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JOHN AND JUDAISM

A Contested Relationship in Context

Edited by

R. Alan Culpepper and Paul N. Anderson

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

<i>1 Apol.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>First Apology</i>
1 En.	1 Enoch
1 Esd	1 Esdras
11Q18	New Jerusalem
11QT	Temple Scroll
1QIsa ^a	Isaiah ^a
1QM	War Scroll
1QS	Rule of the Community
2 Bar.	2 Baruch
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
3 En.	3 Enoch
3Q15	Copper Scroll
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
4Q174	Florilegium, also Midrash on Eschatology ^a
4Q339	List of False Prophets ar
4Q385	psEzek ^c
<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Agriculture</i>	Philo, <i>On Agriculture</i>
<i>Alleg. Interp.</i>	Philo, <i>Allegorical Interpretation</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses
Arakh.	Arakhin
<i>Arch.</i>	Vitruvius Pollio, <i>On Architecture</i>
Avot R. Nat.	Avot de Rabbi Nathan
b.	Babylonian
Bar	Baruch
Bar.	Barnabas

Ber.	Berakhot
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
<i>Cherubim</i>	Philo, <i>On the Cherubim</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Dreams</i>	Philo, <i>On Dreams</i>
<i>Embassy</i>	Philo, <i>On the Embassy to Gaius</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistula</i>
<i>Eph.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>
Exod. Rab.	Exodus Rabbah
<i>Fin.</i>	Cicero, <i>De finibus</i>
<i>Flaccus</i>	Philo, <i>Against Flaccus</i>
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	Pseudo-Clementine, <i>Homilies</i>
<i>Ign.</i>	Polycarp, <i>To the Philippians</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub.	Jubilees
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
<i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>The Life</i>
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishnah
<i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>
Mek.	Mekilta
<i>Moses</i>	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Names</i>	Philo, <i>On the Change of Names</i>
Ned.	Nedarim
Odes. Sol.	Odes of Solomon
<i>Or.</i>	Aelius Aristides, <i>Orations</i>
<i>Phld.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i>
<i>Posterity</i>	Philo, <i>On the Posterity of Cain</i>
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Q	Qur'an
Rab.	Rabbah
<i>Rec.</i>	Pseudo-Clementine, <i>Recognitions</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Republic</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Romans</i>

<i>Sacrifices</i>	Philo, <i>On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel</i>
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Shabb.	Shabbat
<i>Spec. Laws</i>	Philo, <i>On the Special Laws</i>
t.	Tosefta
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Job	Testament of Job
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Reu.	Testament of Reuben
Ta'an.	Ta'anit
Ter.	Terumot
Tg.	Targum
Tg. Neof.	Targum Neofiti
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
y.	Jerusalem

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
<i>AcT</i>	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>AThR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BCR	Biblioteca di cultura religiosa

BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000 (Danker-Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich)
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanien-sium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>Bijdr</i>	<i>Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
<i>BTZ</i>	<i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wis-senschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . Edited by Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum. 2nd ed. 22 vols. Detroit: Mac-millan Reference USA, 2007
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis</i>
EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThkNT	Herders Theological Commentary on the New Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JANT</i>	<i>Jewish Annotated New Testament</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCH	Jewish Christian Heritage
JCP	Jewish and Christian Perspectives
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KD	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
KEK	Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
<i>MTSR</i>	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>NedTT</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NGTT</i>	<i>Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif</i>

<i>NIDB</i>	<i>New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTG	New Testament Guides
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i>OiC</i>	<i>One in Christ</i>
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
<i>OTP</i>	Charlesworth, James H., ed. <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
<i>PIBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RivB</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et esprit</i>
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
SJHC	Studies in Jewish History and Culture
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

SNTSU	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
SNTW	Studies in the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>SPhiloA</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STR	Studies in Theology and Religion
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SymS	Symposium Series
TB	Theologische Büchererei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
<i>TGl</i>	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
<i>Them</i>	<i>Themelios</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–
<i>TRev</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TThSt	Trierer Theologische Studien
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>TvT</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Theologie</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>Types & Shadows</i>	<i>Types & Shadows: Journal of the Fellowship of Quakers in the Arts</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	<i>Vigiliae Christianae Supplements</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum/Journal of Early Christianity</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

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Preface

R. Alan Culpepper and Paul N. Anderson

The title of this volume, *John and Judaism*, can be understood in two ways. In the narrower sense, it is a shorthand way of specifying the study of how Judaism is characterized in the Gospel of John, a ferociously difficult subject. For example, scholars do not even agree on what the term Ἰουδαῖοι means in John, although it occurs some seventy-two times in the gospel. Is it best understood and translated as “Jews,” “Judeans,” “religious authorities,” or even “religious authorities in Jerusalem”? Some of the references are neutral; others are hostile. Also debated is the question of what kind of Judaism is reflected in or influenced the gospel: the Judaism of Jesus’s time or of the time in which the gospel was composed, Judaism in Judea or diaspora Judaism? In the early part of the twentieth century, the gospel was interpreted primarily against the background of Hellenistic, Greco-Roman, gnostic, and hermetic literature and thought. Following the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and renewed attention to Jewish wisdom literature, the Gospel of John began to be set in a Jewish context. Scholars saw the influence of diaspora Judaism, the Essenes, Philo, the wisdom tradition, and synagogal homilies.

Focusing on John’s Jewish context raised further questions. What we know about Judaism in the first century is an amalgam of information drawn from later rabbinic sources (the Mishnah, Talmud, Tosefta, and Midrashim), sectarian writings found at Qumran and elsewhere, Philo’s interpretation of Judaism for a literate readership of gentile (and Jewish) scholars in Alexandria and elsewhere, and archaeological finds in Judea, Galilee, and other places where Jewish communities left evidence of their way of life. Scholars have also proposed divergent views regarding whether John’s characterization of Judaism is consistent throughout or provides evidence of sources with different views and terminology or different stages in the composition of the gospel. Are the neutral and hostile references

to the Ἰουδαῖοι to be assigned to different sources, hands, or editions of the gospel? Some “solutions” look like diagrams of plays for an American football team—with lots of motion in the backfield!

In the broader sense, *John and Judaism* evokes the subject of how the gospel and its author(s) and their community were related to Judaism, and more broadly still its legacy of influence on the relationship between Christians and Jews over the past two millennia. The issues here can be treated chronologically, taking two terms from German scholarship as rubrics: the gospel’s *Stiz im Leben* and its *Nachleben*, the context in which it was written and its function in that setting, and its later influence and history of interpretation, respectively. The key point in the former is the interpretation of the three references in John to being separated from the synagogue (9:22; 12:42; 16:2), and especially the theory that the gospel reflects a setting in which the Johannine believers were being put out of the synagogue. What did this “parting of the ways” look like? How and when did it occur, and is it best understood as an intra-Jewish phenomenon (like the withdrawal of the Essenes to Qumran) or as a defining step in the separation of Christians from Jews? Both views are defended in this volume.

Whatever the original context and intent of the gospel, it has had a profound effect on Christian readers through the centuries. Johannine theology shaped the articulations of Christian Christology and theology by the early church councils. In the process, its hostile references to Jews and the supersessionist overtones of its theme of the fulfillment/replacement of Jewish scriptures, Jewish festivals, and the Jewish temple fueled anti-Jewish and often anti-Semitic attitudes, hostility, and violence. In the past seventy years, since the Holocaust, the founding of the state of Israel, and Vatican II (especially the publication of *Nostra Aetate*), the church has undergone a dramatic reversal in its relationship with its parent faith. In the process, Christians have had to reexamine the gospel, recognize its tragic role in Christian and Jewish history, and ask how John (with its hostile references to Jews) should be read, taught, and preached today. As a step in the process of addressing “the Gospel of John and anti-Judaism,” this volume raises afresh the array of issues related to “John and Judaism.”

The essays contained in this volume offer variously sweeping surveys of the field and detailed analyses, reviews of the history of scholarship, critiques of earlier theories, and new proposals. The hope is that this exercise in biblical and historical scholarship will not only lead to clearer understandings of the Gospel of John and its historical context but to better

informed and more nuanced ways of reading and characterizing the gospel and its relationship to Judaism in the broader sense.

The volume is divided into four parts: (1) an introduction to recent research, reflections on the Jewish nature of the gospel, and questions for future research; (2) John as a source for understanding Judaism—a twist on the more prevalent approach of studying Judaism for the purpose of understanding John; (3) reappraisals of John's relationship to Judaism and Jewish Christianity; and (4) reading John as Jews and Christians.

Most of these essays were presented at a conference on John and Judaism hosted by the James and Carolyn McAfee School of Theology at Mercer University in November 2015. This conference was supported by funds for a lectureship in New Testament studies provided by Peter Rhea and Ellen Jones. It was the second conference at Mercer supported by this lectureship. Papers from the first conference, in November 2010, on the Johannine Epistles, were subsequently published by SBL Press in the Early Christianity and Its Literature series under the title *Communities in Dispute: Current Scholarship on the Johannine Epistles* (2014). Both conferences were planned and organized with the support of the steering committee of the John, Jesus, and History Group (JJH) as extensions of its reassessment of the Gospel of John as a historical source. This volume, therefore, has been made possible by the investment of time, financial resources, and the commitment to teaching and learning, scholarship, and service from an exceptional constellation of partners: James and Carolyn McAfee; Peter Rhea and Ellen Jones; the faculty, staff, and administration of Mercer University and the McAfee School of Theology; the steering committee of JJH; presenters and participants at the conference at Mercer and the authors of supplementary essays; the Society of Biblical Literature and SBL Press; and especially our editors, Bob Buller, editorial director of SBL Press, and Tom Thatcher, New Testament editor of the Resources for Biblical Study series.

May the contributions of all who have had a part in producing this volume and the scholarship it represents move us, however incrementally, toward the greater goals of knowledge and truth in the service of wholeness of life, religious devotion, and reconciliation and common purpose between Christians and Jews.