

SAMUEL L. VOO

Themes, Lexemes, and »Mnemes«

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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643



Samuel L. Voo

Themes, Lexemes, and “Mnemes”

Composite Allusions in the Gospel of John
and Other Jewish Literature

Mohr Siebeck

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*This book is dedicated to my parents,
for their unwavering support.*

Preface

While studies of citation and allusion in the Gospel of John abound, this monograph offers a fresh methodological approach by combining insights from three distinct sub-fields within biblical studies: studies in ancient orality, inter-textual studies, and the study of ancient Jewish exegesis. The results of this methodological integration are promising, offering new insights into both the Jewish and Johannine texts under investigation.

This work is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, completed in 2023 at the University of Wales Trinity St. David, United Kingdom. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Catrin Williams, whose scholarly mentoring proved essential throughout this project, from its inception to its completion. Her insights, encouragement, and guidance as my doctoral supervisor were instrumental to the fruition of this work. Those familiar with Dr. Williams' publications on John and Jewish exegesis will no doubt detect her fingerprints in much of my own work. I also extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Sean Adams and Dr. Wendy North, whose valuable suggestions as external examiners substantially enhanced the final version of this study. Of course, while I stand on the shoulders of these and many other giants, any errors, oversights, or omissions are solely mine.

I would be remiss not to mention three additional formative influences on my early academic journey. While completing my Th.M. at Regent College, Dr. Rikk Watts demonstrated to me that an extraordinarily sharp mind could be paired with a soft and tender heart, and Dr. Iain Provan provided me a patient and steady sounding board for some of the troubling religious and spiritual questions that a deep, scholarly pursuit of the biblical text inevitably begets. A third and more personal note of thanks is due to Nelson Suen, who exemplified to me that biblical scholarship and a life of devotion are superb complements. Their influence continues to shape both my professional and personal vocation.

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List of Abbreviations

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

of those words. With regard to the Jewish scriptures, consideration will be given to both the Hebrew scriptures as well as their Greek translation in the Septuagint, noting differences between them where significant.

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

But the question may arise: “So what?” Aside from the insights gained into ancient methods of referentiality, of what relevance is such understanding to the critical study of the Gospel of John? By way of illustrating how such a discussion can and does intersect with wider academic interests, I take a further step and reflect on the implications that the results of this study have on a specific, significant, and ongoing debate in Johannine scholarship: that of the “Jewishness of John.” The findings of this study, it will be argued, have direct implications for that wider discussion. In particular, I will consider the hypoth-

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

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

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

esis that seeks to understand the Gospel as a work written predominantly from a Jewish (Christian) perspective and – at least in part – to a Jewish audience. There are, nevertheless, important qualifications to this hypothesis, especially on the basis of John's christology, and it is these christological qualities that set John's Gospel apart from other contemporaneous Jewish works.

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

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

Chapter III begins an investigation into John's Gospel proper by examining the double scriptural citation at 12:37–40 (Isa 53:1 and 6:10). I argue that the composite features identifiable in that critical locus of the Johannine text display characteristics that are exactly analogous to the composite allusions under consideration in this study, of which I have chosen three.

Although there are probably many other composite allusions in the Gospel (see VII.6 below), the three that have been selected have been chosen on the basis of their variety in kind and place in the Gospel, as well as because of their exegetical importance to the Gospel. This selection, it is hoped, will be representative of composite allusions in the Gospel as a whole. Chapter IV proceeds to examine the first of these composite allusions in John's Gospel, beginning with the composite allusion in John 1:29 that has famously been called "ein Eingangstor zum joh Verständnis Christi."⁵ I argue that in John the Baptist's words, "Behold, the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world", the evangelist has embedded at least three implied references: to the Passover lamb, to the servant of Isaiah 53, and to cultic sacrificial imagery in the Jewish scriptures. Each of these three references is intricately related not only to the composite allusion in John 1:29, but to each of the others as well.

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

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

Chapter VI advances into the second half of John's Gospel by examining the metaphor of the vine and its branches in Jesus's Farewell Discourse (15:1–17). This passage differs from the other three Johannine passages examined in this study, most notably by its length in comparison with the compact nature of the previous cases. Nevertheless, I argue that the exegetical mechanics enabling the composite allusion to work in this passage are precisely the same as those encountered in the previous examples. In John 15:1–17 it is possible to detect scriptural allusions to Isaiah 5, Jeremiah 2, Ezekiel 15–19, and Psalm 80. Because of the extended length and theological nature of this passage, I also offer a detailed analysis of the exegetical and theological impact of these scriptural allusions on John 15 in its context within the Farewell Discourse.

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

Chapter I

The Study of Composite Allusions

1. Introduction

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

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

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

masculus Document, the *Hodayot*, *Sirach*, and the Septuagint.³ The decision to limit the primary comparative background of this study to Jewish materials is more by virtue of necessity than by design. Constrained by time, space, and resources, this study focuses on the cultural context that is widely regarded as most relevant to the FG: that of ancient Judaism. However, being situated in the wider Greco-Roman literary world, all of the New Testament authors would have been heavily influenced by that cultural context as well, whether consciously or not, and an investigation into classical and non-Jewish Hellenistic literatures with regard to composite allusions and literary techniques would certainly also be highly informative for our own project.⁴

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

1.1 Composite Citations in the Ancient World

The study of composite citations first came into scholarly focus in a preliminary way in the essays of Edwin Hatch (1889),⁵ Franklin Johnson (1895)⁶ and, later, Jindřich Mánek (1970).⁷ Hatch touched upon composite quotations in a brief essay following his (much more extensive) text-critical examination of early quotations of the LXX (in Philo, the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, and Justin Martyr); he presented eleven examples of composite quota-

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

⁴ See, for instance, the fascinating study by Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Roman Literature and Its Contexts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 17–52, on Roman poetry and complex, allusive references. This study demonstrates significant parallels between the Roman literature and those in my own study.

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

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

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

tions in relation to the hypothesis of the existence of collections of *excerpta* drawn from the LXX. That a variety of authors combined quotations from the Old Testament in the same fashion is best explained, according to Hatch, by their dependence on a third source, which scholars now call *testimonia*, rather than by defect of memory.⁸ Hatch adduces examples from four sources: Clement of Rome, *Barnabas*, Paul's letter to the Romans, and Justin Martyr.⁹

Johnson's examination of composite quotations occurs in his book-length apology on the use of the Old Testament in the New – especially the quotations found in the epistle to the Hebrews and in Pauline literature. In this study, seeking to demonstrate how these quotations have not “disregarded the laws of literature,”¹⁰ he provides a chapter dedicated to composite quotations where he surveys a number of ancient authors, including Plato, Xenophon, Lucian, and Philo, among others, as well as a few modern authors. His treatment of these, however, are better described as a cataloguing rather than an analysis of the quotations in question.¹¹ Furthermore, his interaction with New Testament examples is extremely limited, as he considers there to be “but few of these composite quotations in the New Testament.”¹² Johnson's purpose in bringing attention to these various composite quotations was simply to demonstrate that this mode of citation – though perhaps problematic for the modern reader since the authors seem to distort their source, either intentionally or accidentally – was apparently not so for the ancient world, and was a phenomenon not peculiar to the New Testament.¹³

Three-quarters of a century later, in his 1970 article, Mánek argued, on the basis of his examination of thirteen instances of composite citations in the New Testament which he considers “the main composite quotations” in the NT,¹⁴ that their composite quality was intentional – that is, not the result of faulty memory – and was for the purpose of providing multiple, that is, trustworthy, testimony to the key events of the Gospel story in line with the rule of Deuteronomy 19:15 (which states that legal matters ought to be settled only with the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

presence of two or more witnesses).¹⁵ His thesis, while presented in an incipient fashion, is worthy of further testing and will be further explored below (Chs. III, VII).

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

Koch's work is the first to give sustained treatment to the phenomenon of composite citations in the New Testament. As an integral part of his project of describing Paul's usage (*Verwendung*) and understanding (*Verständnis*) of Scripture, he examines, in nearly a hundred pages of detailed analysis, Paul's method of citation, scrutinizing each of Paul's various textual deviations from his source, noting differences in word order, grammatical modifications in person, number, gender, time, tense, and mood, as well as other changes in construction, such as omissions and additions of words. In this substantial chapter, he devotes two sections to Paul's composite citations, that is, to what he calls "mixed citations" (*Mischzitate*) and "citation combinations" (*Zitatkombinationen*). These are distinguished from each other in that the first, "mixed citations," are where "...ein Teil eines Schriftwortes unter Verwendung einer anderen Schriftstelle umgeformt worden ist,"¹⁸ whereas "citation combinations" are where "zwei (oder mehrere) Schriftworte unmittelbar zusammengefügt, jedoch nicht ineinander geschoben sind."¹⁹ In the case of "mixed citations," one citation serves as a primary reference whose sense is modified by the addition of a secondary source; for "citation combinations," two or more citations are joined together, and viewed by the reader as a single citation, but the relative weighting of the respective citations therein varies. These analyses give important clues as to Paul's interpretation and understanding of Scripture, contributing to Koch's argument that Paul often employs Scripture in service of his own purpose and argument in his letters.

¹⁵ Mánek, "Composite Quotations," 181–88.

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

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

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

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

This leads us to consider Stanley's comprehensive study of Pauline citation technique,²⁰ which builds upon and refines Koch's work in several key areas. In line with the two categories of "mixed citations" and "citation combinations," Stanley adopts the terms "conflated" and "combined citations." Similar to Koch, "conflated citations" for Stanley are where two separate passages have been "merged to create a new text;" in such citations "one of the verses is generally primary and the other secondary," and where the presence of the secondary text imposes an altered meaning onto the original, primary, text.²¹ In the same way, and again following Koch, "combined citations" are where Paul joins two or more citations into a single unit, presenting them to his readers as a single quotation.²² Although Stanley does not lift out the topic of composite citations to form a separate discussion (as Koch has done), he utilizes these categories throughout his analysis of all of the citations in the entire Pauline corpus.²³ In the end, Stanley enumerates four instances of "combined citations" and seven instances of "conflated citations;"²⁴ together, these amount to a total of 24 per cent of Paul's formal quotations.²⁵ Stanley's other major contribution in this regard is his examination of citation techniques in other contemporaneous literature, both Graeco-Roman as well as Jewish. His investigations uncover, among other things, a number of composite citations – mostly of the "combined" rather than "conflated" kind – in sources as varied as Longinus, Heraclitus, Plutarch, the Qumran materials, *Sibylline Oracles*, *4 Maccabees*, the *Damascus Document*, *1 Esdras*, and Philo, among others.²⁶ Cumulatively, Stanley's observations on citation technique in Paul and in other ancient works lead him to a two-fold conclusion: first, Paul actively adapted his biblical quotations according to his needs, and secondly, in doing so Paul was working consciously but unreflectively within the literary conventions of his day.²⁷

Finally, and most recently, Koch's and Stanley's significant contributions to the identification and interpretation of composite citations lead us to Sean Adams' and Seth Ehorn's two-volume compilation of essays that, first, investigate composite citations in the Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian literature outside of, but roughly contemporaneous with the New Testament, and then, secondly, examine the New Testament documents themselves (2016, 2018). These two volumes can, to a large degree, be seen as an extension of Koch's and Stanley's works. The first volume extends and deepens the con-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

temporary contextual analysis in the second part of Stanley's study; the second volume extends Stanley's and Koch's focus on Pauline literature to the rest of the New Testament. Together, these two volumes help set the immediate stage for my own work, and therefore warrant close examination. In what follows, I will treat these two volumes in a topical rather than serial fashion, focusing especially on those areas most pertinent to my own research.

1.2 Definitional Issues

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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