

Cast Out of the Covenant

Jews and Anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John

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Introduction

"Will you walk into my parlour?" said the Spider to the Fly, "Tis the prettiest little parlour that ever you did spy; The way into my parlour is up a winding stair, And I have many curious things to show you when you are there." "Oh no, no," said the little fly, "to ask me is in vain; For who goes up your winding stair can ne'er come down again."

The Spider and the Fly, Mary Howitt (1829)1

Some forty years ago, the Gospel of John beckoned me to enter its (deceptively) pretty little parlor. Although I manage from time to time to descend its winding stair, it calls me back again and again. My first forays focused on its mysterious signs. Like the messages spun into Charlotte's web, the Gospel's signs point to "no ordinary" subject (Jesus) and "no ordinary" creator (God).² Later, I followed one silken thread—Jesus as the Good Shepherd—to search its meanings in the Gospel and its subtexts in ancient views about death and resurrection.³

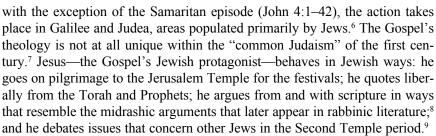
Over time, however, I became entangled in the sticky heart of the Gospel's web: the Jews, or, to be more specific, the Gospel's understanding and portrayal of "the Jews" (in Greek: oi Ἰουδαῖοι; *hoi Ioudaioi*).⁴ I struggled to free myself by imagining the different perspectives from which I, as a Jewish reader, might respond to John's Gospel, and, more recently, by pondering matters of translation.⁵ The present book is my final attempt to unravel this most difficult element—and this most troubling Gospel—from a rhetorical, historical, and ethical perspective.

Here is the problem. The Gospel's narrative, language, and worldview situate it squarely within the same orbit as other first-century Jewish texts written in Greek. With the exception of Pontius Pilate, the main characters are Jewish;

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Nevertheless, with the exception of John 4:9, the Gospel does not refer to Jesus or his close disciples as *Ioudaioi*. The Gospel's implied author traces the escalation of the Jews' opposition to and enmity towards Jesus, from antagonistic interrogation (John 2:18–21), to persecution (5:16), attempts to stone (8:59; 10:31–33) and even kill him (5:18; 7:1), culminating in their successful plot to have him crucified by Pilate (11:49–52; 18:1–19:16). Although the Gospel of John's Jesus declares that "salvation is from the Jews" (4:22), he also states that the Jews have the devil as their father (8:44).

JEWISH AND ANTI-JEWISH?

Many have asked: How can a Gospel that is so Jewish also be so anti-Jewish?¹⁰ Ancient commentators, such as Cyril of Alexandria, had a ready explanation. For Cyril, it is "altogether plain that the synagogue of the Jews rejected the Bridegroom from Heaven, and that the church of the Gentiles received Him, and that very gladly."¹¹ Because of this rejection, Christ, on God's behalf, "put the race of the Jews forth from the kingdom of heaven."¹² The Gospel's Jewishness reflects Jesus' own origins within "the synagogue of the Jews"; its anti-Jewishness reflects the divine judgement against the Jews on account of their refusal to recognize Jesus as God's son.

What was plain to Cyril, however, is neither obvious nor acceptable to modern scholars. Few today would say, with Cyril, that God truly has rejected the Jews. and few would entertain the possibility that the Gospel's implied author might have thought so. Although most scholars are highly motivated to smooth out the apparent contradiction between the Gospel's Jewish and anti-Jewish elements, our historical-critical sensibilities steer us away from cosmic explanations and towards the concrete circumstances and audiences for which the Gospel was written. Perhaps the *Ioudaioi* against whom John's Jesus railed were not the entire Jewish people but rather a subgroup. ¹³ Perhaps the Gospel's vituperative language does not reflect his deep-seated views but is merely a convention of ancient polemics. ¹⁴ Maybe the hostility is simply a natural response to a traumatic experience—expulsion from the synagogue—that the intended audience suffered at Jewish hands. ¹⁵ Or maybe the anti-







Jewish language is primarily evidence of the differentiation that necessarily and inevitably accompanies the development of a new social identity.¹⁶

There is no single answer to the conundrum posed by the presence of both Jewish and anti-Jewish elements in the Fourth Gospel. As a Jew, I am glad that my colleagues reject Cyril's belief that God has abandoned the "synagogue of the Jews." As a scholar, however, I believe Cyril was onto something, not theologically but as a reader of John's Gospel.

To be sure, Cyril (378–444 CE) wrote long after the Fourth Gospel reached its final form, and he read the Gospel of John through the lenses of his own aims, ideas, and audiences. It seems to me, however, that the Gospel's implied author, like Cyril, was convinced that God's favor had turned away from the Jews to the Gentiles; that there is a deep rift between the synagogue and those who confess Christ as Messiah; and that this rift was initiated in Jesus' own lifetime. At the same time, as the Fourth Gospel tells its version of Jesus' life story, it also narrates the story of God's repudiation of the Jews and the adoption of the Christ-confessors as God's covenant people. Although Jesus came to his own people—the Jews—they did not accept him (1:11).

Others did accept him, however (1:12), and, in doing so, replaced the Jews as God's own people. As God's people, they now had exclusive access to the valued tokens of Jewishness: the Jews' calendar (Sabbath and festivals), their scriptures, their Temple, and, most important, their God, or, more precisely, the special relationship with God through which all blessings flow. In this latter story, the Gospel's Jewish elements do not reflect the *approbation* of Jewishness that in turn disarms its anti-Jewish statements. Rather, the Gospel argues that Jewish concepts and symbols no longer belong to the Jews, but solely to those who believe Jesus to be the Messiah.

For this reason, I disagree with those who describe the Fourth Gospel as both Jewish and anti-Jewish. On the contrary, I have come to see the Gospel as thoroughly anti-Jewish. This anti-Jewishness is evident not only in the Gospel's hostile comments about the Jews as children of the devil and in its portrayal of the Jews and their leaders as hounding Jesus unto death, but also in the very elements that were constitutive of first-century Jewish identity. The Fourth Gospel appropriates Jewishness at the same time as it repudiates Jews. In doing so, it also promotes a "parting of the ways" between those who believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and those who do not, that is, the *Ioudaioi*.¹⁷

"WRITTEN IN ORDER THAT ..."

Like the myth of Arachne, the Gospel is an ancient tale spun in a web.¹⁸ The motifs of appropriation and repudiation are woven deeply into its narration,





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its worldview, and the messages it conveys to its audience. Just as the spider uses its web to attract its prey, so did the implied author use his Gospel to attract his audience. Unlike the spider, the Gospel writer's aim was not predatory but rhetorical. He did not seek to consume his audience, or to overwhelm them with abstract ideas, but to persuade them by means of stories, metaphors, and exhortations to view history and the cosmos, Jesus and the Jews, as he did.

That the aim of the Gospel is indeed rhetorical, that is, persuasive, is stated explicitly in its own conclusion and statement of purpose. In John 20:30–31, the narrator declares that while "Jesus did many other signs in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book . . . these are written so that *you* [may come to] believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing *you* may have life in his name" (emphasis added). ¹⁹ In using the second person plural ("you") the Gospel addresses its audience directly and proclaims its intention to shape their very lives, present and future, in life and beyond death. ²⁰

My aims, too, are rhetorical. First, I seek to persuade you, my reader, that the Gospel does more than simply exhort its audience to believe its claims about Jesus. I will argue that, in exhorting them to believe, the Gospel offers its audience rebirth into a new family, the family of God, using a range of strategies that together constitute a *rhetoric of affiliation*.

Second, I will argue that participation in the family of God required not only affiliation with others who did the same, but also separation from the *Ioudaioi*. Through a *rhetoric of disaffiliation*, the Gospel insists that members of God's family enjoy exclusive access to the Father's scriptures and God's house, the very same assets that the Jews had claimed for themselves. By rejecting the claim that Jesus is the Messiah, God's Son, the Jews have removed themselves from God's care—God's flock, God's vine, God's elect people. For this Gospel, therefore, the *Ioudaioi* are those, who, by rejecting God's son, have forfeited their status as God's children. Just as one cannot simultaneously be a child of God (1:12) and a child of the devil (8:44), so also one cannot be a believer in Christ and a *Ioudaios*. In this sense, the Gospel rhetorically transfers the benefits of Jewishness—covenantal relationship with God—from the *Ioudaioi* to the "children of God."

Third, I will consider the rhetorical situation implied by the Gospel's rhetorical program, including its offer of rebirth, its appropriation of Jewishness, and its repudiation of the Jews. How might we situate the Gospel in the development of the Jesus movement of the late first century? For whom was it written, and what did it hope to achieve? Whereas the consensus position has been that the Gospel was written to comfort a Jewish-Christian group after its traumatic expulsion from the synagogue, I will propose that the Gos-







pel's rhetoric can be explained just as well—or even better—by situating the Gospel in the context of the late first-century Gentile mission in Asia Minor.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AS RHETORIC

To say that the Gospel of John has rhetorical—persuasive—intentions is hardly revolutionary. Although "rhetoric" is now often used derogatorily to refer to insincere, meaningless, or bombastic speech, it is fundamentally a neutral term that pertains to the persuasive function of speech.²¹ Because all known societies, in all eras, used speech for persuasive purposes, rhetoric is a universal phenomenon, built into the very fabric of society and communication,²² and the very nature of language itself.²³ For this reason, George Kennedy argues, "It is perfectly possible to utilize the categories of Aristotelian rhetoric to study speech in China, India, Africa, and elsewhere in the world, cultures much more different from the Greek than was that of Palestine in the time of the Roman empire."²⁴

In approaching the Fourth Gospel as rhetoric, however, we need not look far from its own historical and geographical location. Rhetoric was deeply embedded in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman cultures within which the New Testament texts were written.²⁵ As participants in these cultures, audiences were not only trained to absorb and learn from rhetorical discourse, but were also delighted by—and susceptible to—rhetorical strategies.²⁶ This capacity required neither literacy nor formal education in rhetoric; it was acquired through experience simply by participating in everyday life,²⁷ in the same way that twenty-first century movie goers, trained by many years of movie viewing, are skilled at interpreting and responding to Hollywood film. For these reasons, argues Kennedy, attention to rhetoric helps us "to hear the biblical texts as an ancient audience would hear them, and that means an audience familiar with classical rhetorical practice whether from study in school or from experience of the secular world."²⁸

If the Gospel's audience would have been experienced in listening and responding to rhetorical compositions, the author(s) of the Gospel themselves must also have been adept at shaping the Gospel in ways that "sounded, resonated, and impressed . . . [itself] upon the mind and memory through the ear rather than the eye." This does not mean that they had a rigorous classical education; we lack the evidence to know one way or another. Because the New Testament was written in a cultural context infused with persuasive speech, it is necessary to assume only that the Gospel's real author(s) were reasonably active participant(s) in this culture. Indeed, they could hardly have escaped it. In seeking to persuade their audience that "life in his name" belongs to those who





believe that Jesus is the Messiah, Son of God, they made use of the rhetorical toolkit common to both themselves and their audience.³³

THE PRINCIPLES OF RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

Assumptions

The basic assumption underlying a rhetorical approach is that "texts are designed by authors in order to affect readers in particular ways, that those designs are conveyed through the words, techniques, structures, forms, and dialogic relations of texts as well as the genres and conventions readers use to understand them."³⁴ To view the Gospel as a rhetorical text we must attend both to the goals and to the techniques of its persuasive discourse. According to Kennedy, "Rhetorical criticism takes the text as we have it, whether the work of a single author or the product of editing, and looks at it from the point of view of the author's or editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience of near contemporaries."³⁵

Like reader-response criticism, therefore, rhetorical criticism is concerned with the complex interrelationships among author, text, and reader.³⁶ But, as in reader-response criticism, the author and reader available to our analysis of ancient texts are not real or historical people but the authors and readers implied by the text itself, and imagined or constructed by ourselves. From this perspective, it is necessary to modify Kennedy's statement; in dealing with ancient texts (or perhaps any texts), I—or any reader—cannot know the intent of the real author or editor, but I can discern an intent of the implied author whom we have unavoidably constructed from our own reading of the text. Similarly, I cannot know how real audiences perceived John's Gospel, but I can imagine how the implied author might have hoped they would respond. In imagining this desired response, I also construct the Gospel's implied audience as a compliant one, composed of individuals who sincerely, enthusiastically, and uncritically accept the Gospel's claims. In practice, few real readers, even those who claim to engage in literalist interpretations of scripture, are fully compliant. Nevertheless, for the purpose of discerning the potential impact of the Gospel's rhetorical intent and strategies, it is the unreservedly compliant audience that I will construct.³⁷

Types of Rhetoric

Ancient authors, following Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.1.1358a), distinguish among three types of rhetoric: deliberative, judicial, and epideictic. Judicial rhetoric









is used to persuade an audience that needs to make a judgment about a past event. ³⁸ Deliberative rhetoric is used to persuade an audience to take a specific action. ³⁹ Epideictic rhetoric is used to persuade an audience to accept a particular belief, position, or stance. ⁴⁰

For my purposes it is not important to determine which type of rhetoric, if any, is dominant in the Fourth Gospel; the Gospel used all three types in order to convey its message, urgently and passionately, to its audience. ⁴¹ Nevertheless, the Gospel does draw on the three principal elements of classical rhetoric—invention, arrangement, and style ⁴²—in its attempt to persuade its audience that faith in Jesus as the Christ and Son of God is the foundation for eternal life.

The Elements of Rhetoric: The Rule of Three

All three types of rhetoric depend on three elements: invention, arrangement, and style.⁴³

Invention can be based on either external or internal ("artistic") proofs. In New Testament rhetoric, states Kennedy, there are three common forms of external proof: scriptural quotations, evidence of miracles, and the naming of witnesses. 44 Internal, or artistic proofs, also fall into three categories: Ethos, Pathos, Logos. These categories, according to Aristotle, inhere in the speaker, the audience, and the discourse respectively. Ethos depends upon the credibility of the author or speaker; Pathos refers to the ability of the orator or writer to play upon the emotions of the audience; Logos refers to the argumentation used to demonstrate one point or another. 45

Arrangement refers to the most effective ordering of the discourse's elements. Judicial oratory is the most elaborate, consisting of a proem, narration, proposition, refutation, and epilogue. Deliberative oratory typically is arranged as proem, proposition, proof, and epilogue. Epideictic oratory typically opens with a proem, and then presents an orderly sequence of topics relevant to the life of the individual or the topic under consideration before concluding with an epilogue. With regard to arrangement, the Fourth Gospel resembles epideictic oratory, as it opens with the Prologue (1:1–18), closes with an Epilogue (21:1–25), and in between presents a series of *semeia* (signs) and discourses that develop particular topics.

Style can be plain, grand, or various subcategories in-between; it entails *lexis* (appropriate word choice) and *synthesis* (the appropriate arrangement of those words into phrases, clauses, and sentences, including figures of speech and figures of thought).⁴⁷

The Gospel uses these elements of classical rhetoric to persuade the audience that belief in Jesus as the Messiah, Son of God, is essential for eternal





life. The goal of rhetoric, however, is not only to move an audience to belief, knowledge, and understanding. Rhetoric is also meant to move them to action. A Augustine quotes a "great orator"—Cicero—as saying that "an eloquent man must speak so as to teach, to delight, and to persuade. Then he adds: To teach is a necessity, to delight is a beauty, to persuade is a triumph." The goal of persuasion is not mere intellectual assent, but action: "And as the hearer must be pleased in order to secure his attention, so he must be persuaded in order to move him to action." We cannot know precisely what actions the Gospel's, historical, first audience took in response to John's Gospel. By attending to its rhetoric, however, we can discern the actions towards which the Gospel guided its audience. These actions can be categorized broadly as affiliation with other believers and disaffiliation, or separation from, those who do not believe. To convey the need for these actions, the Gospel draws not only on the elements of classical rhetoric but also on a range of other, specifically crafted, rhetorical strategies.

These customized rhetorical strategies can be perceived not only in the language, patterns, and ideas expressed in Jesus' discourses, but also through the characters and plot that constitute the narrative. The idea that rhetoric can be found in narrative as well as in expository discourse has been explored at length by James Phelan. Phelan argues that "narrative is not just story but also action, the telling of a story by someone to someone on some occasion for some purpose" (italics in original). To approach narrative as rhetoric requires that we take seriously "the complex, multilayered processes of writing and reading, processes that call upon our cognition, emotions, desires, hopes, values, and beliefs." For this reason we will seek the Gospel's rhetoric not only in the discourses attributed to Jesus but also in the ways in which the Gospel tells the story and depicts its characters.

ON METHOD

According to Kennedy, "Rhetorical criticism takes the text as we have it, whether the work of a single author or the product of editing, and looks at it from the point of view of the author's or editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience of near contemporaries." Kennedy describes an orderly procedure for analyzing the rhetoric of a given New Testament document: first, determine the rhetorical unit to be analyzed; then, construct the rhetorical situation that prompts the rhetorical document—the other side of the conversation, so to speak—by considering the arrangement of material and stylistic devices; finally, evaluate the piece's success, or failure, in addressing the rhetorical situation. 54



Kennedy and others have amply demonstrated that the Fourth Gospel is amenable to rhetorical analysis and that it made use of classical rhetorical techniques to tell its story and drive home its messages.⁵⁵ My book will add further evidence of the Gospel's rhetorical nature, but this is not its main goal. I will modify Kennedy's step-by-step approach in order to address my own three principal aims. Because the rhetorical unit—the Gospel of John in its final form⁵⁶—is already known, I begin by examining the Gospel's rhetorical aims and the rhetorical strategies deployed to potentially achieve those aims. On the basis of this rhetorical analysis, I will extrapolate—imaginatively construct—a rhetorical situation for which those aims, arguments and strategies might plausibly have a persuasive impact.

CONSTRUCTING THE RHETORICAL SITUATION: IMAGINING HISTORY

Rhetorical analysis will allow us to get at the Gospel's persuasive purposes, which, I will argue, are twofold: to construct a new and idealized identity for its audience, and to urge their estrangement from the *Ioudaioi*. From a rhetorical-critical perspective, the Gospel is one side of an engaged conversation between the Gospel writer and a particular audience. Moving from rhetoric to history requires us to imagine the other partners to the conversation. What were their issues, questions, concerns? What might they have wanted from the Gospel, and why?⁵⁷

This is a circular approach: I analyze the text and then I extrapolate an audience and historical situation from that analysis. Circular reasoning is problematic, to be sure. Yet, unless we forego historical questions altogether, it is inevitable in cases where we have only a single source and no reliable external evidence, and acceptable, in my view, as long as one refrains from reifying one's own constructions.

Constructing the rhetorical situation builds on the rhetorical analysis but it also depends upon our assumptions regarding the Gospel's provenance, the concrete situations in which it would have been encountered by auditors or readers, and the Gospel's relationship to a history external to itself, that is, to events prior to or contemporaneous with the time of writing. The fact that the identity and concrete situation of the audience can be imagined in different, often mutually exclusive ways, points to the constructed nature of any hypothesis, including my own. If, in the words of Clifford Geertz, we human beings are animals "suspended in webs of significance" of our own construction, 58 the same is true of the significance that we weave from the strands of this Gospel.







TRUE CONFESSIONS AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Finally, I wish to acknowledge three points: 1) the situatedness of interpretation; 2) the need for humility; and 3) the fundamental role of the imagination.

- 1) Situatedness. I come to the Gospel of John as a Jewish scholar for whom the New Testament is fascinating and important, but neither canonical, nor divinely inspired. Even more important, I come to this study as the daughter of Holocaust survivors who lived their post-war lives with zest, optimism, and gratitude to Canada as a land of opportunity, social responsibility, and freedom from overt anti-Semitism. My interest in the New Testament did not begin with a concern about its role in the history of Jewish-Christian relations, but over time, it has settled there. That concern will be evident throughout this book
- 2) *Humility*. Humility is a desideratum in all scholarship, and, indeed, in all of one's endeavors. Humility is not the same as false modesty. Humility allows room for me to believe sincerely that I have something to say about the Gospel of John that would be interesting and even important for other scholars to hear or to read, and yet to acknowledge that others can legitimately arrive at different conclusions based on the same evidence. In Johannine studies, humility is required by the simple fact that there is little to no external evidence to support any historical hypothesis whatsoever—whether that pertains to authorship, audience, purpose, or historical context. Furthermore, when it comes to evidence from the Gospel itself, there is no theory that accounts for all aspects of the Gospel or that cannot be refuted by starting from a different set of principles. We must make room for alternative interpretations and acknowledge the limitations of our own efforts, even as we argue vigorously for our own hypotheses.
- 3) *Imagination*. Like humility, imagination is essential to every scholarly study. The wide and numerous gaps in our knowledge about the historical context of the Gospel, its author, and the broader Greco-Roman world, allow considerable scope for historical imagination. Over many years of reading historically as well as historical fiction, I have become convinced that both are highly dependent on the same strategies and express the same impulses: to fill in the gaps, to seek causal links among events, and to help ancient people and situations come alive for modern readers.⁵⁹

HISTORY, FICTION, AND THE IMAGINATION

I have neither the desire nor the ability to write historical fiction. Where, I ask, would all the footnotes go? But I am not above a bit of fictionalizing to aid the historical imagination of myself and my readers. To that end, I







will imagine the Gospel's implied author(s) as an individual named John (the name is hardly original but the figure is nevertheless a figment of my imagination). Every work prompts its readers to construct an implied author who may share all, some, or none of the characteristics of the real (historical) author. The implied author is also not the narrator. The narrator, as "the voice that tells the story and speaks to the reader" is a rhetorical device. ⁶⁰ In the Fourth Gospel, however, with the possible exception of chapter 21, the implied author is indistinguishable from the narrator. ⁶¹ For that reason, (my construction of) John is the one whose voice, convictions, and rhetorical intentions, are heard in the Fourth Gospel.

I imagine John as man who is confident in—and passionate about—his belief that Jesus is the Messiah and Son of God, and utterly committed to persuading others to be the same. I do not know whether he knew Hebrew or had spent time in the Galilee, Judea, or Samaria, but I picture him as a Greek-speaking and writing Jew from Asia Minor immersed both in Jewish scriptures and traditions as well as in Hellenistic modes of thought. He has absorbed not only the knowledge that is common to Jews of his time and place, but also a Jewish way of seeing the world. He believes that the world is created and presided over by the God of Israel, and that God has chosen a people with whom to be in an exclusive covenantal relationship. He differs from at least some of the Jews of his time and place, however, because he understands Jesus as the divinely-given mediator in that relationship. Perhaps it is for that reason that John—as I imagine him—does not call himself a *Ioudaios*. John is a fine orator, and a well-known presence in his city or town.

Alongside John, the implied author, I imagine a second fictional figure. I call her Alexandra. Alexandra stands in for the compliant audience—a part I cannot play on my own. She is a person who responds wholeheartedly to John's message; in absorbing his story of Jesus, she is stirred to faith and called to action. ⁶³ John's explanations of the festivals and other Jewish practices suggest that she does not know much about Jewish ritual life. Whether Alexandra is already a Christ-follower—or not yet one—I do not know for certain. Nor do I know her age, hair color, sexual orientation, or personal circumstances. I do know—as the one who created her—that she is open to persuasion and that she is attracted, by birth and/or by inclination, to the idea of covenantal relationship with the God of Israel.

ORALITY

How would Alexandra have encountered John's message? Given the relatively low rate of literacy, it is likely that she, and all other members of John's implied audience, would have heard the Gospel read or proclaimed aloud,





rather than reading it to themselves.⁶⁴ That at least some New Testament texts were meant to be experienced orally is supported by references in 1 Thessalonians and the book of Revelation. In 1 Thess 5:27, Paul "solemnly command[s]" his addressees that "this letter be read to all of them," that is, all the "brothers and sisters" (1 Thess 5:26).65 Revelation declares that "blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear and who keep what is written in it; for the time is near" (Rev. 1:3); and later, "warns "everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to that person the plagues described in this book; if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away that person's share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book" (Rev. 22:18–19). Although the Gospel of John does not refer explicitly to the mode by which it is to be encountered—by hearing or by reading—these examples suggest that oral experience of written texts was not unusual in the circles attracted to and/or affiliated with this fledgling movement in the mid to late first century.

The oral transmission of written texts was widespread and crossed ethnic, cultural, and social boundaries within the broad Greco-Roman world, classical and Hellenistic. According to Carol Harrison,

Classical culture was wholly directed towards the hearer, in that its educational system, its legal and political practice, its ceremonies, literature, and art, were all founded upon the art and practice of rhetoric; the art of speaking in such a way that the hearer's mind and emotions should be impressed and moved by what they heard, so that they assented to, and acted upon it.⁶⁶

The assumption that the books were heard more often than read is consistent with research that suggests a relatively low level of full literacy (the ability to read and write) among Jews and pagans in Greco-Roman society. Harry Gamble stresses that the level of literacy in the ancient church was probably not any higher than in the surrounding Greco-Roman society. Indeed, full literacy may not have been widespread at all.⁶⁷ Gamble suggests that "this is true in spite of the importance the early church accorded to religious texts, for acquaintance with the scriptures did not require that all or even most Christians be individually capable of reading them and does not imply that they were."

The emphasis on oral reception did not, however, diminish the value accorded to written texts. As Gamble points out,

If most Christians were illiterate, it did not prevent them from participating in literacy or from becoming familiar with Christian texts. Those who had only a cursory contact with Christianity through missionary preaching or propaganda could hardly have failed to notice its reliance on texts and to hear them quoted. Those who were drawn to Christianity were intensively schooled in its literature, especially scripture.⁶⁹







Furthermore, the Gospel's contemporaries would have been accustomed to hearing and responding to oral texts. Carol Harrison emphasizes that "classical and early Christian culture was very much a rhetorical culture; one based on the practice and power of the spoken word." For this reason, "the unlettered were able to 'read' and understand reality through the shared, often tacit, markers of complicit understanding, customary practice, and habitual ways of thinking created by speaking and hearing." Even if we imagine Alexandra as a "lettered" woman who was able to read for herself, the strongly rhetorical nature of the Gospel suggests that she still may well have become familiar with the Gospel by hearing rather than, or in addition to, reading.

Imagine, then, Alexandra's encounter with John's rhetorical Gospel, taking place somewhere, perhaps in Asia Minor, and perhaps in Ephesus. ⁷² If your imagination needs some stimulation, just look again at the front cover of this book, and the way in which artist Shoshana Walfish visualized this encounter, inspired by the work of Raphael and Pontormo. ⁷³ Alexandra and John may or may not have known each other personally. For John, Alexandra was probably just another face in the crowd; for Alexandra, John may just have been an orator whose words resonate with her. ⁷⁴ But if the Gospel had any power at all, it was to foster an encounter not so much between an author and a reader or listener, but between Jesus—some of whose signs are written in "this book" (20:30)—and those who are moved to be reborn, "not of blood or of the will of the flesh or of the will of man, but of God" (1:13).

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The book is divided into three main sections, corresponding to each of the three aims discussed above.

Part I: The Rhetoric of Affiliation

Chapter 1, "Ask and you will receive': The Rhetoric of Desire and Fulfillment," examines the varied rhetorical strategies that the Gospel uses to develop two core propositions: that human beings desire eternal life—or, at the very least, freedom from death—and that faith in Jesus as the Christ and Son of God is the only way to fulfill this desire. To persuade its audience that faith is indeed the answer to their deepest desires, the Gospel draws on standard categories of Greek rhetoric such as external proof, artistic evidence, and style.

Chapter 2, "'Love one another': The Rhetoric of Transformation," focuses on the actions that the Gospel calls on individuals to take once they





are persuaded that belief in Jesus leads to eternal life. The next step is to discern the cosmological context and meaning of Jesus' sojourn in the world, and to situate oneself within that cosmological realm. This discernment requires a transformation of personal identity but the transformation is incomplete without corporate affiliation, that is, a joining together with others who are undergoing or have undergone the same transformation. Eternal life cannot be achieved outside this collective framework.

Part II: The Rhetoric of Disaffiliation

Chapter 3, "'Casting off the Withered Branch': The Rhetoric of Expropriation," documents the rhetoric of appropriation and expropriation that marks the new cosmological reality in which believers reside. The Gospel's narrative is structured around the Jewish Sabbath, the Jewish festivals, and Jewish institutions of synagogue and Temple. These features, however, function rhetorically not to include John's audience within a broader Jewish corporate entity but, perhaps ironically, to exclude that broader entity from the divine covenant. In appropriating the scriptures, the Temple, and covenantal language for its audience, the Gospel rhetorically expropriates, casts out, expels the Jews from that covenant. The Jewishness of the Gospel is not an antidote to its anti-Jewishness, but part and parcel thereof.

Chapter 4, "The world has hated you': The Rhetoric of Repudiation," looks closely at the negative rhetoric employed by the Gospel to encourage separation from the *Ioudaioi*. In this chapter I argue that the Gospel's use of the labels *Ioudaios/Ioudaioi*, while not uniform, in general expresses a rhetoric of vituperation that casts aspersions on the *Ioudaioi*. This rhetoric paints the *Ioudaioi* as unbelievers and "the children of Satan" who are unwilling and, indeed, incapable of hearing and responding to the promise of eternal life offered by Jesus through the Gospel.

Chapter 5, "Rhetorical *Ioudaioi* and Real Jews," surveys the theories concerning the historical referents of *Ioudaioi* as used in the Fourth Gospel, and considers briefly the fraught question of how best to translate this term into English. The difficulty in pinning down the referent suggests that for John, as for the church fathers, *Ioudaioi* was not primarily a historical designation but rather a hermeneutical, rhetorical, and theological category used for the purposes of self-identification, boundary-drawing, and polemics. Nevertheless, in identifying the enemies of Christ and his followers as *Ioudaioi*, the Gospel potentially creates distrust and separation from the flesh-and-blood *Ioudaioi*—Jews who did not believe in Christ—whom its audience may have known.







Part III: Imagining the Rhetorical Situation

The third section of the book moves outside the framework of the Gospel's rhetoric in order to imagine the "real" identities of both the historical audience and the *Ioudaioi* over against whom the Gospel defines the "children of God."

Chapter 6, "'The Jews had already agreed': J. L. Martyn and the Expulsion Theory," considers Martyn's construction of the Gospel's audience, purpose, and historical situation. On the basis of three passages that refer to the *aposynagōgos*—the one who is distanced from the synagogue—Martyn argued that the Gospel reflects the traumatic expulsion of the "Johannine community" from the synagogue in the years immediately preceding the final version of Gospel itself. Martyn's work has shaped historical study of the Fourth Gospel for a half century, yet it is based on some problematic and unverifiable assumptions.

Chapter 7, "'We wish to see Jesus': John, Alexandra and the Propulsion Theory," proposes an alternative to the expulsion hypothesis. The very practice of rhetoric presupposes a particular audience in a specific historical, geographical, and social location. The challenge is to reconstruct that audience in the absence of any external evidence, that is, on the basis of the rhetoric alone. Although a majority of scholars have argued for a Jewish audience, I will suggest that the rhetoric of the Gospel may have appealed most directly to a Gentile audience interested in but not yet fully committed to, the idea of becoming children of God by participating in a group dedicated to faith in Jesus as the Messiah and Son of God. If so, the Gospel can be viewed as a participant in the Gentile mission of the first century.

The Conclusion summarizes the argument and considers the ethical implications of the rhetorical analysis for the issue of Jews and anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John.

NOTES

- 1. This poem, including its minor variations, is in the public domain. For the full poem, see http://holyjoe.org/poetry/howitt.htm (accessed December 13, 2017).
- 2. "But we have received a sign, Edith—a mysterious sign. A miracle has happened on this farm . . . in the middle of the web there were the words 'Some Pig' . . we have no ordinary pig." "Well," said Mrs. Zuckerman, "it seems to me you're a little off. It seems to me we have no ordinary spider." E. B. White, *Charlotte's Web* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 80–81. See Adele Reinhartz, "John 20:30–31 and the Purpose of the Fourth Gospel" (McMaster University, 1983).
- 3. Adele Reinhartz, *The Word in the World: The Cosmological Tale in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).







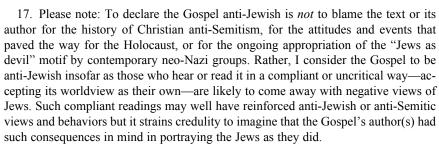


- 4. Unless otherwise specified, all translations of the Fourth Gospel and other biblical books are from the New Revised Standard Version (1989).
- 5. Adele Reinhartz, *Befriending the Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John* (New York: Continuum, 2001). Adele Reinhartz et al. "Jew and Judean: A Forum on Politics and Historiography in the Translation of Ancient Texts," *The Marginalia Review of Books*, accessed August 26, 2014, http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/jew-judean-forum/.
- 6. On the ethnic makeup of the Galilee in the first century, see Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Bradley W. Root, *First Century Galilee: A Fresh Examination of the Sources* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).
- 7. For discussion of "common Judaism," see E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 2016); Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz, *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008).
- 8. Peder Borgen, Bread from Heaven; an Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965); Peder Borgen, The Gospel of John: More Light from Philo, Paul and Archaeology: The Scriptures, Tradition, Exposition, Settings, Meaning (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
- 9. In John 5:17, for example, Jesus claims that God the Father works on the Sabbath. This would seem to contradict Genesis 2:2, which states that God rested on the seventh day, but the question of whether God worked on the Sabbath was very much a live issue in the Second Temple and rabbinic periods. See Philo of Alexandria, *Cher.* 8 6–890; *Leg All.* 1. 5–6; Exod Rabbah 11:10; 30:9.
- 10. The formulation is often traced back either to C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 1965), 71 or to Wayne A. Meeks, "Am I a Jew?'—Johannine Christianity and Judaism," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 163.
- 11. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John*, Book 2. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyril on john 02 book2.htm (accessed October 9, 2017).
- 12. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John*, Book 5. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyril_on_john_05_book5.htm (accessed October 9, 2017).
- 13. Daniel Boyarin, "The IOUDAIOI of John and the Prehistory of Judaism," in *Pauline Conversations in Context: Essays in Honor of Calvin J. Roetzel*, ed. Janice Capel Anderson et al. (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 216–39. For detailed discussion and bibliography, see chapter 7.
- 14. Luke Timothy Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108, no. 3 (September 1, 1989): 419–41.
- 15. J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003).
- 16. Raimo Hakola, *Identity Matters: John, the Jews, and Jewishness* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=280605; Raimo Hakola, *Reconsidering Johannine Christianity: A Social Identity Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2015).









Further, while I read the Gospel as anti-Jewish, and as fostering anti-Judaism in its compliant audience, I wish to emphasize that, in my experience, the vast majority of New Testament scholars active today—including those that will bristle at my claims about the Gospel of John's anti-Jewishness—are neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Semitic.

- 18. In classical mythology, Arachne was a well-known weaver who challenged the goddess Athena to a weaving competition. Out of jealousy, and irritation at her portrayal of the gods' scandalous behavior, Athena destroyed Arachne's tapestry and turned Arachne herself into a spider. Anthony Grafton et al., *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 57.
 - 19. For a discussion of the text critical issues in 20:31, see chapter 7.
- 20. On the selectivity of signs in Greco-Roman literary context, see Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 2.1214.
- 21. On the negative perception of rhetoric and its connection to Plato, see Richard Toye, *Rhetoric: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–2, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199651368.001.0001.
- 22. George A. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 10.
- 23. Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 43.
 - 24. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 10.
- 25. C. Clifton Black, *The Rhetoric of the Gospel: Theological Artistry in the Gospels and Acts* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2001), 3.
- 26. Carol Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 40.
 - 27. Harrison, 40.
- 28. George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 147.
- 29. Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church*, 1. This is not to suggest, however, that the Gospel of John was composed in performance or solely for the sake of performance. See the discussion in Larry W. Hurtado, "Oral Fixation and New Testament Studies?: 'Orality', 'Performance' and Reading Texts in Early Christianity," *New Testament Studies* 60, no. 3 (2014): 321–40, doi:10.1017/S0028688514000058. Kelly R. Iverson, "Oral Fixation or Oral Corrective?: A Response to Larry Hurtado," *New Testament Studies* 62, no. 2 (2016): 183–200, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688515000430.



- 30. Nevrey posits that the evangelist did have an education that included rhetoric. Jerome H. Neyrey, "Encomium versus Vituperation: Contrasting Portraits of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel," Journal of Biblical Literature 126, no. 3 (2007): 529.
- 31. Black, The Rhetoric of the Gospel, 84. See also Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 9.
- 32. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 10. My enterprise intersects with Vernon Robbins's socio-rhetorical approach, though his is more elaborate in that it addresses "complex correlation between a text and the contexts in which a text has been read and reread, including various dynamic interrelations between creator and contemplators, past and present." David B. Gowler, "Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation: Textures of a Text and Its Reception," Journal for the Study of the New Testament 33, no. 2 (2010): 191. For detailed information on the approach, see note 57 below and Robbins's website and the bibliography there. http:// www.religion.emory.edu/faculty/robbins/SRI/index.cfm
 - 33. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 3.
- 34. James Phelan, "Rhetorical Literary Ethics and Lyric Narrative: Robert Frost's 'Home Burial,'" Poetics Today 25, no. 4 (2004): 631.
 - 35. Phelan, "Rhetorical Literary Ethics and Lyric Narrative," 4.
- 36. Although Kennedy distinguishes between rhetorical and literary criticism, his definition implies a close connection between these two approaches. New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 4. On reader response criticism, see Seymour Benjamin Chatman, Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 267 and the helpful diagram and discussion in R. Alan Culpepper, Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design, Foundations and Facets: New Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 6–10.
- 37. For detailed discussion of compliant and other sorts of readers, and analysis of how these different readers might respond to the Gospel of John, see Reinhartz, Befriending the Beloved Disciple.
- 38. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 20. Judicial rhetoric is evident, for example, in John 5, in which Jesus calls several witnesses to testify on his behalf. On the lawsuit motif in John, see Andrew T. Lincoln, Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000); George L. Parsenios, Rhetoric and Drama in the Johannine Lawsuit Motif (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).
- 39. Deliberative rhetoric is used in the exhortations to abide in faith, as in the farewell discourses (e.g., 15:9). For a detailed rhetorical analysis of the Farewell Discourse, following George Kennedy's approach, see John Carlson Stube, A Graeco-Roman Rhetorical Reading of the Farewell Discourse (London: T & T Clark, 2006).
- 40. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 19. Deliberative rhetoric can be discerned in the statements such as 16:24, in which Jesus instructs his disciples to "Ask and you will receive, so that your joy may be complete." On deliberative rhetoric in John, see, briefly, Jo-Ann A. Brant, *Dialogue*







and Drama: Elements of Greek Tragedy in the Fourth Gospel (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 234.

- 41. The Fourth Gospel exhibits all three types of rhetoric. Scholars disagree as to which type predominates. Jo-Ann Brant, for example, places John firmly in the category of epideictic rhetoric. Jo-Ann A. Brant, John (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 12. This conclusion is consistent with the view of most scholars that the Gospel aims to strengthen the faithful rather than bring new believers to the movement. George Parsenios argues that the rhetorical categories are not nearly so straightforward; most ancient texts, John included, exhibit a hybrid form of rhetoric. George L. Parsenios, Rhetoric and Drama in the Johannine Lawsuit Motif, 12–14, 27. See also See also Alicia D. Myers, "'Jesus Said to Them . . .': The Adaptation of Juridical Rhetoric in John 5:1 9-47," Journal of Biblical Literature 132, no. 2 (2013): 415–430. Even in ancient rhetoric, however, these three categories are not always distinct. Thomas Conley comments on the artificial nature of Aristotle's three categories, and notes that the "pervasive infiltration of 'epideictic' topoi of praise and blame into forensic oratory . . . is not only permissible, but essential." Thomas M. Conley, "Topics of Vituperation: Some Commonplaces of 4th-Century Oratory," in Influences on Peripatetic Rhetoric: Essays in Honor of William W. Fortenbaugh, ed. David C. Mirhady (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 235.
 - 42. Kennedy, New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism, 14.
 - 43. Kennedy, 14.
 - 44. Kennedy, 14.
 - 45. Kennedy, 15.
 - 46. Kennedy, 23-24.
 - 47. Kennedy, 25-27.
- 48. Jim A. Kuypers, *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 6.
- 49. St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, Book 4 Chapter 12. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, ed. J. J Shaw (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2009), 141.http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.v.IV_1.12.html. The reference is to Cicero's treatise *De Oratore* 1.15.69. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore*, ed. H. Rackham, trans. E. W. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 51.
- 50. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, 141. See also Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 50.
- 51. James Phelan, *Narrative as Rhetoric: Technique, Audiences, Ethics, Ideology*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1996), 8.
- 52. Phelan, 19. Carol Harrison (Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church*, 137) notes that "Scripture itself fell a long way short of classical eloquence, being a somewhat crudely written, rather vulgar text, belonging to an alien culture which did not recognize or value such rules or practices. Its translators had not helped matters either." Kennedy (Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, 128) notes that: "The Gospels are unique works which do not exactly fit any classical literary genre and which have a subtle internal rhetoric of their own."
 - 53. Kennedy, 4.







- 54. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, 33–38. Kennedy describes these steps in detail.
- 55. For example, Margaret Davies, *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); Stube, *A Graeco-Roman Rhetorical Reading of the Farewell Discourse*; Douglas Estes, *The Questions of Jesus in John: Logic, Rhetoric and Persuasive Discourse* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- 56. I will omit the *pericope adulterae* (story of the adulterous woman in 7:5 2–8:11) from consideration on textual-critical grounds, but I will consider John 21 to be an epilogue that is nevertheless integral to the Gospel as such.
- 57. Vernon K. Robbins has developed an approached, socio-rhetorical criticism to address this type of question. See, for example, Vernon K. Robbins, Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996); Vernon K. Robbins, Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009); Vernon K. Robbins, Robert H. Von Thaden, and Bart B. Bruehler, Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration: A Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Reader, 2016, http://lib.myilibrary. com?id=951528. Robbins defines socio-rhetorical criticism as follows: "An approach to literature that focuses on values, convictions, and beliefs both in the texts we read and in the world in which we live. It views texts as performances of language in particular historical and cultural situations. It presupposes that a text is a tapestry of interwoven textures, including inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, ideological texture, and sacred texture. A major goal of socio-rhetorical interpretation is to nurture an environment of interpretation that encourages a genuine interest in people who live in contexts with values, norms, and goals different from our own." http://www.religion.emory.edu/faculty/robbins/SRI/defns/s defns.cfm [accessed October 9, 2017]. Although, in general terms, my approach can fall into this category, I prefer to use the categories of classical rhetoric rather than concepts such as "inner texture" or "intertexture."
- 58. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.
- 59. For further discussion, see Adele Reinhartz, *Caiaphas the High Priest* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 4–6 and the references there.
 - 60. Culpepper, Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design, 16.
 - 61. On text critical grounds, 7:5 3–8:11 are also excluded.
- 62. The authorship of the Gospel is unknown. And while it seems clear that the Gospel underwent a process of composition that may have included prior sources and/ or multiple redactions, no hypothesis or reconstruction has yet created a stable consensus among scholars. For the sake of convenience, I shall use "John" and masculine singular pronouns to refer to the Gospel's implied author. Although arguments have been made for female authorship, on the basis of the Gospel's relatively positive and high profile given to female characters, the consensus is that the author or authors were likely male. For examples of source and redaction theory, see Robert Tomson Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Raymond Edward Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979);







Urban C. von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) On the possibility of a female implied author, see Davies, *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel*, 254–56.

- 63. John 11, which features Mary and Martha, suggests that there were Jewish women who became Christ-followers. On pagan women converts or God-fearers see Shelly Matthews, *First Converts: Rich Pagan Women and the Rhetoric of Mission in Early Judaism and Christianity*, Contraversions (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.04314. Culpepper uses the term "ideal narrative audience" to refer to the stance that I call compliant. Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*, 208.
 - 64. Harrison, The Art of Listening in the Early Church, 2.
- 65. "Brothers and sisters" is the NRSV translation of the Greek masculine that literally means "brothers." ἀδελφός (masculine accusative plural)
- 66. Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church*, 37. For an example of modern dramatic performance, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=unL8m3PV58s. On the relationship between John and ancient drama, see Brant, *Dialogue and Drama: Elements of Greek Tragedy in the Fourth Gospel*; Parsenios, *Rhetoric and Drama in the Johannine Lawsuit Motif.* Orality was the norm not only in Greek-speaking societies but also in the Hebrew/Aramaic circles within which rabbinic literature arose; as Shemaryahu Talmon notes, "all reading was aloud, and most probably intoned, in a sing-song voice." Shemaryahu Talmon, "Oral Tradition and Written Transmission, or the Heard and the Seen Word in Judaism of the Second Temple Period," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 150. According to Talmon (Talmon, 137) there is an evident emphasis on aural reception in Hebrew Bible and apocrypha, e.g. Neh 8:2; Jer 36:6. See also Terence C. Mournet, *Oral Tradition and Literary Dependency: Variability and Stability in the Synoptic Tradition and Q* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 135–37.
- 67. Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 5.
 - 68. Gamble, 5.
 - 69. Gamble, 8.
 - 70. Harrison, The Art of Listening in the Early Church, 4.
- 71. Even people who could and did read to themselves read aloud, thereby hearing the words as well as seeing them. See Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church*, 5. For general studies of orality and literacy, see the classic studies Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982); Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true &scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=11058.
- 72. The tradition that the Gospel of John was written in Ephesus is based on a number of ancient sources, including Polycrates (late second century) as quoted in Eusebius, HE 5.24. 2–7; Papias (c. 125) as quoted by Eusebius (HE 3.39. 3–4) and Irenaeus (ca. 13 0–200), who was the first to claim explicitly that the Gospel





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was written in Ephesus (*Adv Haer* 3.1.1; 3.3.4). Recently first-century archaeological remains have been discovered. See http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/archae ology/1.736389. (The article appeared on August 11 2016 and was accessed on December 28, 2016.) Some scholars accept Ephesus as the Gospel's provenance. See Paul R. Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 237. See the helpful discussion of provenance in Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 142–49.

- 73. For example, "Saint Paul delivering the Aeropagus Sermon in Athens," by Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), 1515 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and "The Madonna with Child and Saints," by Jacopo Pontormo (1516) housed in the church of San Michele Visdomini in Florence.
- 74. On the basis of sociolinguistic analysis, David Lamb sees no evidence of a personal "interactiveness" or personal relationship between the implied author and audience. David A. Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine Community: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Johannine Writings* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 200. This, of course, does not mean that "John" could not have known or known of "Alexandra" or other people who heard his words, but it does caution us against presuming a priori, for example, that he was preaching to a congregation or gathering of people familiar to him.
- 75. Jim A. Kuypers and Andrew King, "What Is Rhetoric?" in *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*, ed. Jim A Kuypers (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 8.



