

LARS KIERSPEL

The Jews and the World in the Fourth Gospel

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Parallelism, Function, and Context

Mohr Siebeck

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With joyful praise
to my wife Laura.
Having you means
having God's favor
(Prov 18:22).

Preface

This book is an expanded form of my dissertation written in 2006 at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Louisville, Kentucky) under the supervision of Dr. Mark A. Seifrid. Professor Udo Schnelle (Halle) did not only offer his service as the outside reader, but as a seasoned scholar he honored and encouraged a novice like me to publish this work. Though not a team-work in a narrow sense, its writing stands on the shoulders of many whom I owe gratitude. Hard to count is the number of scholars who have inspired, taught, challenged, and provoked me to further study and analysis mostly through their written works. How poor would my thinking be without the riches of Johannine scholarship that is fruitfully pursued beyond the boundaries of countries, continents, and denominations. The James P. Boyce Centennial Library and its helpful staff made it possible for me to gather this world of learning on my desk. Only decades of endless diligence are able to accumulate the treasures that I found here. The gracious support of my supervisor Dr. Mark Seifrid was a *sine qua non* for my thriving. John Simmons labored through the footnotes, caught many typos and offered valuable feedback. Tanja Mix patiently helped in matters of format. Special thanks are due to Professor Jörg Frey whose invitation for publication in the prestigious WUNT series is a great honor. As a first rank Johannine scholar and meticulous editor, he offered suggestions that earned my full attention. Finally, my wife Laura deserves my honest admiration. Not only did she willingly accept the burden of providing for us in general and for my studies in particular, but she offered her constant interest in the progress of my work and assistance in creating the indices. And if I sound less like the German foreigner that I am, it is because of her conscientious corrections with regard to English grammar and spelling. Endless praise be to God who has not just used all these people to bless my studies but also showered me with strength and joy during the long journey of research and writing.

Newburgh, Indiana, September 2006

Lars Kierspel

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INTRODUCTION

The Fourth Gospel after the Holocaust

The past hundred years have been characterized as a “culture of death” or a “century of mega-death.” State-sponsored genocides all across the globe have “claimed the lives of some 60 million people in the 20th century, 16 million of them since 1945.”¹ This atrocious reality has led to a growing emphasis on the protection of human rights since the 1960s and to a sad new field of scientific study since the late 1970s: “Genocide Research.”² Within this new awareness of global suffering through human hands, the history of violence from Christians as visible in the destruction of pagan religions and culture, crusades, witch-hunts, and inquisitions, their role in colonization and slavery, and particularly the persecution of Jewish people throughout church history occupies a place of major shame for the Church and critical interest for historians and theologians.³ How was it possible, it is asked, that Christians developed a racial and religious hatred against Jews when the founder of their own faith was a Jew himself? More specifically, why was one out of two Jews in the last eight decades murdered in Europe, a continent rich in Christian heritage?⁴ And finally,

¹ SMITH, “American Self-Interest,” B6. A comprehensive attempt to describe all genocides of the twentieth century was undertaken by GELLATELY and KIERNAN, eds., *The Scepter of Genocide* (2003). After general reflections, the essays begin with “final solutions” against indigenous people under colonial rule (part II) and proceed with the era of the two World Wars (part III): the Armenian genocide in Turkey (1914–1915), the “great terror” in the Soviet Union (1937–38), the Holocaust (1941–1945), and in the post-1945 era (part IV): Indonesia (1965), Cambodia (1975–1979), Ethiopia, Rwanda (1994), Guatemala (1981 – 1983), former Yugoslavia (1991–1999). Strangely missing are the murder of two million Bengalis in Pakistan (1971) and Saddam Hussein’s killing of about two-hundred thousand Kurdish people (1988). The number of human-instigated deaths in the twentieth century has to be nearly tripled, if we include the deaths of political dissidents under Communist rule (ca. sixty million in USSR and China) and babies in America that were aborted between 1973 and 2002 (ca. forty million).

² The *Journal of Genocide Research* is published since 1999 and edited by Henry R. Huttenbach.

³ See DESCHNER, “Die unheilvollen Auswirkungen,” 74–86. With regard to the history of Christian anti-Semitism, see FLANNERY (Catholic), *The Anguish of the Jews* (1964). CARROLL (Catholic), *Constantine’s Sword* (2001). COHN-SHERBOCK (Jew), *The Crucified Jew* (1997). KEITH (Reformed), *Hated without a Cause?* (1997).

⁴ BOROWSKY, “The Language of Religion,” 8.

why did the extermination of European Jewry (Holocaust; also *Shoah*) occur in Germany, “the epicenter of ‘Christian’ Europe”⁵ and a country with foundational significance for medieval, reformational and modern Christianity? This brings up the question if (and if so, to what extent) there is a link between these integrated institutions and traditions of German life and the causes of this diabolic genocide.⁶ More than that, in light of a Christian anti-Judaism throughout the history of the Church,⁷ the question has been raised if the Christian faith is inherently geared toward oppression of the Jews specifically, or if it was instrumentalized against its original intent and content.

It is this catalog of unsolved riddles which exposed German churches and theologians to the critical screening for anti-Semitic contents like every other sector of society since the Holocaust.⁸ The Jewish-Christian

⁵ RITTNER and ROTH, “Indifference to the Plight of the Jews During the Holocaust,” 38.

⁶ Just a few visible signs of compliance are, for example, pictures of Catholic clergy who give the Nazi salute, the formation of the centralized Protestant *German Church* under “Reichsbischof” Ludwig Müller, and the missing voice in defense of the Jews even in the “Barmen Confession” (1934) of the *Confessing Church* led by Martin Niemöller. Among theologians, Friedrich Delitzsch suggested already in 1902 to replace the Old Testament with tales of German heroes. Walter Grundmann argued in his *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum* (1940) that the ancestry of Jesus was Aryan, not Jewish. In 1945, Gerhard Kittel was dismissed from his teaching position, barred from ever entering Tübingen, and put into custody because of his support for the racist ideology of the national socialists (his *Die Judenfrage* was written in 1933, the year when Hitler seized power). See ERIKSEN, *Theologians under Hitler* (1985). MEEKS, “A Nazi New Testament Professor Reads His Bible,” 513–44. Erich Sauer (*Das Morgenrot der Welterlösung*, 1937), an evangelical conservative theologian and the pillar of German dispensationalism at that time, saw in Hitler a divine instrument who would fulfill prophecy by bringing Jews back to their country, if necessary with force. He also adopted the common view of a Jewish conspiracy against the world and supported a German self-defense against this threat with reference to Noah’s blessings (in Gen 9:25–27), which grant only spiritual blessings to the Semites, but world dominion to Japheth, the indo-German predecessor (“heilsgeschichtliches Rassenprogramm”). His views were not uncommon among conservative Christians. These are examples of a phenomenon that Alan T. Davies called the “nazification of Christianity.” DAVIES, “The Aryan Christ,” 569–79.

⁷ Only a few works will be mentioned here. For the early church, see WILLIAMS, *Adversus Iudaeos* (1935); SCHRECKENBERG, *Die christlichen Adversus-Iudaeos-Texte* (1999). For the Middle Ages, see JOURNET, *The Church of the Word Incarnate* (1956); SYNAN, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages* (1965). For the time of the Reformation, see OBERMAN, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, (1984). SPÄTH, *Luther und die Juden* (2001). For the modern era, see FLANNERY, *The Anguish of the Jews*, 145–267. COHN-SHERBOCK, *The Crucified Jew*, 113–221. KEITH, *Hated Without a Cause?*, 195–263.

⁸ The discussion about the role of the Catholic Church in World War II is far from over. Passionate contributions fuel the debate with strong opinions on both sides. See, for

dialogue since World War II formed new paradigms in biblical studies that respond to these challenging questions by emphasizing the continuity between Judaism and Christianity. This begins with a new respect for the “value of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures in their own right, not merely as a backdrop for New Testament teaching.”⁹ In searching for the “historical Jesus,” the so-called “Third Quest” is distinguished from earlier phases of research by “laying a clear emphasis and stress on the Jewishness of Jesus.”¹⁰ The “New Perspective” in Pauline studies focuses on the law as a positive element of the New Covenant.¹¹ Images of the

example, GOLDHAGEN as an accuser in *A Moral Reckoning* (2002). The conciliar document *Nostra Aetate* from 1965, on the other hand, does not confess any joint responsibility in the German genocide of the Jews. The statement is nevertheless regarded as the reason for a sea change in relationships between Catholics and Jews because it affirms that “the Jews remain very dear to God” and, with regard to Christ’s crucifixion, we read that “neither all Jews indiscriminately at that time, nor Jews today, can be charged with the crimes committed during his passion.” See *Vatican Council II*, 741. LÖW thoroughly documents the anti-Christian, especially anti-Catholic, politics of Hitler’s government in *Die Schuld* (2002). The most important documentation about the role of the Protestant Church during WWII by Klaus Scholder is still unfinished. His two volumes end with the year 1934. SCHOLDER, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich. Bd. 1: Vorgeschichte und Zeit der Illusionen 1918–1934, Bd. 2: Das Jahr der Ernüchterung 1934* (1977). His student Gerhard BESIER covered the following years until 1937 in *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich. Bd. 3: Spaltungen und Abwehrkämpfe 1934–1937* (2001).

⁹ PAWLIKOWSKI, “Accomplishments and Challenges,” 30. German OT commentaries in the series Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum AT, edited since 1999 by the Catholic scholar Erich Zenger (Münster), are responding to the “rediscovery of the theological dignity of Judaism as the first address of the Hebrew Bible” in the last thirty years of ecumenical discourse. ZENGER, “Exegese des Alten Testaments,” 357–58 (translation mine). They follow a “Christian/Jewish discourse-hermeneutic” with a theocentric (as opposed to christocentric) focus. *Ibid.*, 359.

¹⁰ See THEISSEN, MERZ, *The Historical Jesus*, 10. HOLMÉN, “The Jewishness of Jesus in the ‘Third Quest’,” 144. See his note 5 for a long list of literature between the end of the 1970s and 1997. Holmén continues to show that the ‘Third Quest’ is in a “state of turmoil” because it is “not the least clear what ‘Jewishness’ means.” *Ibid.*, 156, 154. Thus Jesus is portrayed by different scholars as an eschatological prophet (Sanders), a political revolutionary (Maccoby), a magician (M. Smith), a Hillelite Jew (Falk), someone with non-eschatological views (Borg), a Cynic philosopher (Crossan), a sage (Witherington), a social prophet (Horsley), or one with apocalyptic ideas (Rowland). *Ibid.*, 154.

¹¹ Pawlikowski mentions scholars such as E. P. Sanders, James D. G. Dunn, Alan Segal, and Lloyd Gaston. He summarizes the new insight as follows, “In fact, some scholars are now persuaded that Paul likely favored the continuation of Torah practice among Jewish Christians. And should a Gentile Christian freely decide to undertake Torah observance there is nothing in Pauline teaching, as now interpreted, to suggest that such a person would be endangering their faith or salvation. Hence, the traditional contrast between Judaism as a religion of law and Christianity as a religion of

Pharisees¹² and of Judas,¹³ both usually regarded as *the* representatives of Judaism in later Christianity, are thoroughly revised as well.

While most of these projects operate under the premise of preventing the misuse of Scripture, a strong tradition of so-called "post-Holocaust theology" emerged over the last fifty years which regards the New Testament itself as contaminated, first with supersessionism, and second with racial hatred against the Jews in general, the killers of Christ ("deicide").¹⁴ The Jewish

freedom/grace is profoundly simplistic." PAWLIKOWSKI, "Accomplishments and Challenges," 32, 33.

¹² At least two large monographs about the understanding of Pharisees in the history of Jewish and Christian research were recently published: In his historical analysis of research about the Pharisees from 1860 to the beginning of WWII, Roland Deines explains a twofold change of paradigm in the last years. Theologically, the Pharisees are exonerated from accusations such as "legalistic" and "works-righteousness" (cf. E. P. Sanders). Historically, the Jewish history before AD 70 is re-evaluated. Today the emphasis lies on the pluralism and diversity of Judaism in the first century AD (e.g., J. Neusner) whereas, Jewish and Christian scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century viewed early Judaism as normative and pharisaic (see Jewish works by Graetz, Kohler, Lauterbach, Montefiore, Abrahams, Baeck, Klausner, Buber). Montefiore speculates even that "five-sixth of the nation were pharisaic more or less, though where and how the limits ran it is hard to say." DEINES, *Die Phariseer*, 367; cf. 9-11, 184, 313, 333, 371, 493, 495-96, 502. Deines himself supports the older paradigm by regarding pharisaism as a "*Bewegung im Volk für das Volk, deren Rechtmäßigkeit von weitesten Teilen des Volkes auch akzeptiert wurde, wenn auch die Forderungen derselben nicht im gleichen Maße praktiziert wurden.*" Ibid., 512. Josephus certainly lends credence for this evaluation according to whom the Pharisees have influence over the "multitude" (πλήθος; A.J. 13.288, 408; 18.17), "the nation" (ἔθνος, A.J. 13.401) and "the cities" (αἱ πόλεις, A.J. 18.11) and who could oppose the king (A.J. 17.41; cf. B.J. 1.112). If it is true that Pharisees represent the essence of Judaism before and after AD 70, then Jesus' denunciation of them as "hypocrites" could be understood as a qualification of second temple Judaism in general. So at least according to Brumlik's often quoted comment that a rejection of a theologically inspired Christian anti-Judaism is impossible without rehabilitating the Pharisees. BRUMLIK, *Der Anti-Alt*, 63. The second recent monograph about the Pharisees by Waubke opens with Brumlik's statement and supports the new paradigm of diversity within Judaism in contrast to Deines. WAUBKE, *Die Phariseer*, 1-4. See also chap. 2 n. 19.

¹³ Bötttrich notices that the "jüngeren Arbeiten über Judas sind wesentlich von dem Bestreben einer Rehabilitierung bestimmt gewesen. Einen wichtigen Impuls hat dafür sicher auch der jüdisch-christliche Dialog der letzten Jahrzehnte vermittelt." BÖTTTRICH, "Judas Iskarioth zwischen Historie und Legende," 54. He points to LIMBECK, "Das Judasbild im Neuen Testament," 37-101. Recently, KLASSEN, *Judas* (1996) exposed the traditional vilification of Judas by tracing popular images of this disciple to medieval legends that have little in common with the information we are given in the Gospels.

¹⁴ Only a few works can be mentioned as landmarks in this tradition: Besides the contributions from Elie Wiesel, Richard Rubenstein, Eliezer Berkovits, and Emil Fackenheim, see especially ISAAC, *Jesus and Israel* (1971, orig. 1948) and SIMON, *Verus Israel* (1986, orig. 1948); RUETHER, *Faith and Fratricide* (1974). Ruether shifts gears in

historian Daniel Goldhagen, for example, counted recently about 450 anti-Jewish texts in the Gospels and Acts alone.¹⁵ Thus, it is said that both claims provided a necessary (though not sufficient) condition, background, preparation and motivation for the Holocaust,¹⁶ thus minimizing, if not eliminating, a crucial distinction between 'anti-Judaism' and 'anti-Semitism.'¹⁷ As a consequence, the demand is put on Christian leaders,

the post-Holocaust debate and claims that anti-Judaism is the "left hand" of New Testament Christology. See further WILLIAMSON, *A Guest in the House of Israel* (1993); BECK, *Mature Christianity in the 21st Century* (1994); TOMSON, *'If this be from Heaven'* (2001). GAGER explains the beginnings of a post-Holocaust theology briefly in *The Origins of Antisemitism*, 13-23. In his long "Exkurs: Israel und die Kirche," Reventlow discusses many important declarations and documents about Christians, the New Testament, and the Holocaust, issued by various European and American churches. REVENTLOW, *Hauptprobleme der Biblischen Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert*, 67-124. Birte PETERSEN sketches the history and the questions of the post-Holocaust theology in *Theologie nach Auschwitz?* (2004). Other current contributors to this tradition include Samuel Sandmel, Paul M. Van Buren, Eugene J. Fisher, and George M. Smiga in the Anglo-Saxon world. Important German post-Holocaust theologians are, among others, Franz Mußner, Peter von der Osten-Sacken, Friedrich W. Marquardt, Berthold Klappert, Rolf Rendtorff, and Erich Zenger. A helpful annotated bibliography, listing biblical studies on this topic as well as ecclesiastical statements, theological, educational, and liturgical resources, is offered by BOYS and SMITH, "A Select, Annotated Bibliography on Jewish-Christian Relations," 600-20. For recent theological contributions, see GROHMANN, "Judentum und Christentum" 151-81; FISCHER and ORTMANN, *The Holocaust and Its Religious Impact* (2004).

¹⁵ GOLDHAGEN, *A Moral Reckoning*, 263-65.

¹⁶ ROTH, "What does the Holocaust have to do with Christianity?," 6, 7. Roth links this claim with the demand of a "Christian re-identification after the Holocaust," subjecting Christian theology to an "ideological critique" which purges the Church from the "Christian 'teaching of contempt.'" Ibid., 9, 38, 40.

¹⁷ The term 'anti-Semitism,' which was coined by the German journalist Wilhelm Marr the 1870s, refers to hatred against the Jews as a race, while 'anti-Judaism' rejects Judaism as a way to salvation but does not necessarily include violent hostility against Jews as a people. Many if not most Christians believe that Christianity is an exclusive religion. But they do not engage in persecuting those of other beliefs and to assume so would be utterly unjust. Maybe the "dividing line . . . is a fine one, as they are often intermingled." FLANNERY, *The Anguish of the Jews*, xiv. And although the term was coined late, the reality of (even genocidal) anti-Semitism certainly predates the 19th century and existed even before and beside the early Church (see, for example, Esth 3:8, 13; Add Esth 13:3-7; Jdt 10:19; 1 Macc 12:53; 13:6; 2 Macc 8:9; Tac., *Hist.* 5.5.1; Irenaeus, *Heresies* 1.24.2). But for the authors of the New Testament the dividing line between them and other groups were defined on *religious* terms. The contrast to anti-Semitism is dramatic because here we find the premise, in Nazi terminology, that 'die Religion ist einerlei - in der Rasse liegt die Schweinerei.' "Therefore, the anti-Jews seek Jewish conversion. The anti-Semites seek Jewish death. For them, nothing less will do since they view Jews as 'Ungeziefer,' vermin whose nature cannot change and whose 'crimes' are the consequence of racial characteristics." So FALK, *The Jew in Christian*

educators and theologians to liberate the Church and the Jewish-Christian dialogue from the fountain of oppression¹⁸ by eliminating anti-Jewish texts from the New Testament (polemics); by understanding Jesus as a reformer within Judaism¹⁹ and thus by reducing the “Christ of faith” to the Jesus of history, the “Jewish brother” who preached not himself but God; by purging Christianity from exclusive claims (Christology);²⁰ by revising the passion

Theology, 50. Unless we oversimplify causal connections and ignore evidence contrary to quick conclusions, we have to maintain a distinction between (polemic) disagreement of ideas and murderous hatred. See also the discussion in *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity*, 128-30, 171.

¹⁸ Williamson explains that “Post-Holocaust theologians share with other theologians concerned to liberate theology from its inherited ideologies an awareness that it is not just ‘that scripture has been used to legitimate oppression (although this is a continuing problem), but that the Bible itself is both a product and a producer of oppression, that some of its content is oppressive’ (Schneiders). We are concerned not only to retrieve the Christian tradition but also to submit it to a hermeneutic of suspicion, to de-ideologize it by disengaging it from the political, social, economic, and cultural injustices that it has been used to condone.” WILLIAMSON, *A Guest in the House of Israel*, 15.

¹⁹ Pawlikowski describes this understanding as a development away from the “Bultmannian perspective” which tried to “distance Jesus from his concrete ties to biblical and Second Temple Judaism so that he could emerge as a decidedly more ‘universal’ person.” Scholars mentioned as architects of the new perspective about Jesus and Judaism are, among others, W. D. Davies, E. P. Sanders, Clemens Thoma, Cardinal Carlo Martini of Milan, James Charlesworth, Daniel Harrington, and Robin Scroggs. PAWLIKOWSKI, “Accomplishments and Challenges,” 31.

²⁰ Borowitz made the following observation: “Nothing so divides Judaism and Christianity as the Christian doctrine of Christ.” BOROWITZ, *Contemporary Christologies*, 1. Williamson and Allen describe four themes of Christian anti-Jewish preaching, among which is “the displacement/replacement theme, that might also be called the ‘salvation through Jesus Christ alone’ motif.” WILLIAMSON and ALLEN, “Interpreting Difficult Texts,” 40. Under the headline “The Post-Holocaust Critique of Christology” in his dissertation, Fuller discusses the works of Michael J. Cook, Hyam Maccoby, Eugene B. Borowitz, and Michael Wyschogrod. FULLER, “Contemporary Judaic Perceptions of Jesus,” 154-214. For Thyen, an interpretation of John 14:6 as exclusivism is rooted in the ages of imperialism and hinders the unity of Jews and Christians, as desired and expressed by Jesus in his last words to his mother and the beloved disciple (19:25-27). Thyen thinks that John 14:6 wants to say only that the way to the Father is the way of martyrdom. THYEN, “Das Johannes-Evangelium als Literarisches Werk,” 112, 130, 131. Franz Rosenzweig explained with regard to John 14:6 that Jews do not have to “come to the Father” because they are already there. Mayer follows Rosenzweig and rejects mission efforts to the Jews who began recently to resettle in Germany. MAYER, “Ich bin der Weg, die Wahrheit und das Leben,” 183-95, esp. 194-95. Charlesworth calls John 14:6 an “exceptional embarrassment to Christians who are seeking a fruitful dialogue with persons of other religions, especially Jews.” He argues that 14:6b is “redactional and misrepresents Jesus’ purpose.” CHARLESWORTH, “The Gospel of John,” 259, 261. Koester turns the charge of exclusivism around by reasoning that “it would be exclusivistic to say that Jesus is the way for some but not all,

narratives which blame the Jews and exonerate Pilate;²¹ and by maintaining the validity of God's covenant with Israel and therefore limiting the Christian mission effort to the Gentiles alone (ecclesiology). Some of these demands lead far away from traditional Christianity, and scholars of various backgrounds have responded critically.²²

In this quest for new ways of relating the daughter church to the mother synagogue, the Fourth Gospel received more attention than any other book of

for it would mean that Jesus reveals God's love only for some but not for all." KOESTER, "Jesus as the Way to the Father in Johannine Theology (John 14,6)," 133.

²¹ Sanders explains that Jesus was crucified because of legitimate concern about a riot in Jerusalem. Misunderstandings or theological differences between Jesus and Pharisees played no role. The Gospels' presentation of Pilate as someone who pleaded for Jesus and hesitated to crucify him stems from "Christian propaganda" that desires "to get along with Rome and to depict Jews as their real opponents." The real Pilate, as described by Philo and Josephus, regarded Jesus as "a religious fanatic whose fanaticism had become so extreme that it posed a threat to law and order." SANDERS, *The Historical Figure of Jesus*, 268-69, 273-74. Sanders downplays theological causes because he reduces the influence of the Pharisees and thus the importance of their *halakhah* for the nation. See DEINES, *Die Pharisäer*, 322. Paula Fredriksen explains that "viewing the matter [of Jesus' death sentence] as primarily between the priests and Jesus only increases the difficulty in seeing why Pilate would have executed him by crucifixion." FREDRIKSEN, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews*, 226. In her view, Pilate knew that Jesus posed "no first-order political threat," but the people who hailed him as king saw in him a messianic pretender. Thus Pilate chose crucifixion as a method of deterring the crowd and thus preventing a riot. Ibid., 254, 255. See also CROSSAN, *Who Killed Jesus?* (1995). Idem, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (1995). PATTERSON, "The Dark Side of Pilate," 32-37, 47-48. Stegemann denies any direct or indirect Jewish influence on the crucifixion of Jesus. STEGEMANN, "Gab es eine jüdische Beteiligung an der Kreuzigung Jesu?," 3-24. For a critical discussion of Stegemann's thesis, see SÄNGER, "'Auf Betreiben'," 1-25. Noticing that the Talmud (see *b. Sanh.* 106a) and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* largely agree with the Gospels' passion accounts, the Jewish intellectual David Klinghoffer writes, "To say that Jewish leaders were instrumental in getting Jesus killed is *not* anti-Semitic. Otherwise we would have to call the medieval Jewish sage Moses Maimonides anti-Semitic and the rabbis of the Talmud as well." KLINGHOFFER, *Why the Jews Rejected Jesus*, 72-73.

²² See especially EVANS and HAGNER, eds., *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity* (1993). With regard to the Gospel of John, at least the following authors do not side with the view of post-Holocaust theology for various reasons (for literature see bibliography): Michaels, Leistner, Harrington, Segovia, Kysar, Kaufmann, D. M. Smith, Motyer, Rensberger, Wahle, Dunn, de Jonge, de Boer, and Marrow. In critical response to Jules Isaác, the Catholic Gregory BAUM argued against the presence of anti-Judaism in the New Testament in his book *The Jews and the Gospel* (1961). Later, the same book was given a different title: *Is the New Testament Anti-Semitic?* (1965). After a while, Baum changed his mind, and we read in his foreword to Ruether's *Faith and Fratricide* (1974) that "the Church has produced an abiding contempt among Christians for Jews and all things Jewish, a contempt that aided Hitler's purposes." RUETHER, *Faith and Fratricide*, 7.

the New Testament. Its generalizing language about “the Jews,” the Johannine way of applying texts and traditions of Judaism to Jesus (cf. 2:18-22, 4:21-23, 6:32),²³ the strong polemic in 8:44 (“You are of your father the devil”)²⁴ and the peculiarities of the trial account have preoccupied many theologians not only in the context of a post-Holocaust theology. At the beginning of the twentieth century (in 1905) the American Rabbi, scholar, and one of the editors of *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Kaufmann Kohler, understood the Fourth Gospel already as “a gospel of Christian love and Jew hatred.”²⁵ In his commentary from 1908, Julius Wellhausen speaks of the Gospel’s “deep hatred against the nation that crucified Jesus and persecuted his disciples.”²⁶ In his *Studien zum vierten Evangelium* from 1936, Emanuel Hirsch traces the Gospel’s sources back to, among others, a “strongly anti-Jewish gospel” X which the evangelist employed to create the “beautiful” idea of an opposition between Jews and Gentiles.²⁷ The *Expository Times* observed in 1938 that the Nazis used the Fourth Gospel as “a favourite text-book of anti-Jewish propaganda.”²⁸ Even after WW II, Eldon Epp makes the bold statement in 1975 that

²³ See discussion and literature in Scholtissek, “Antijudaismus,” 171-77.

²⁴ All Scripture quotations are taken from the New American Standard Version unless otherwise noted. Grant postulates that the New Testament is infected with pre-Christian anti-Semitism as a literary response of retaliation for the persecution and exclusion of believers from the Synagogue. The Gospel of John, particularly the polemic against the Jews in John 8:44, is the climax of this development. GRANT, *An Introduction to New Testament Thought*, 94. Vollenweider discusses three texts as examples of anti-Judaism in the New Testaments (1 Thess 2:14-16, Matt 27:20-26 and John 8:37-47) of which the latter qualifies as the strongest statement against the Jews (“die schärfsten Aussagen des Neuen Testaments über die Juden”). VOLLENWEIDER, “Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament,” 44. Tomson comments with regard to John’s diabolizing language in 8:44, “Put provocatively, *John 8 is the classical starting point for Christian hatred for the Jews.*” TOMSON, *‘If this be from Heaven’*, 402 (italics his). For further discussion, see REIM, “Joh 8,44 – Gotteskinder / Teufelskinder,” 619-24. FREEMAN, “The Function of Polemic in John 7 and 8” (1991). PEDERSEN, “Anti-Judaism in John’s Gospel: John 8,” 172-93. REINHARTZ, “John 8:31-59 from a Jewish Perspective,” 213-27. HASITSCHKA, “Joh 8,44 im Kontext des Gesprächsverlaufes von Joh 8,21-59,” 109-16.

²⁵ KOHLER, “New Testament,” 9:251. The teachings of Jesus are summed up in the love-commandment, “and yet this teaching of love is combined with the most intense hatred of the kinsmen of Jesus.” Ibid.

²⁶ WELLHAUSEN, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, 117 (“tiefe Hass gegen das Volk, das Jesum kreuzigte und seine Jünger verfolgte.”)

²⁷ HIRSCH, *Studien*, 135. Hirsch says literally, “Es ist bei R[edaktor] hier auch etwas Schönes herausgekommen, ein Gegenbild von Griechen und Juden nach ihrem Verhältnis zu Jesus.” Ibid., 97. He calls Wellhausen one of his formative influences. Ibid, iv, 134.

²⁸ EVELYN, “The Supra-Racial Gospel,” 419. Windisch wrote in 1933, “Eine gewisse Vorliebe zeigen manche Feinde des Judentums für das Johannesevangelium, weil hier der Kampf des Christus ganz wesentlich als ein Kampf gegen die Juden geführt wird.”

the Fourth Gospel, more than any other book in the canonical body of Christian writings, is responsible for the frequent anti-Semitic expressions by Christians during the past eighteen or nineteen centuries and particularly for the unfortunate and still existent characterization of the Jewish people by some Christians as "Christ-killers."²⁹

An abundance of intellectual and financial resources has been invested into conferences and long research projects which looked at all the issues involved.³⁰ This study will attempt to understand and evaluate the discussion about the frequent term Ἰουδαῖος in the Fourth Gospel. The

WINDISCH, "Das johanneische Christentum," 99. Windisch writes his article to show that, in contrast to contemporary anti-Semitism, the conflict with the Jews in the Fourth Gospel has nothing to do with race but with religion. Therefore, the Gospel's polemic (e.g., 8:44) is "completely useless" ("völlig unbrauchbar") for the political battles of the 1930s. Ibid., 105. In the midst of a "revival of anti-Semitism," Sikes writes in 1941 that, among all writings of the New Testament, "the Fourth Gospel is most often cited as proof that Christianity was itself originally anti-Semitic." SIKES, "The Anti-Semitism of the Fourth Gospel," 23. Sikes maintains that the evangelist "intends to attack not the Jewish race and culture but only the self-conscious national and religious community; that is, the *gesetzgetreu* Jews." Ibid., 24. In contrast to the Gospel of John, Paul's writings were often attacked for making Christianity Jewish. See the discussion about the "Reception of Paul during the Third Reich" in BELL, *The Irrevocable Call of God*, 355-61.

²⁹ EPP, "Anti-Semitism And the Popularity Of the Fourth Gospel In Christianity," 35. Leibig insists that the Fourth Gospel provides "a catalyst, a rationale, a theological base for future racial antipathy toward the Jewish people" and speaks of the Gospel's inherent "anti-Semitic potential." LEIBIG, "John and 'the Jews'," 227. The Jewish social scientist Brumlik thinks that the composers and redactors of the Gospel suffer from a severe case of paranoia which expresses itself in a persecution mania (because of 9:22; 12:42; etc.) and a proto-racist doctrine (in 8:43-47). BRUMLIK, "Johannes: Das judenfeindliche Evangelium," 103. Idem, "Johannes: Das Judenfeindliche Evangelium," in *Teufelskinder oder Heilsbringer*, 7, 9. Pippin talks about the "Christian hatred of Jews expressed in the Gospel of John. . . the Gospel itself is anti-Jewish – the opening into a horrible abyss of persecution and genocide. . . The naming and framing of the opposition in the Gospel of John is dangerous; religion, race, ethnicity and class intersect in 'the Jews'." PIPPIN, "For Fear of the Jews," 82.

³⁰ The book *Teufelskinder oder Heilsbringer – Die Juden im Johannes-Evangelium* (1990) is the result of a conference in Germany held in 1989 with regard to the topic "Das Johannes-Evangelium im christlich-jüdischen Dialog." A three year long research program from 1998 to 2001 was conducted at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium) and dealt with the "alleged anti-Judaism of the Gospel of John." It was concluded with an interdisciplinary academic seminar in the year 2000 in Leuven and the essays were collected in the book BIERINGER, POLLEFEYT, and VANDECASTEELE-VANNEUVILLE, eds., *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel* (2001). An American research project dealt with the question of "anti-Judaism and the Gospels," involving seventeen scholars and lasting from 1994 to 1997. The essays out of this endeavor were assembled in the volume FARMER, ed., *Anti-Judaism and the Gospels* (1999).

lexical form Ἰουδαῖος occurs seventy-one times in the Gospel in contrast to only five times in Matthew, seven times in Mark and five times in Luke³¹ and is therefore particularly suspicious of polemic if not racist implications. Where the Synoptics single out the Jewish *leaders* as the perpetrators of Jesus' death, the Fourth Gospel speaks predominantly in this generalizing fashion, presenting the Jews as a homogeneous group.³² It

³¹ Matthew: 2:2; 27:11, 29, 37; 28:15. Mark: 1:5; 7:3; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26. Luke: 7:3; 23:3, 37, 38, 51. In the Gospel of John, Ἰουδαῖος is used 61x by the narrator, 4x by Jesus (4:22; 13:33; 18:20, 36), 2x by Pilate (18:39; 19:19), 2x by the Jews (19:21), 1x by the soldiers (19:3), 1x by the Samaritan woman (4:9).

³² Many occurrences of Ἰουδαῖοι in John appear in material unique to this gospel, such as in the account about John the Baptist (1:19), the wedding in Cana (2:4), notes about Jewish customs and feasts (2:6, 13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 19:40, 42 [cf. Luke 23:54]), the healing at the pool (5:10, 15-18), Jesus' appearance at the Feast of the Tabernacles (7:1, 2, 11, 13, 15, 35; 8:22, 31, 48, 52, 57), etc. In texts that have parallels in the Synoptics, John sometimes "adds" Ἰουδαῖοι (see 19:38 [cf. Matt 27:57]; 20:19 [cf. Luke 24:36]) or he "changes" terms: In the Synoptics Jesus defends his actions in the temple before οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι (Mark 11:27 par) but in John he is confronted by the Ἰουδαῖοι (2:18). In Luke, Pilate testifies to the innocence of Jesus πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους (Luke 23:4), while in John he speaks πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους (John 18:38).

But the Synoptics are not free from generalizing language as well. In Crossan's reconstruction, Mark already created "both the open Passover amnesty, the shouting crowd, and its choice of Barabbas over Jesus." The "crowd" in Mark (15:8, 11, 15) then became "all the people" in Matthew (27:25) and finally "the Jews" in John (19:7). CROSSAN, "The Passion after the Holocaust," 176-79. In the Gospel of Matthew, John the Baptist preaches judgment against the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt 3:7-10). But in the Gospel of Luke, the same message with exactly the same wording is addressed to the "crowds" (ὄχλοις, 3:7). Especially the speeches of Acts emphatically assert the people's responsibility for the death of Jesus (e.g., Acts 2:23, 36; 3:13-15; 10:39; 13:27-29). See the discussion by Weatherly who tries to argue that these texts (and also the meaning of Ἰουδαῖοι in Acts) suggest a limited "indictment to the people of Jerusalem only." WEATHERLY, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts*, 83; see pp.82-90. Besides the woes against religious leaders, Haufe examines words of judgment against whole cities (Luke 10:13-15 and Matt 11:21-23; 13:34-35 and Matt 23:37-39) and sayings about all Israel (cf. "this generation" in Luke 7:31-35 and Matt 11:16-19; Luke 11:29-35 and Matt 12:38-42; Luke 11:49-51 and Matt 23:34-36; also Luke 13:28-29 and Matt 8:11-12). Haufe understands these statements as situational polemics from frustrated Christian missionaries and not as ideological anti-Judaism and evaluates, "Mit grundsätzlichem Antijudaismus hat die Haltung der Q-Gemeinde nichts zu tun." HAUFE, "Israel-Polemik in Q," 67. Furthermore, in Matthew "the multitude" (ὄχλος) is an active agent in the passion of Jesus (27:15, 20, 24) to such an extent that πᾶς ὁ λαὸς speaks a curse on itself, "His blood be on us and our children" (27:25). For a comparison of the Synoptic passion accounts, see SUHL, "Beobachtungen zu den Passionsgeschichten der synoptischen Evangelien," 321-77; with regard to Matthew, see 343-53. Suhl explains that a reading of the curse as grounds for anti-Semitism is "eine Perversion des von Matthäus Gemeinten" because the curse was already fulfilled in the destruction of Jeru-

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