Leistner, pp. 69-150, especially p. 71.

³⁶According to Luke 22:4, Judas "spoke with the chief priests and captains (stratēgois).\" These captains are probably the Temple captains mentioned in Luke 22:5. See also Acts 4:1; 5:24.

³⁷That the cohort and centurian imply a Roman presence is generally accepted. See Townsend, A Liturgical Interpretation of Our Lord's Passion in Narrative Form ("Israel Study Group Occasional Papers," 1; New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1977), p. 18, n. 41. Among the few who reject this inference are J. Blinzler, The Trial of Jesus, trans. I. and F. McHugh (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1959), pp. 66-70, and D. R. Catchpole, The Trial of Jesus ("Studia Post-Biblica," 18; Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 148-150. Leistner, pp. 82f. has answered their criticism and given special attention to Blinzler philological arguments. Cf. W. R. Wilson, The Execution of Jesus (New York: Scribner's, 1970), pp. 170f., and E. Haenchen, "History and Interpretation in the Johannine Passion Narrative," Interpretation, 24(1970), pp. 200-203, both of whom regard the Roman presence in John as a theological addition to the tradition.

³⁸This interest in Jesus disciples would fit in well with the high priest's stated concern over Jesus' popularity (11:48). See Leistner, pp. 101ff.

³⁹R. H. Husband, The Prosecution of Jesus (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1916), pp. 102-136, 182-208, especially p. 135. Although Mark. 14:55 & //s; 15:1 mention that Jesus appeared before "the sanhedrin (tò synédriōn)," this name need not designate any particular body. The Greek word synédriōn is a relatively common word meaning "council"; and might denote any Judaean council, known or unknown, such as a council of advisers to the high priest. See Townsend, Passion, pp. 20f., n. 50.

⁴⁰Although a political concern underlies the Jewish proceedings in Mark 14:53-72 (see Townsend, Passion, p. 24, n. 66), it is clear that the evangelist

himself regards blasphemy as the central issue.

⁴¹So Haenchen, p. 205; Leistner, pp. 106f.; P. Benoit, "Jésus devant le Sanhédrin," in idem, Exégèse et Théologie, Vol. 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1961), p. 301. See also Barrett, The Gospel according to St John (London: SPCK, 1955), pp. 436f., and Bultmann, John, pp. 642-644.

⁴²Cf. Matt. 27:25: "And all the people (laós) said in reply, 'His blood is upon us and upon our children.'" See Leistner, p. 116.

⁴³Meeks, "Divine Agent," p. 58; Haenchen, p. 216; F. Hahn, "Der Prozess Jesu nach dem Johannesevangelium," Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament: Vorarbeiten, Heft 2, by J. Gnilka et al. (Neukirchen: Neukirchener-Verlag), p. 51.

⁴⁴See Townsend, Passion, p. 14, n. 12.

⁴⁵In Jesus' day "Son of God" would likely have been a royal title. So probably in John 1:49 and possibly in 11:27. See Townsend, Passion, p. 23, n. 61.

⁴⁵See P. Winter, On the Trial of Jesus, 2nd ed. rev. by T. A. Burkill and G. Vermes ("Studia Judaica," 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), pp. 80-82.

⁴⁷See above, n. 44.

⁴⁸Cf. the caution of Grässer, pp. 76f., according to whom the key to understanding John's anti-Jewish bias does not lie in his use of the word, "Jew."

⁴⁹See M. de Jonge, "Jewish Expectations about the 'Messiah,' according to the Fourth Gospel," New Testament Studies, 19(1973), pp. 246-270. See also Fortna, Signs, pp. 228-234, according to whom John's major source taught that miracles demonstrated Jesus' messiahship.

⁵⁰See Bultmann, John, p. 86; Ruether, p. 113, Getty, p. 9; Michaels, pp. 17-19; Fortna, "Theological use of Locale," pp. 92f.; Grässer, pp. 88f.; Meeks, "'Am I a Jew?'" pp. 182f.

⁵¹So Michaels, p. 18; G. A. F. Knight, "Antisemitism in the Fourth Gospel," Reformed Theological Review, 27(1968), pp. 81-88. Cf. also Grässer, pp. 83, 88-90.

⁵²p. 113.

⁵³Those who would equate John's Jews with Jewish authorities include E. L. Allen, "The Jewish Christian Church in the Fourth Gospel," Journal of Biblical Literature, 74(1955), pp. 88-92; R. E. Brown, John, pp. LXXII (generally). See also Barrett, St John, p. 143, for whom the Jews are "Judaism and its official leaders. According to J. Jocz, "Die Juden im Johannesevangelium," Judaica, 9(1953), pp. 140-142, the Jews are nonbelieving Israelites. Several other writers suggest that "Jews in John should sometimes be translated "Judaicans." So M. Lowe, "Who were the IOUDAIOT?" Novum Testamentum, 18(1976), pp. 101-130 (mostly); J. H. Bernard, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John ("Intern. Crit. Comm."; New York: Scribner, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 34-35 (usually); B. Lindars, The Gospel of John ("New Century Bible"; London: Oliphants, 1972), p. 102 (often); Cf. Fortna, "Theological Use of Locale," pp. 58-95. For the opinions of various other exegetes, see Leistner, pp. 47-51. See also above, n. 50, and below, n. 55.

⁵⁴E. G., Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," New Testament Studies, 19(1973), pp. 390-414. See also above, n. 23.

⁵⁵R. G. Bratcher, "'The Jews' in the Gospel of John," Bible Translator, 26(1975), pp. 401-409; Schnackenburg, p. 287; Leistner, p. 87; M. H. Shepherd, "The Jews in the Gospel of John: Another Level of Meaning," Gospel Studies in Honor of Sherman Elbridge Johnson: ATR Supplementary Series, 3(1974), pp. 95f., 104; cf. Grässer, pp. 76f.

⁵⁶p. 107

⁵⁷H. J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (London: SPCK), 1958), pp. 221-250.

⁵⁸Barrett, John and Judaism, p. 70; cf. Shepherd, pp. 96f.; Michaels, p. 14.

⁵⁹So R. E. Brown, John, p. 206, and Braun, pp. 263-265 (probably). Others suggest that the nameless festival in John 5:1 was Passover. So Irenaeus, Adv. Haereses, 2:23:3; M.-J. Lafrange, Évangile selon Saint Jean ("Études Bibliques"; Paris: Gabalda, 1936), pp. 135f.; J. N. Sanders, A Commentary on the Gospel

According to St. John ("Harper's NT Commentaries"; New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 158; Bultmann, John, p. 240; Bernard, vol. 1, pp. 225f. See also T. Zahn, Das Evangelium des Johannes ("Kommentar zum NT," 4; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1921), pp. 275-279, who argues that the festival was Tabernacles. For other suggestions, see E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, ed. F. N. Davey (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), pp. 263f.

⁶⁰S. Pancaro, "The Relationship of the Church to Israel in the Gospel of St John," New Testament Studies, 21(1975), pp. 398-401; Fortna, "Theological Use of Locale," p. 92.

⁶¹Michaels, pp. 19f.; Pancaro, pp. 396-405; but cf. idem, "'People of God' in St John's Gospel?", New Testament Studies, 16(1970), pp. 123-125, where he argues that "Israel" in John "includes all believers." Note also that, wherever "the Jews" appears in John in a positive sense, the context suggests special reasons for the usage. In some verses it represents a Samaritan (4:9, 22) or pagan (19:3, 21) point of view. Again, where "the Jews" designates Jesus' followers, the gospel implies that their faith is not sufficient. See above, pp. 12f.; Michaels, p. 20.

⁶²St John and the Synoptic Gospels (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1938).

⁶³Historical Tradition. See also E. Käsemann, The Testament of Jesus, trans. G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 36.

⁶⁴E. Schweizer, Ego Eimi. . ., ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und NT," 38(56); Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), pp. 82-112.

⁶⁵E. Ruckstuhl, Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums ("Studia Friburgensia," n. F., 3; Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulus, 1951), especially pp. 180-219; idem, "The Gospel of John: Its Sources, Redaction and Theology," paper given at Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, XXVI, Aug. 20-22, 1975. For other studies opposing these sources in John, see Smith, The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory (New Haven: Yale), pp. 57-115. Against Schweizer and Ruckstuhl, see Fortna, Signs, pp. 203-218.

⁶⁶E. g., Nicol, G. Reim, Studien zum altestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums ("SNTS Monograph," 22; Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1974); Bultmann, John. For a reconstruction of Bultmann's "Semeia-Source," see Smith, Composition and Order, pp. 38-44.

⁶⁷E. g., A. Dauer, Die Passionsgeschichte im Johannesevangelium ("Studien zum A. u. NT," 30; München: Kösel, 1972).; Bultmann, John. See Smith, Composition and Order, pp. 44-51, for the text of Bultmann's passion source.

⁶⁸Op. cit. in n. 20. Among those who essentially agree with Fortna is his former teacher, J. L. Martyn, "Source Criticism and Religionsgeschichte in the Fourth Gospel," Jesus and Man's Hope, I ("A Perspective Book"; Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theol. Seminary, 1970), p. 248. For a similar source theory, see Smith, "Setting and Shape," pp. 231-241.

⁶⁹So Smith, "Setting and Shape," pp. 231-234; MacRae, pp. 15f.; J. M. Robinson, "The Johannine Trajectory," in J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, Trajectories through Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), pp. 235ff. However, as these writers point out, there is no wide acceptance of a source behind the Johannine discourses. Bultmann's discourse source (Offenbarungsreden) has found little favor. For a text and critical evaluation of the Offenbarungsreden, see Smith, Composition and Order, pp. 15-38, 57-115.

⁷⁰See, for example, the studies of Cullmann, Der johanneische Kreis (Tübingen: Mohr, 1975); and J. L. Martyn, "Glimpses into the History of the Johannine Community," paper given at Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, XXVI, Aug. 20-22, 1975; idem, History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

⁷¹Martyn, "Glimpses"; idem, "Source Criticism"; and R. E. Brown, John, pp. XXXIV-XXXIX, both suggest five stages. Fuller, p. 31, outlines four. According to W. Wilkens, Die Entstehungsgeschichte des vierten Evangeliums (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1958), there are three stages. See also

M.-É. Boismard, who finds four stages, the last possibly by Luke, in John 1:19-26; 3:22-30. Cf. idem, "L'évolution du thème eschatologique dans les traditions johanniques," Revue Biblique, 68(1961), pp. 507-524; and "Saint Luc et la rédaction du quatrième évangile," Revue Biblique, 69(1962), pp. 185-211.

⁷²See Bultmann, John, passim; J. Becker, "Die Abschiedsreden Jesu im Johannesevangelium," Zeitschrift für die neuestestamentliche Wissenschaft, 61(1970), pp. 215-246; G. Richter, "Zur Formgeschichte und literarischen Einheit von Joh. 6:31-58," Zeitschrift für die neuestestamentliche Wissenschaft, 60(1969), pp. 21-55.

⁷³The Testament of Jesus, trans. G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 13; cf. pp. 74f.

⁷⁴P. 37. See generally, Leistner, pp. 71-79.

⁷⁵Op. cit. in n. 71.

⁷⁶A good example of this two-level composition is the story of the man born blind (John 9; Martyn, History and Theology, pp. 3-41). According to vss. 18-22 his parents were afraid to defend him before "the Jews" because "the Jews had already agreed that, if anyone should confess [Jesus] as Christ, he should be expelled from the Synagogue." The actual story of the healing seems to come from traditional material, but the Jewish agreement to expel Christians from the Synagogue probably reflects the situation in the evangelist's day.

⁷⁷So Fortna, Signs, pp. 32f. & n. 6, p. 123, n. 4, p. 131, p. 132, n. 2, pp. 215, 223; idem, "Theological Use of Locale," p. 90, n. 90; Nicol, pp. 142ff.; cf. pp. 23, 90f.; Fuller, pp. 32-35; Smith, "Setting and Shape," pp. 236f.;

⁷⁸According to Fuller, pp. 32f. the authorities were the Great Sanhedrin; however, in Jesus' day the chief priests dominated this body.

⁷⁹Fortna, "Theological Use of Locale," pp. 66f. suggests the version might have simply read, "Priests and Levites sent to ask him." Similarly idem, Signs, p. 170.

⁸⁰ Similarly in John 18 & 19 the "the Jews" of 18:31, 38f.; 19:7, 12 are clearly "the chief priests" of 19:15 or "the chief priests and the officers" of 19:7. See Lowe, p. 124; Leistner, pp. 115-118.

⁸¹ Fortna, Signs, pp. 55-69, 237f.; Nicol, pp. 32-35; Bultmann, John, pp. 210f. See also R. E. Brown, John, pp. 252-254.

⁸² On the suggestions of various commentators, see R. E. Brown, John, 293-294. See also above, n. 69. There is, however, considerable agreement that vss. 51b-58 stem, not from the evangelist, but from a later redactor. So Bultmann John, pp. 219f.; G. Bornkamm, "Die eucharistische Rede im Johannesevangelium," Zeitschrift für die neuestestamentliche Wissenschaft, 47(1956), pp. 161-169; Richter, pp. 21-55; R. E. Brown, John, pp. 285-291.

⁸³ For other examples, see Fuller, pp. 32-35.

⁸⁴ Gamaliel was nasi for two periods between c. 80 and c. 116.

⁸⁵ So, for example, Ruether, p. 115; Grässer, p. 86; etc. One objection to these answers would be a very early dating of John before the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70. Among the few who argue for such a dating is J. A. T. Robinson, Redating the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), pp. 254-311, especially pp. 272-274. However, arguments for an early dating prove at most that John could possibly have been written before 70 but fail to demonstrate that the dating is probable.

⁸⁶ Josephus, Antiquities, 20:197-204 (also quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 3:23:21-24); Hegesippus, as quoted in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 3:23:4-18. According to Josephus the martyrdom occurred in 62, but Hegesippus places the event in 66.

⁸⁷ Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 3:5:3.

⁸⁸ On the minim generally, see D. Sperber, "Min," Encyclopaedia Judaica, 12 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 1-3.

⁸⁹ So Berakhot 28b(bottom); but cf. yBerakhot 4:3 (8a). For the interpretation that Samuel emended an existing benediction and did not compose one, see

(Freiburg: Herder, 1974): p. 95, who follows J. Heinemann, Prayer in the Talmud, translated and revised (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1977), pp. 325f.

⁹⁰ Note that many mss. read "tseduqim" (= "Sadducees") instead of "minim."

⁹¹ Berakhot 28b-29a // yBerakhot 5:4 (9c). Note that the new benediction did

⁹²"Genizah Specimens," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, old ser., 10(1898), p.

⁹³Codex Bodl. 1095 (Neubauer). The ms. is dated 1426. For a printed text, D. Hedegård, Seder R. Amran Gaon, Part I (Motala: Bröderna Borgströms, 1951), 7 (Hebrew numeration), middle col., lines 8-16. Note that Hedegård gives his translation on p. 93 (English section).

⁹⁵ A Rabbinic designation of Rome. However, if the original benediction predates Maccabean age, the designation then would have referred to the Syrian empire.

⁹⁶For texts, see E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, vol. II, 4th ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907), p. 544, n. 161; S. Krauss, "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers," Jewish Quarterly Review, old ser., 5(1892/93), pp. 123-134, for Justin and 6(1893/94), pp. 225-261, for Jerome; see also 5(1892/93), pp. 139-157, on Origen, who in his Hom. in Jer., 18:12(13), speaks of a high-priestly decree against the Ebionites.

⁹⁷One of the few who argue against the word "Notserim" being part of Samuel's work is Jocz, Jewish People, pp. 51-57, although he does not doubt that the benediction was aimed at Christians.

⁹⁸For other possible anti-Christian measures, see Barrett, John and Judaism, pp. 48-51; Jocz, Jewish People, pp. 45-51.

⁹⁹Berakhot 12a; yBerakhot 1:8 (3c); cf. Tamid 5:1. See J. Mann, "Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service," Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy, ed. Petuchowski (New York: Ktav, 1970), pp. 379-448; Jocz, Jewish People, pp. 47-49; Barrett, John and Judaism, pp. 49f. See also R. M. Grant, "The Decalogue in Early Christianity," Harvard Theological Review, 40(1947), p. 1.

¹⁰⁰Cf. Acts 7, according to which Moses received "living oracles" on Mt. Sinai before the golden-calf incident (vss. 38-41), but the result of his return to the mountain was an idolatrous cult (vss. 42f.)

¹⁰¹The wording is known because some synagogues continued to recite the commandments. It is based on Deut. 6:4 (LXX only). The translation here comes from Mann, p. 393.

¹⁰²On the early Christian use of the Decalogue, see Grant, pp. 1-17.

¹⁰³See Mark 12:18 & //s; Josephus, Wars, 2:165; Antiquities, 18:16; Avot deRabbi Natan, text a, 5 // text b, 10.

¹⁰⁴Sanhedrin 90b uses the word "minim" in commenting on Sanhedrin 10:1. See the following note.

¹⁰⁵So yPe'ah 1:1 (16b, bar.) and Sanhedrin 10:1 (according to the Cambridge

Codex of the Mishnah and the text used by Maimonides). Other Mishnah texts and Avodah Zarah 18a (bar.) read, "he who says there is no resurrection of the dead in the Law (min-haTorah)."
Avodah Zarah 18a also omits "and Epicurus."

¹⁰⁶yBerakhot 5:4 (9c), bar.

¹⁰⁷Shabbat 17a, TShabbat 1:16-23; yShabbat 1:7 (3c). See S. Mendelsohn, "Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai," The Jewish Encyclopedia, 3(London, 1902), p. 116; Sh. Safrai, "Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai," Encyclopaedia Judaica, 4(Jerusalem, 1971), col. 738.

¹⁰⁸Eruvin 13b // yBerakhot 1:7 (3b). The decree takes the form of a voice from heaven, but it is significant that it came under Gamaliel II. See "Gamaliel, Rabban," Encyclopaedia Judaica, 7(Jerusalem, 1971), col. 296.

¹⁰⁹Bava Metsia, 59b

¹¹⁰Berakhot 27b-28a // yBerakhot 4:1 (7cd).

¹¹¹See Didascalia Apostolorum, 21:14, pp. 184f. (Connolly): "Even though they (= the People, i. e. Jews) hate you, yet ought we to call them brethren." See generally G. Strecker, "On the Problem of Jewish Christianity," in W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, trans. R. A. Kraft, G. Krodel, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), pp. 241-285.

¹¹²Ruether, pp. 87f., following Haré, pp. 39, 48-56, concludes such killing would not have been officially sanctioned by the highest Jewish authorities; and she may well be right. For arguments that Jewish killing of Christians was officially ordered, see Martyn, History and Theology, pp. 43-68. For Jewish persecution of Christians in a slightly later period, see Justin Martyr, Apol., 1:31:6; Martyrdom of Polycarp, 12:2; 13:1; 17:2; 18:1. See also Barrett, John and Judaism, p. 10.

¹¹³On this two-level approach, see Martyn, History and Theology; see also above, n. 76.

¹¹⁴See above, n. 82.

¹¹⁵See Epp, pp. 36-45.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AND THE JEWS:

THE STORY OF A RELIGIOUS DIVORCE

by J. T. TOWNSEND

outline

- I. Purpose of the paper as part of a corrective sequel to Rosemary Ruether, Faith and Fratricide (New York: Seabury, 1974). The sequel is edited by Alan T. Davies, will contain a response from Ruether, and will be published by the Paulist press.
- II. Reasons that Ruether and others find the fullest development of NT anti-Jewish bias within the Fourth Gospel. p. 1
 - A. John has a replacement theology. p. 1
 - B. The gospel's use of the terms "Jew" and "the Jews." p. 7
- III. A substantial minority of exegetes conclude that John is no more anti-Jewish than the other gospels. See recently R. Leistner, Antijudaismus im Johannes-evangelium? ("Theologie und Wirklichkeit," 3; Bern: H. Lang, 1974). p. 5
 - A. Stress on the gospel's "Jewishness."
 - B. Some of the evidence for John's anti-Jewish bias may have been exaggerated. p. 6
- IV. The Johannine Passion narrative. p. 8
- V. The gospel's use of "the Jews." p. 12
- VI. Summary. p. 16
- VII. "The Jews" and Johannine source criticism. p. 17
 - A. As related to modern theories. p. 17
 - B. E. g., Jn. 1:19 (cf. vs. 24) and Jn. 6. (See below for texts of 1:19 & 24.) p. 1
- VIII. Judaism in the time of Rabban Gamaliel II, who was Nasi for two periods between c. 80 and 116. p. 21 (last line)
 - A. The benediction concerning the minim. (see texts on reverse side.) p. 22
 - B. The omission of the Decalogue. p. 24
 - C. Measures against Jews who are not Christians. p. 25
 1. Sadducees. p. 25
 2. Shammaites. p. 25
 - D. The character of Gamaliel in Jewish tradition. p. 26
- IX. Christian response. p. 26
- X. Conclusions. p. 27

κατὰ Ἰωάννην, 1:19: Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὅτι ἀπέστειλαν
[πρὸς αὐτὸν] οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεῖς καὶ λευίτας ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν
αὐτόν· σὺ τίς εἶ;

vs. 24: Καὶ [οἱ] ἀπεσταλμένοι ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων.

yBer. 5:4 (9c): Rabbi Ahi and Rabbi Judah ben Pazi (both c. 320) were seated together in the synagogue. One of them came and recited the prayers (lit: crossed over before the ark), but he altered one of the benedictions. They came and laid the question before Rabbi Simon (c. 280). Rabbi Simon said to them (10) in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi (c. 250), "A congregation may be unconcerned if someone alters two or three benedictions. They do not have him read them over again." He found it taught differently (in a baraita): "Generally they do not have him recite it over again, except in the case of one who does not say, 'Who makest the dead live' (= benediction # 2), 'Who humblest the arrogant ones' (benediction # 12), and 'Who buildest Jerusalem' (benediction # 14). [In that case] I should say he is a min." Samuel the Small (c. 100) recited the prayers and altered the end of "Who humblest the arrogant ones." He remained staring at them. They said to him, "The sages did not imagine this."

Ber. 28b-29a: The Rabbis have taught (in a baraita): Shim'on haPaquli arranged the Eighteen Benedictions in order before Rabban Gamaliel (= Nasi twice between c. 80 and c. 116) in Jamnia. Rabban Gamaliel said to the sages, "Is there anyone who knows how to emend (letaqqen) the benediction on the minim (= Sadducees in the censored texts)?" Samuel the Small (c. 100) arose and emended it. After a year he forgot it, (29a) and he thought about it for two or three hours [without recalling it], but they did not remove him [as reader]. Why did they not remove him? Did not Rav Judah (c. 150) say [that] Rav said, "If [the reader] errs in any of the benedictions, they do not remove him; [but, if he errs] in the benediction on the minim (= Sadducees in the censored texts), they remove him." (The text changes to Aramaic.) We take into consideration [that] perhaps he is a min. Samuel the Small is different because he himself emended it.

Versions of Benediction 12 that mention Nazarenes. The version on the left is from two similar texts in the Cairo Genizah published by S. Schechter in JOR 10(1898), pp. 657 & 659 with the differences indicated by brackets. The version on the right is from a ms of Siddur R. Amran Gaon (Codex Bodl. 1095 [Neubauer]) published by D. Hedegård, Seder R. Amran Gaon, Part I (Motala, 1951), p. 37 (Hebrew numeration), middle col., lines 8-16. The bracketed variant is in the ms. as translated.

Schechter fragments

For apostates (meshummadim) may
there be no hope
[unless they return to thy law];
And the kingdom of arrogance* mayest
thou quickly uproot in our days;
And may the Christians (haNotserim)
and the minim perish in an instant.
[May they be erased from the Book of
Life;]
And along with the righteous may
they not be written.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who
humblest arrogant ones

Siddur Rav Amran Gaon

For apostates (meshummadim) may there be
no hope
[another version: unless they return
to thy covenant];
And may the Christians (haNotserim) and
the minim be destroyed in an instant;
And may all our enemies and those with
violent hatred be quickly cut off;
And the kingdom of arrogance* mayest
thou quickly uproot, break, and
humble in our days.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who breakest
enemies and humblest arrogant ones.

*A Rabbinic designation of Rome. However if the original benediction predates the Maccabaeen age, the designation would then have referred to the Syrian empire.

Jerome in 410 on Is. 2:18 (cf. 49:7; 52:4): Three times each day in all the synagogues [the Jews] under the name of Nazarenes (sub nomine Nazarenorum) curse the designation 'Christian.'"

Epiphanius in 375/76, Haerereses, 29:9: [Jewish boys, "on rising at dawn, in the midst of the day, and at evening, three times during the day, when they perform their prayers in the synagogues, give a curse three times during the day by saying, 'Curse the Nazarenes (Nazōraious), O God.'"]

Justin Martyr, Dial. 16:4: "Cursing in your synagogues those who believe on the Christ." Similary 96:2: cf. 47:4; 93:4; 95:4; 108:31; 117:3; 137:2.