

CHANG SEONG AN

Reconsidering the Rhetoric of Temporality in Johannine Literature

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*
640

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)
Christina M. Kreinecker (Leuven) · Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg)
Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA) · J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

640



Chang Seong An

Reconsidering the Rhetoric
of Temporality in
Johannine Literature

Mohr Siebeck

Chang Seong An, born 1975; 2005 MDiv from Chongshin Theological Seminary; 2009 ThM from Duke University; 2011 MAR from Yale University; 2019 PhD from Boston University; since 2022 Assistant Professor in New Testament and Greek, Korean Bible University, South Korea.

ISBN 978-3-16-161467-5/ eISBN 978-3-16-162287-8
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162287-8

ISSN 0340-9570 / eISSN 2568-7484
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.
The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

For Eun Hye Kim, Benjamin, and Junia An

“For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven”
Ecclesiastes 3:1

Acknowledgments

Written last, but placed first, my acknowledgments are my temporal marker. They allow me to look back on a long journey and to remember the many people who contributed to the completion of this project. This monograph is a slightly revised version of the doctoral dissertation that was submitted May 2019 to Boston University School of Theology. My sincerest thanks go to my advisor, Dr. Jennifer W. Knust, for her tremendously generous care and scholarly effort. Dr. Knust was an Associate Professor of New Testament and Christian Origins at Boston University when I began this project and is now Professor of Religious Studies at Duke University. She read and reread all of my draft chapters and offered me incisive feedback and instruction. She is an inspiring scholar, patient advisor, and mentor without whom this project would not have been possible. I would also like to thank Dr. James Walters for his penetrating questions and encouragement throughout the program. I am grateful to Dr. David Frankfurter for reading drafts and providing me valuable and constructive feedback. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Robert Allan Hill and Dr. Shively T. J. Smith, who both provided me insightful suggestions.

I am also grateful to Prof. Jörg Frey for accepting my work and offering me incisive comments and to Mohr Siebeck publishers (Elena Müller, Markus Kirchner, and Constanze Braun) for providing me vital assistance, effort, and patience in editing this book.

I am grateful to the past members of the Christianity and Religions of Antiquity Chitchat group (C.R.A.Ch), who are also my friends and colleagues: Alexis Felder Boyer, Jordan Conley, Andrew Henry, David Malamud, Scott Possiel, and David Young were always willing to read, provide suggestions, and critique my work with brilliant acuity after I submitted my prospectus.

My sincere gratitude is reserved for my Korean teachers; Prof. Sang-Hoon Kim who encouraged me to finalize this draft, Prof. Sangil Lee, Prof. Hyung Dae Park, Prof. Hyeon Woo Shin, Prof. Joohan Kim, Prof. Ho Hyung Cho, and Prof. Dae Hoon Kang at Chongshin Theological Seminary. And I would like to thank Prof. Minkyu Lee, Prof. Hyun-Gwang Kim, Prof. KyuSung Kang, Prof. Hyun-Jin Cho, and Prof. Sungwhan Park at Korean Bible University. And my gratitude goes to Prof. Sukmin Cho (emeritus), Prof. Duk-Joong Kim, Prof. Sun Wook Kim, and Prof. Yoo Hong Min at Ezra Bible Institute for their continuous encouragement.

Additionally, I would not have been able to complete this work without the support of my wonderful community of faith. I thank the Boston-West Korean Presbyterian Church community for all the help it has provided. Hak Soo Kim, one of the senior pastors, not only provided me with the opportunity to teach his congregation but also unceasingly encouraged me to stick with my PhD program even when I experienced financial hardship. I am thankful to his wife, Myung Rye Kim, and the other members of the women's guild for offering me warm hospitality. In particular, my bible study group provided a welcome distraction from my work.

I am blessed with a wonderful family. I am grateful to my father, Seung Pyo An, who was the senior pastor at Jeon Mi Central Presbyterian church, my mother, Bok Ja Ryu, and my beloved sister, Eun Jin An, for their support and prayer. I am also thankful to my father-in-law, Jong Taek Kim, who is a senior pastor at Balan Jaeil Presbyterian church, and to my mother-in-law, Young Suk Kang, for their kind words of encouragement and their generous financial contribution that allowed me to finish this project. They have always been interested in my work and were always ready to lend an ear.

A great debt of gratitude goes to my old friend and proofreader, Max Budovitch, who did not only read all of my drafts from beginning to end but offered sharp analysis, careful editing, and countless reviews of every page to make each chapter better. My wife and I have also shared a friendship with Max for the last nine years. Thank you for your help and support – it will not be forgotten.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my wife, Eun Hye Kim, who is my most significant partner – I will never be able to thank you enough. You returned to Korea to help me focus on my project and took care of our children without me during the final year of my writing. I could not have completed my years of study in the United States without your patience, prayer, and love. I am so fortunate to share my life with you, and it is to you that I dedicate this work. Our two children, Benjamin Yejoon An and Junia Yewon An, have made each day beautiful. They are temporal markers that remind me that our time has been a lot more fun with them in our lives. I would like say to them, I Love You.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	IX
List of Abbreviations	XIV
 Introduction	 1
<i>A. Problem Statement and Thesis</i>	1
<i>B. Significance of the Problem</i>	4
<i>C. Methods</i>	9
<i>D. Chapter Overview</i>	12
 Chapter 1: Overview of the Construction of Time in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods	 15
<i>A. Constructing Jewish Time</i>	17
I. Constructions of Time in First Enoch and the Book of Jubilees.....	17
II. Constructions of Time in the Dead Sea Scrolls	21
<i>B. Constructing Time in Greek and Roman Literature</i>	24
I. Greek and Roman Arrangements of Past Time	25
II. Constructing Imagined Future Time	32
III. Recurring Time: Anniversaries and Festivals in Roman Literature	34
<i>C. Responses to Jewish and Roman Time in the Writings of Josephus and Philo</i>	38
<i>D. Conclusion</i>	43

Chapter 2: Constructing Divine Time to Manifest Jesus, Savior of the World in the Gospel of John	45
<i>A. The Prologue (John 1:1–18): “Beginning,” Temporal Marker of the Origin</i>	47
I. “Beginning” in the Gospel and the Writings of Philo of Alexandria	53
II. The Gospel’s Imperial Ambitions	56
<i>B. John 1:19–2:12: The Transition from “Next Day” to “After This”</i>	57
I. Arrangements of Temporal Sequence in Jewish Literature	58
II. Analysis of Temporal Sequence in John 1:24–2:12	66
<i>C. John 19:42–20:31: Shifting the Temporal Axis from the Time of Death to the Resurrection and New Beginning</i>	71
<i>D. John 21: “After That” and Transforming the Extraordinary into the Routine</i>	81
<i>E. Conclusion</i>	86
Chapter 3: Making Communal Time in the First Letter of John – Belonging, Conflict, and Boundaries	89
<i>A. “Beginning” as Temporal Marker, Communal Origin, and Validation of Authority</i>	92
I. “Beginning” as the Origin of the Community	92
II. “Beginning” as the Temporal Marker Validating the Writer’s Authority	98
<i>B. The Imagined Family Tree and Time in 1 John</i>	100
I. Imagining the Family in Ancient Roman and Jewish Literature	101
II. Constructing a Sense of Belonging through Imagined Family Trees	103
III. Kinship – Making Boundaries	106

<i>C. The Antichrist as Temporal Reminder of the First and Last Times</i>	109
I. The Antichrist as the Negative Herald of the Time to Come	110
II. The Antichrist as Rhetorical Tactic to Control the Present.....	113
<i>D. Conclusion</i>	118
 Chapter 4: Using the Quartodeciman Easter to Construct Practical Time	119
<i>A. Jewish Passover and the Varied Memories of Jesus's Passion</i>	122
<i>B. Christ Believers' Ritual and Its Proper Time</i>	126
<i>C. The Quartodeciman Construction of Easter Time</i>	133
<i>D. Easter in the Peri Pascha of Melito of Sardis</i>	138
I. Melito of Sardis in Context	139
II. Old and New Temporal Frames	141
<i>E. "Israel" and the Twofold References to Those Who See God and Those Who Do Not</i>	145
I. Israel as Those Who Fail to See God	146
II. Melito's "True Israel" That Sees God	147
<i>F. Conclusion</i>	150
 Concluding Reflections	153
 Bibliography.....	157
Index of References.....	181
Index of Modern Authors.....	194
Index of Subjects	200

List of Abbreviations

<i>1 Apol.</i>	Justin, <i>First Apology</i>
<i>2 Apol.</i>	Justin, <i>Second Apology</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AmJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Apology</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BRev</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>Cels.</i>	Origen
<i>Cherubim</i>	Philo, <i>On Cherubim</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Deified Claudius</i>
<i>Creation</i>	Philo, <i>On the Creation of the World</i>
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>Decl.</i>	Quintilian, <i>The Lesser Declamation</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Did. apost.</i>	<i>Didascalia apostolorum</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i>
<i>Embassy</i>	Philo, <i>On the Embassy to Gaius</i>
<i>Flight</i>	Philo, <i>On Flight and Finding</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Generation of Animals</i>
<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
<i>GR</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Histories</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Hist. ecc.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>

<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Is. Os.</i>	Plutarch, <i>On Isis and Osiris</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JOTT</i>	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Leg.</i>	Athenagoras of Athens, <i>A Plea for Christians</i>
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
m. Pesahim	Mishnah tractate Pesahim
m. Zevahim	Mishnah tractate Zevahim
<i>Man.</i>	Augustine, <i>Manichean Debate</i>
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	Martyrdom of Polycarp
<i>Moses</i>	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> 1, 2
<i>Names</i>	Philo, <i>On the Change of Names</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i>
<i>Nat. d.</i>	Cicero, <i>On the Nature of Gods</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Or. Graec.</i>	Tatian, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
<i>Pasch.</i>	Origen, <i>Peri Pascha</i>
<i>PP</i>	Melito, <i>Peri Pascha</i>
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>QE</i>	Philo, <i>Questions and Answers on Exodus</i>
<i>Saec.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmen Saeculare</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi classici e orientali</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo, <i>On the Special Laws</i>
<i>Superst.</i>	Plutarch, <i>On Superstition</i>
<i>Unchangeable</i>	Philo, <i>That God is Unchangeable</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	Philostratus, <i>The Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Introduction

A. Problem Statement and Thesis

Each city in the ancient Roman world calibrated its time in a unique way by blending aspects of the imperial calendar with other conventional temporal systems. Ancient writers adapted these temporal systems when constructing their narratives in order to shape their own particular sense of time and temporality. These presentations of time were neither fixed nor neutral, but rather displayed the rhetorical strategies of those who created, employed, and practiced them.¹ By investigating different configurations of time in ancient literary texts, this study considers what was at stake in the temporal systems of the Gospel of John in particular, and those presented in Johannine literature more broadly, by tracing the composition and reception of this literature among Christ believers.² By constructing temporal frames that place Jesus's life within divine as well as earthly time, Johannine literature presents Jesus as the savior of the world (John 4:42; 1 John 4:14) and seeks to secure a sense of group belonging by imagining a shared experience of the past based on a particular understanding of time. In the second and early third centuries CE, this literature was reinterpreted by a group of people known as the "Quartodecimans" (meaning "proponents of the fourteenth day"), who adopted what they considered to be the Johannine

¹ Concerning the multi-dimensional aspects of time, see Michael G. Flaherty, *The Texture of Time: Agency and Temporal Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 2–13; William Gallois, *Time, Religion, and History* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), 1–4; Robert Hannah, "Calendar," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religions*, ed. Eric Orlin et al. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 159–60; David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Patrick Dawson and Christopher Sykes, *Organizational Change and Temporality: Bending the Arrow of Time* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Donald J. Wilcox, *The Measure of Times Past: Pre-Newtonian Chronologies and the Rhetoric of Relative Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1–15; Eve-Marie Becker, *The Birth of Christian History: Memory and Time from Mark to Luke-Acts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 1–33. Katherine Clarke keenly analyzes temporal frames as political, social constructs by expounding the various local frames of time in the ancient Greece. *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 27.

² Karl Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), xix.

chronological arrangement of Jesus's death and resurrection to give meaning to their Easter celebration, which they observed by correlating their own feast with the Jewish Pascha.³

The importance of temporal markers for some Christ believers is clear from the very first words of the Fourth Gospel. The Gospel of John opens by declaring that, in his role as "the Word," Jesus was present "in the beginning" (John 1:1). This temporal marker simultaneously references primordial time in Israel's history (Gen 1:1, "in the beginning") and the Roman imperial calendar, codified in the inscription commemorating the Emperor's birthday ("beginning"), which was understood as a beneficial day for all living beings (the ruler's birthday marks the beginning of a new epoch). Paralleling the Torah's teaching that God was the beginning (Exod 3:14) and John's understanding that Jesus, as "Word," appeared at the beginning, the emperor's birth was considered a "beginning" in the Roman context. By alluding to both beginnings, the Gospel of John constructs a distinctive, varied temporal frame that intertwines temporal references drawn from the setting in which it was composed to arrange past events in a way that shapes the portrait of Jesus. The first letter of John (hereafter 1 John) reiterates and transforms this temporal framework, also employing the temporal marker "from the beginning" (1 John 1:1), which rhetorically mirrors Genesis and echoes the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. By invoking the time of creation as represented in Genesis 1:1, 1 John 1:1 addresses the believers' communal origin and, by linking the past with the present and future through imaginative genealogical strategies, invites them to participate in a temporal frame that distinguishes them from other Jesus followers. This imagined genealogy situates the audience in relation to divine time and the "beginning," and defines the status of the opponents that 1 John imagined: namely that they held no legitimate link to the ancestor to whom 1 John belongs because they belong to another ancestry – that of the devil. This literature legitimated the true believers' self-definition through a belief in Jesus as a re-configuration of time that collapsed the past, present, and future. Jesus is also

³ Leaders like Polycarp of Smyrna, Polycrates of Ephesus, and Melito of Sardis – later categorized as "the Quartodecimans" – claimed that the 14th of Nissan, the start of the Jewish Passover, was the appropriate day to celebrate Christ's resurrection. According to these writers, the Johannine passion was the proper source for the calendrical calibration of Easter, a practice maintained by some long after other Christ believers began to celebrate Christ's resurrection on Sunday (*Ecclesiastical History* 5.23–24). Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast: Melito, Peri Pascha, and the Quartodeciman Paschal Liturgy at Sardis* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1–29; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History, Volume I: Books 1–5*, trans. Kirsopp Lake, LCL 153 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 503–13; Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology: Jewish and Christian Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 51–70; J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 203–18.

depicted as the end of time in these writings; he is characterized as not only indestructible, but also as returning to his original glorious status following his crucifixion and resurrection (John 17:5 and 1 John 3:2).⁴

Some later Christ believers (e.g., Melito of Sardis) adopted these Johannine temporal frames for their own purposes, defining their celebration of Easter based on John's perspective; Jesus's death and resurrection were interpreted as a "Passover" and the observance of this day became one way to attend to the importance of temporality in the context of ritual performance. Calibrating time and inviting an audience to adopt it, therefore, was a central strategy for these Jesus believers, who sought to foster a sense of bonding, in part, by creating a particular frame of temporality that distinguished their own calendars from what had come before. This process, already present in the Gospel, is reaffirmed in 1 John, and became practiced in liturgical cycles as these believers grew in number and influence.

By using temporal markers and frames, the Gospel of John portrays Jesus as the true Lord of the world and describes God alone as having the prerogative to begin, end, and organize time, which is in turn reenacted in the life of Jesus. The first letter of John both employs temporal markers from the Gospel while developing its own, particular usage; the letter writer imagines that the community that the letter addressed originated at the beginning of time and uses genealogical strategies to distinguish this group from other Christ believers by linking the past with the present and future. The practices of Easter that Jesus followers developed during the second century shows that temporality remained a significant consideration and an important way to distinguish between various groups. Melito of Sardis was a particular proponent of this point of view; he asserted that Passover was the single commemoration of Jesus's passion and resurrection. He also presented an ambivalent and binary attitude towards celebrating Easter according to Jewish time and towards celebrating Jesus as the true Paschal lamb. He recommended a framework of temporal observance distinct from that of other Jesus believers. As the following chapters argue, early Christian writers like Melito of Sardis employed various temporal frames to recommend that Jesus's followers practice and follow the will of God as the writers understood it. These authors also invited their audiences to participate in their conceptions of time, which distinguished them from other groups and "those who do not see God."⁵

⁴ "So now, Father, glorify me in your own presence with the glory that I had in your presence before the world existed" (John 17:5). Throughout the whole chapters, I will consult NRSV unless otherwise mentioned.

⁵ Melito of Sardis, *On Pascha: With the Fragments of Melito and Other Material Related to the Quartodecimans*, trans. Alistair C. Stewart, 2nd ed. (New York: St Vladimir Seminary Press, 2017), 75.

B. Significance of the Problem

Ancient people organized time according to a variety of systems, arranging past events and present practices according to both Roman and local periodization schemes; it was thus a challenge for writers to express a synchronized, authoritative sense of time that their diverse audiences could understand.⁶ Those responsible for writing the Gospel of John shared this problem, which inspired a high degree of temporal intricacy on their part. Other scholars have previously noted the importance and complexity of the Johannine presentation of time; however, they have often attributed the apparent complexity of the writer(s)'s temporal frameworks to a lack of caution with chronological arrangement rather than to an intentional and clear textual strategy.⁷ I argue instead that the Gospel of John employs a distinct, coherent temporal framework that can be situated within the world of the narrative; the writer(s) intertwine temporal references drawn from contemporary cultures to arrange past events in a way that shapes belief in Jesus and defines an approach to temporality designed to unite readers into a new understanding of divine time.⁸ As I show, Johannine literature uses temporal markers to describe Jesus and his life (in particular his death and resurrection) as a world-changing temporal axis that creates a boundary between "us" and "them." The Quartodecimans also used this temporal strategy, employing John's temporal schemes to both associate the Pascha with the passion of Jesus and distinguish their practice of Easter from that of other Jesus followers and "the Jews," despite various historical linkages between these groups and their ritual practices.⁹ Existing scholarship on the role of

⁶ D. C. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1–6; Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3–22; Molly Pasco-Pranger, *Founding the Year Ovid's Fasti and the Poetics of the Roman Calendar* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 21–72.

⁷ Raymond E. Brown points out that some chronological descriptions of John are awkward and unsuccessful attempts to relate John to the other three Gospels. *The Gospel According to John I–XII*, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 113; James D. G. Dunn, *Neither Jew Nor Greek: A Contested Identity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 356, 774; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary*, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 184; Charles W. Hedrick, "Vestigial Scenes in John: Setting without Dramatization," *NovT* (2005): 354–66.

⁸ Vernon K. Robbins, "Conceptual Blending and Early Christian Imagination," in *Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration: A Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Reader*, ed. Vernon K. Robbins, Robert H. von Thaden Jr., and Bart B. Bruehler (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 329–66; George Aichele, *The Postmodern Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 272–308.

⁹ The term "the Jews" in these documents is rhetorical counterpart to "Jesus followers"

temporality in the Fourth Gospel has often called attention to the literary function of narrative time.¹⁰ Alan Culpepper's *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel*, for example, points out that the Gospel's complex temporal configuration lends meaning to the text's narratives. He argues that characteristics of Jesus's ministry are illuminated through literary devices like plot, time, and an omniscient narrator, each of which involves the narration of a temporal framework.¹¹ This work stimulated further research on time in John, including studies by Richard Bauckham and Gail R. O'Day, both of whom address the narrator's articulation of a christological understanding of Jesus's life by structuring time.¹² As Bauckham and O'Day argue, the Gospel utilizes time to develop a christological theme and to illuminate the meaning of Jesus's ministry and teaching. Jörg Frey also examines the Johannine understanding of temporality in terms of the eschatology of the present time because he emphasizes the present dwelling of the Spirit with John's readers.¹³ He analyzes chronological terms (e.g., time, hour) referring to the temporal movements and researches the usages of verb tenses in the Gospel of John.¹⁴ In spite of the importance of Frey's analysis of the interplay among the past events in the earthly life of Jesus, the present situations of the readers, and their future expectation of the eternal life, he limits his focus on the horizontal perspectives of time and ignores the various ways that the Greek and Roman writers chronologically attempt to map time. Douglas Estes offers another approach, exploring John's multi-dimensional mode of

and therefore cannot be interpreted as a monolithic description of Jewish beliefs or practices. For discussion, see Adele Reinhartz, *Cast Out of the Covenant: Jews and Anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 77–78, 103–4; Judith M. Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 220–35.

¹⁰ Tom Thatcher, "The New Current through John: The Old 'New Look' and the New Critical Orthodoxy," in *New Currents through John*, ed. Francisco Lozada Jr. and Tom Thatcher (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 1–26; Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1861–1986*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 433–39; Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971); James Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

¹¹ R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 53–75, 231; Paul D. Duke, *Irony in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985); Gail R. O'Day, "'I Have Overcome the World' (John 16:33): Narrative Time in John 13–17," *Semeia* 53 (1991): 153–66.

¹² Richard Bauckham, *Gospel of Glory: Major Themes in Johannine Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 131–84.

¹³ Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie III: Zeitverständnis und Eschatologie in den johanneischen Texten*, WUNT 110 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Jörg Frey, *Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel: Theology and Narration* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018), 166–70.

¹⁴ Jörg Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie I: Ihre Probleme im Spiegel der Forschung seit Reimarus*. WUNT 96 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

time in his work *The Temporal Mechanic of the Fourth Gospel*. But rather than addressing Johannine temporality as a matter of narration and plot, Estes uses relativity theory from modern physics to demonstrate that the temporal dimension of the Gospel is not absolute but rather rhetorically employed for narrative ends.¹⁵ Likewise, in their short studies, Friederike Kunath, Eric Rowe, and Jerome Neyrey examine the temporal configurations of particular passages of the Gospel.¹⁶ Their work argues that the Gospel's temporality shapes a multi-dimensional universe, though they do not attend to the broader context of John's temporal framework. Still, these writers do point out a common theme: John's temporality, they argue, attempts to construct a new framework as an alternative to contemporary, imperial time. Warren Carter and Musa Dube add another perspective, arguing in their postcolonial exploration of the Gospel that John employs temporal frames to address discourses of domination and to both subvert and negotiate power.¹⁷ None of these scholars, however, pay close attention to the wider context of John's temporal framework; as I argue, John's use of time claims absolute, divinely mediated power over the empire.

In contrast to these studies, which focus either on the writers' expression of narrative time or, in the case of scholars informed by postcolonial approaches, on implicit power discourses, I place John's employment of multiple temporal frames within a complex temporal and historical context. Time and temporal rhetoric, I show, was a cultural and historical phenomenon as well as a narrative strategy that furthered John's claim that Christ was the mediator of absolute truth and power.

First John, which echoes themes from the Gospel (e.g., life, light, and darkness), has been interpreted as describing a community of Christ believers familiar with John's Gospel. Both the Epistle and the Gospel use temporal frames to construct the "Johannine community." The "community" has conventionally been framed, in a literary sense, as a unified group belonging to and founded

¹⁵ Douglas Charles Estes, *The Temporal Mechanics of the Fourth Gospel: A Theory of Hermeneutical Relativity in the Gospel of John* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Concerning the critique of applying a modern conception of temporality to ancient texts see Bruce J. Malina, "Christ and Time: Swiss or Mediterranean?," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 28; Steve Motyer, "Method in Fourth Gospel Studies: A Way Out of the Impasse?," *JSNT* 19 (1997): 27–44.

¹⁶ Friederike Kunath, "Jesus's Preexistence and the Temporal Configuration of the Gospel of John," *Early Christianity* 8 (2017): 30–47; Eric Rowe and Jerome Neyrey, "Christ and Time-Part Three: 'Telling Time' in the Fourth Gospel," *BTB* 40 (2010): 79–92. For an examination of temporal frame in 1 Peter, see David G. Horrell and Wei Hsien Wan, "Christology, Eschatology and the Politics of Time in 1 Peter," *JSNT* 38 (2016): 263–76.

¹⁷ Warren Carter, *John and Empire: Initial Explorations* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 3–18; Musa W. Dube, "Savior of the World but Not of This World: A Postcolonial Reading of Spatial Construction in John," in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 118–35; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Time and Timing: Law and History," in *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time*, ed. John B. Bender and David E. Wellbery (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 99–117.

in a particular social environment that the writer both refracted and developed for his own purposes.¹⁸ Scholars such as Raymond Brown, Jan van der Watt and Georg Strecker have interpreted 1 John as presenting a polemic designed to safeguard the community from the writer's imagined opponents. They also argue that the text reflects internal schisms within a social group by focusing on the writer's references to internal, communal tension (1 John 3:8, the children of God and the children of the devil) and those who left his group (1 John 2:19).¹⁹ Judith Lieu, however, argues that even if there were a polemic against outsiders, the letter does not describe who the opponents were, but rather assures the audience of eternal life and encourages it to remain faithful to God (e.g., 1 John 1:2; 5:13; 2:7–8).²⁰ As R. S. Sugirtharajah correctly points out, 1 John engages with a discourse of power and hegemony to undergird the writer's authority to interpret the gospel traditions; this writer addresses and constructs different groups by reinforcing a hierarchical relation between his or her own point of view and that of the addressees while also claiming distinctive theological interpretations of the identity of Jesus in the flesh.²¹ Though the practice of imagining a "community" on the basis of a literary work should be undertaken with caution, it is clear that this ancient writer has some imagined audience in mind and that he or she sought to persuade that audience to adopt a specific perspective. The writer also portrays the audience as threatened by an imagined "opponent." In my own reading of 1 John, I focus on how this text projects the sovereign Christ into a divine schema by using temporal frames as a rhetorical mode of thinking to assert the self-definition of Christ believers. This thesis argues that, by presenting him or herself as a superior interpreter of Christ, the writer of 1 John endeavored to create identities of inclusion and exclusion by evoking the memory of Jesus within a shared sense of time.²²

¹⁸ Hansjörg Schmid, "How to Read the First Epistle of John Non-Polemically," *Bib* 85, no. 1 (2004): 24–41; Raimo Hakola, "The Johannine Community as a Constructed, Imagined Community," in *Social Memory and Social Identity in the Study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Samuel Byrskog, Raimo Hakola, and Jutta Jokiranta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 211–14.

¹⁹ Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* (New York: Doubleday, 1982); Georg Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996); Jan G. van der Watt, *An Introduction to the Johannine Gospel and Letters* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 137–38.

²⁰ Judith M. Lieu, *The Theology of the Johannine Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 6.

²¹ R. S. Sugirtharajah, "The First, Second, and Third Letters of John," in *Bible and Postcolonialism: A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia and R. S. Sugirtharajah (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 413–23.

²² Ruben Zimmermann, "Remembering the Future: Eschatology in the Letters of John," in *Eschatology of the New Testament and Some Related Documents*, ed. Jan G. van der Watt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 529–30.

Those who inherited the Gospel and the Johannine letter displayed their loyalty to these works in part by developing their own temporal frames, in this case by a calendar of feasts related to narrative temporalities of both texts.²³ The absence of a unified calendrical system, however, created discrepancies in the Christ believers' practice as the centuries wore on. Groups of early Jesus followers determined their holiday observances independently of one another, using particular temporal frames that reflected distinctive receptions of earlier traditions. By the fourth century, diverging modes of observance led to a controversy over the commemorative date of Easter, the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus.²⁴ As earlier scholars have argued, the alternative dating of Easter by Melito of Sardis and others known as "Quartodecimans" was reinterpreted as a sign of conflict between "orthodoxy" and "heresy," a historical process that, over time, demanded the celebration's institutionalization and standardization. Though definitions of "orthodoxy," as applied to particular temporalities, are sometimes at issue, I focus instead on the significance of temporality for the diversity and fluidity of the early Christ believers' self-definition, developed on the basis of a particular interpretation of the passion and resurrection of Jesus.²⁵ Inspired by the passion narrative in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus believers who celebrated Easter on the Jewish Passover creatively shaped their own interpretation of the significance of Easter represented by Jesus Christ as the creator clothed in flesh. Their unique choice of ritual date occurred before concerns about "heresies" had arisen.²⁶ Based on a close analysis of the literary and historical contexts of the Quartodeciman debates and Melito's work, I contend that the Quartodeciman Easter, by embodying Johannine temporal frames, carried on the tradition of employing temporality to express group boundaries; like the authors of John and 1 John, Quartodeciman writers employed calendrical observance to convey their rivalry with other groups, particularly with "the Jews," but also with other Christ believers.

²³ Valeriy A. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 40–56.

²⁴ Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd Century BCE–10th Century CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 65–84.

²⁵ Henry M. Knapp, "Melito's Use of Scripture in *Peri Pascha*: Second-Century Typology," *VC* 54 (2000): 343–74; Laurence Broadhurst, "Melito of Sardis, the Second Sophistic, and Israel," in *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianity*, ed. Willi Baun (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 49–73; Alistair Stewart-Sykes, "Melito's Anti-Judaism," *J ECS* 5 (1997): 279–83; Lieu, *Image and Reality*, 199–240, 271–83.

²⁶ For a study of this theme, see James Drummond, "The Fourth Gospel and the Quartodecimans," *AmJT* 1 (1897): 601–57; Richard Bauckham offers a more recent assessment. *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple: Narrative, History, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 38–40.

Early Christian writers (in particular Melito of Sardis and those of the Gospel of John and the Johannine letter) used temporal configurations of time to conceptualize their particular yet fluid group self-definition based on invented intercommunal boundaries. I build on existing scholarly work on this Johannine literature and other early Christian texts that employed Johannine temporality to define the practice of Easter, to show that temporality was rhetorically designed to legitimate the writer's authority to represent the supremacy of Jesus over the world, create a communal temporality encompassing past, present, and future, and exemplify the self-expression of particular groups of Jesus believers through particular interpretations of the death and resurrection of Jesus.

C. Methods

I incorporate methods of historical and literary criticism to investigate the function of temporality and the interactions between groups who used temporal frames to assert superiority over other groups.²⁷ I employ historical criticism to place ancient texts in their historical context and explicate historical landscapes that are interwoven with the multiple temporal frames invoked in the Johannine literature. In particular, I use this method to interrogate how the Quartodecimans developed their temporal framework for commemorative feasts by referencing that literature. I describe how the Christ believers' mode of thinking was based on the rhetoric of temporality, and the ways that this rhetoric of temporality defined particular Christ believing groups. I also employ literary criticism to highlight the rhetorical dimensions of temporality in these ancient texts and to examine the effects of temporal frames on the narratives in terms of the relation of temporality with the literary structure.²⁸

Lastly, alongside historical and rhetorical critical methods, I use literary critical methods to highlight the subtle ways that Johannine literature (in particular the Gospel of John) interacted with the Roman imperial context. A full understanding of the temporal markers in this literature calls for consideration of the interrelations between writings from different cultures that demanded, selectively employed, and negotiated perceptions of temporality.²⁹ Accordingly,

²⁷ Jane Webster, "Roman Imperialism and the 'Post Imperial Age,'" in *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, ed. Jane Webster and Nicholas J. Cooper (Leicester: University of Leicester, 1994), 4–9.

²⁸ David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 47–49; George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 97–113.

²⁹ Bernhard Weiss, "Roman Imperial Imaginary of Time and Cosmos," in *Time and Cosmos in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. Alexander Jones, trans. Orla Mulholland (New York: New York University, 2016), 171–83; Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar*, 213; Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley, "Descending from and Ascending into Heaven: A Postcolonial Analysis

while situating Johannine temporality within the calendars, feasts, and temporal schemes of Roman, Jewish, and Greek writings, I also employ literary and historical criticism to track narrative time and ancient temporality, respectively. Considering the power relations between the writers and their real or imagined audiences, I also address the ways that hegemonic assertions sought to establish the appearance of a “natural” progression of time.³⁰

This monograph begins with a close reading of four passages from the Gospel of John (John 1:1–18; 1:29–2:12; 19:14–20:23; 21:1–25). I employ historical criticism alongside rhetorical and literary criticism to argue that John developed a unique theology that intermeshed Roman and Jewish temporal frameworks to accentuate a dominant Christ. I argue that the “beginning” in the Prologue (1:1–18) does not only resonate with the archaic time of Jewish tradition but also mimics imperial references to the Emperor’s “beginning” in order to construct the temporally superb origin of Jesus.³¹ The writer(s) also employed this rhetoric to demonstrate Jesus’s power by switching scenes from John the Baptist to Jesus based on the transition from one temporal marker, “the next day,” to another, “after that.” These phrases signal the beginning of Jesus’s earthly ministry (1:29–2:12). While the writer(s) narrate Jesus’s crucifixion according to a Jewish temporal frame – mentioning, for example, “the day of Preparation” (John 19:14, 42) – they also invoke a different temporal structure, the length of time between two midnights (“early in the morning” and “evening on that day,” John 20:1 and 19) to describe the resurrection scene. I contend that this temporal transition was specifically designed as an alternative to contemporary Roman and Jewish temporal frames. The Gospel’s unique temporality alludes to a divine time, as opposed to an earthly time; according to John, earthly time is replaced by the time inaugurated by the coming, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Lastly, the Johannine appendix (John 21:1) connects a new scene to the previous chapters through its setting in the Galilee (where Jesus first met the disciples) and the temporal marker “after these things,” a phrase that is repeated throughout the Gospel of John. By repeatedly employing this same temporal marker, the writer(s) rhetorically routinize the appearance of the resurrected Jesus, turning extraordinary time into ordinary time. By going back to the same location where Jesus met the disciples (“Galilee,” John

of Travel, Space, and Power in John,” in *John and Postcolonialism: Travel, Space and Power*, ed. Musa W. Dube and Jeffrey L. Staley (New York: T&T Clark, 2002), 1–10.

³⁰ R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 46–51; Sugirtharajah, “The First, Second, and Third Letters of John,” 413–23; Dube and Staley, eds., *John and Postcolonialism*; Beth M. Sheppard, “The Fourth Gospel, Romanization, and the Role of Women,” in *An Introduction to Empire in the New Testament*, ed. Adam Winn (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 123–42; Anna Runesson, *Exegesis in the Making: Postcolonialism and New Testament Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91–110.

³¹ Sacha Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 299–354.

Index of References

Hebrew Bible and Septuagint

Genesis

1:1	2, 48
1:3	54
1:6	54
1:9	54
1:11	54
1:14	18, 21, 54
1:20	54
1:24	54
1:26	54
2:2	68
3:11	102
32:20	147
32:28	147
32:30	56, 147
32:29–31	147

Exodus

3:2–4	62, 63
3:14	2
4:22	103
12:2	42
12:3	123
12:6	71, 74, 75
12:7	123
12:6–7	136
12:8–11	123
12:10–11	144
12:12	143
12:18	123
12:6	74
12:27	75
12:26–27	143
19:1–10	63
19:1–3	63
19:3	63
19:10–11	68

19:11	68, 70
19:16	68
20:8–10	21
23:12	21
23:15	123
23:16	21
33:11	56, 63
33:20	56
34:18	123
34:22	21

Leviticus

7:15	74
20:22–24	103
22:20	74
23:32	74
23:5	119, 123
23:4–8	123

Numbers

9:1–15	123
9:3–4	123
28:16–25	123
33:3	123

Deuteronomy

7:7	102
7:7–8	102
13:1–5	110
16:1–8	123
18:20	110

Judges

3:31	65
17:6	65, 66
18:1	66

19:1	66	104	54
19:9	74	104:19	18
21:25	66	119:105	96
		119:130	96
<i>1 Samuel</i>			
7:10	65	<i>Proverbs</i>	
		6:23	96
<i>2 Samuel</i>		8:1	54
7:14	103	8:34	54
<i>1 Kings</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
20:10–11	18	2:5	96
		3:10	149
<i>2 Kings</i>		51:4	96
23:21–23	123		
		<i>Ezekiel</i>	
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		45:21–25	123
8:12–14	123		
30:1–27	123	<i>Daniel</i>	
35:1–19	123	7:9–21	110
		7:25	20
<i>Ezra</i>		8:9–12	112
6:19	123	11:36	111
6:19–22	123	12:1–2	76
		12:2	80
<i>Nehemiah</i>			
9:19	96	<i>Hosea</i>	
		2:16	79
<i>Psalms</i>		2:18	79
2:7	103	2:21	79
18:28	96	6:5	96
25:12	149		

Jewish Literature

<i>Tobit</i>		2:7–8	59
1:1–2:13	59	2:9–10	59
1:1	60	2:12	59
1:2	60	3:1–6	59
1:3–9	59	3:7	59, 60
1:8–20	59	3:7–8	60
1:10–11	59	3:7–15	60
2:1	59	3:16–4:1	60
2:2	59	4:7	60

4:14	80	74:2	19
4:19	60	74:10	18
8:9–18	77	75:1–2	19
9:30–33	61	75:3–4	19
11:17	60	79:1–2	19
14:4	59	79:6	19
14:8–9	61	80:1	19
14:11	61	80:2–7	110, 112
		82:4–5	19
<i>Judith</i>		82:6	23
6:21–7:1	74	82:7	19
		82:19	23
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>			
5:1–15	77	<i>4 Ezra</i>	
5:15	80	4:1	62
7:22–23	54	4:3	62
7:27	54	4:6	63
8:2–7	54	9:26–10:59	61
9:1–2	55	11:1–46	62
10:5	54	12:47	61
<i>1 Maccabees</i>		13:1–2	62
1:11	66	13:1–24	62
1:11–15	64	13:5	62
1:45	20	13:8	62
1:41–48	20	13:12–13	62
1:41–50	20	13:57–58	62
1:63	65	14:1	62, 63
2:1	64	14:1–3	62
2:24	66	14:3	62
3:11	65	14:6	63
3:52	65	14:7–8	62
4:22	65	14:38	62
4:42	66	14:45	63
9:22	65	14:47	63
9:23	65	14:6	63
9:23–12:53	65		
9:24–27	64	<i>Jubilees</i>	
11:20	64	2:9	21
12:21	101	2:15–16	21
13:1–15:41	65	2:19–20	21
13:43	64	4:21	20
<i>1 Enoch</i>		6:17–18	21
25:1–7	77	6:32–37	20
42:1–2	54	6:29	20
72–82	18	6:30	20
72:1	19	6:31	20
74:1–3	19		

6:32	20	1.240	43
6:32–37	20	1.240–241	101
6:36	20	2.14	123
16:29	21	2.312–313	124
20:8–10	21	2.314–315	123
23:12	21	4.125–130	42
23:14–21	110	4.197	38
23:16	21	4.203	123
34:22	21	5.340	39
Josephus		8.193	39
<i>Jewish War</i>		10.40	39
1.1–6	38	10.79	41
1.4	39	10.135–142	42
1.9–11	39	10.183	39
1.10	39	10.210	42
1.11	39, 72	10.276	39, 40
1.24	39	10.279–277	42
1.27–28	39	11.1–7	42
1.152	72	12.125–126	102
1.219–220	72	12.226	43, 101
2.224	73	12.147–153	139
2.227	73	13.164	43
2.242–243	73	14.236–237	140
2.245	73	14.259–260	124, 140
2.247	73	14.260–261	140
2.285	72	17.295	77
2.349	40	17.398	39
2.364	40	18.29	123
4.388	40	20.166	40
5.378	40	<i>Against Apion</i>	
5.379–389	42	1.1	42
5.391	39, 40	1.58	38
5.399–401	42	1.130	39
6.109	41	1.131	38
6.250	42	1.133	39
6.267–268	42	2.217	42
6.109–110	40, 42	Philo	
6.250	40, 42	<i>The Special Laws</i>	
6.267–268	42	1.1	41
6.435–438	42	2.145	124
6.310–315	40	3.3	41
6.435	39	3.5	41
15.267–268	72	<i>On the Life of Moses</i>	
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		1.1	41
1.143–44	39	1.96	144
1.93	38		

2.107	129	<i>IQpHab</i>	
		11.1	24
<i>On the Cherubim</i>		11.4–8	17, 23
36	53	11.5–9	22
<i>On Flight and Finding</i>		<i>IQS</i>	
1.65	54	1.13–15	22, 129
1.97	54	4.18–20	112
<i>On the Creation</i>		<i>4Q252</i>	
16–24	54	2.2–3	23
<i>On Drunkenness</i>		<i>4QMMT</i>	
8–9	54	A. 19	23
<i>On the Change of the Names</i>		A. 20–21	129
1.81	146	C. 14	23
		C. 16	23
<i>On the Embassy</i>		C. 21	23
75	41		
114	41	<i>CD</i>	
157	41	6.14	22
195	41	6.17	22
196	41	8.2	112
293	41	8.2–4	111
317	41		
		<i>11Q5</i>	
Dead Sea Scrolls		27.4–7	23
<i>IQH</i>			
11:19–36	77	Mishnah	
		<i>Zebahim</i>	
<i>IQM</i>		2.2–3	130
13.11–14	111	6.7	130
14.8–10	112		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		21:1	123
1:1	103	24:24	111
3:1	46	27:42	146
6:13	109	27:62	124
11:11	46	28:1	125
11:46	58	28:1–10	78

<i>Mark</i>		1:12	81
4:14	122	1:13	55
5:30	58	1:14	48, 49, 54, 56, 57, 69, 70, 92
6:2	122	1:14–18	49
6:25	46	1:17	55
8:28	46	1:18	49, 55, 56, 148
8:46	58	1:19–28	58, 67
13	109	1:19–43	58
13:5–6	111	1:19–2:1	78
13:6	111	1:19–2:11	46
14	124	1:19–2:12	46, 57, 58, 67
15:7	123	1:21	83
15:42	75	1:23	67
16:1	125	1:24	57
16:1–7	78	1:24–42	67
16:7	85	1:24–2:12	67
<i>Luke</i>		1:27	70
2:41–43	123	1:28	57, 67
5:37–39	114	1:29	46, 57, 67, 68, 87, 122, 123, 124, 125, 136, 144
7:20	46	1:29–2:12	10
7:33	46	1:28–29	67
9:19	46	1:29–30	87
13:10	122	1:29–34	58, 67
22:8	122	1:29–2:12	10
22:16–18	124	1:30	70
22:16	123	1:34	68
24:1	125	1:35	46, 57, 67, 87
24:1–10	78	1:35–42	58
24:21	146	1:36	125, 136, 144
24:34	85	1:37	68
<i>John</i>		1:37–51	68
1:1	2, 47, 48, 92	1:41	68, 70, 81
1:1–3	56	1:43	11, 46, 57, 67, 82, 87
1:1–5	48, 67	1:43–51	58, 83, 147
1:1–9	70	1:45	55
1:1–18	10, 46, 47, 48, 68	1:45–51	148
1:2	49, 97	1:47	148
1:3	87, 93	1:49	68, 70, 81, 146
1:4	48, 49, 92	1:50	83
1:5	48, 84, 87	1:51	148
1: 6–8	48	2:1	46, 57, 68, 78
1:7	48	2:1–11	69
1:8	48	2:1–12	58, 82
1:9	47, 48, 84, 97	2:10–11	84
1:9–13	48		
1:10	49, 56, 99		

2:11	70, 71, 83, 84, 85	13:1	74, 77, 123
2:11–12	85	13:34	96
2:12	46, 57, 67, 69, 83, 84, 92	14:9	148
2:13	122, 123, 125	14:10–11	99
2:13–25	70	14:16–20	86
2:19	85	14:21–24	96
2:22	85	15:1	84
3:16	93	15:4–6	84
3:21	83	15:7–10	99
3:22	69, 70, 83	17:1	86
3:30	87	17:5	3, 86
4:32	70	17:9–11	86
4:42	1, 56	17:11	85
4:45	122	17:14	85
4:54	58	18:3	76
5:1	69, 83, 125	18:13	74
5:19–21	85	18:18	83
5:24	97	18:28	74, 76
5:26	95	19:1–42	71
5:39	55	19:1–20:23	71
5:47–48	76	19:11	77
6:1	69, 83	19:14	10, 47, 71, 74, 75, 124, 125, 144
6:1–13	82	19:14–20	10
6:4	123	19:14–20:23	10, 46
6:14	58	19:18	76
6:30	58	19:28	83, 84
6:36	76	19:31	71, 74, 75, 125
6:63	56	19:31–33	144
6:68	56, 94	19:31–37	125
7:1	69, 83	19:36–37	122
8:12	84	19:38	69, 74, 75, 83
8:44	108	19:42	10, 47, 71, 75, 125
8:45–46	76	20:1	10, 47, 78, 79, 80, 84, 125
8:51–52	56	20:2	79
9:4	84	20:11–18	85
9:5	76	20:11–29	82
10:1	85	20:16	80
10:1–18	85	20:17	79, 80, 81
10:7	85	20:18	81
10:11	85	20:19	10, 47, 78, 79
10:14	85	20:19–25	85
10:24–25	117	20:19–29	78
10:27	82	20:20	80, 81
11:7	69	20:25	81
12:12	123	20:26	79
12:18	58	20:26–29	85
12:35	80	20:30–31	47, 78, 81, 82, 86
12:46	80		

20:31	46, 79	<i>Philippians</i>	
20:46	80	3:20	102
21:1	10, 11, 47, 49, 69, 82, 83	<i>Colossians</i>	
21:1–2	72	2:16	122
21:1–14	83, 84	<i>Hebrews</i>	
21:1–25	10, 46, 48	13:14	102
21:3	85	<i>1 Peter</i>	
21:4	84	1:19	122, 124, 125
21:6	85	2:9	149
21:9	83	5:8	109
21:14	85	<i>1 John</i>	
21:15	86	1:1	2, 11, 92, 93, 98
21:15–17	85	1:1–2	93
21:15–23	83	1:1–3	98
21:24	71	1:2	7, 99, 101
<i>Acts</i>		1:3	92, 93, 94, 98
2:46	122, 125	1:4	93, 94
3:1	122	1:5	107
5:42	122	1:6–7	105
13:14	122	2:1	103, 106
13:24	146	2:2	100, 104, 107, 109, 113, 114
15:12	58	2:3–11	95
17:2	122	2:4	97
18:3	122	2:5	96, 109
20:5	122	2:7	95, 110
<i>Romans</i>		2:7–8	7, 95, 96, 98
9:6	147	2:8	96, 97
9:6–7	146	2:12	94
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		2:9	103
5:7	125, 136, 142	2:10	97
5:7–8	124, 150	2:12	103, 106
15:3–5	85	2:13	94
<i>Galatians</i>		2:14	97, 103
1:13	130	2:17	97, 108
4:9–11	122	2:18	103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115
6:16	146, 147	2:19	7, 94, 97, 107, 111
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		2:20	100
2:1–12	109	2:22	109
3:3	109	2:24	94, 96, 97
<i>Ephesians</i>		2:25	107, 118
2:12	146	2:26	96, 107
		2:27	96, 97, 98
		2:27–28	112

2:28	97, 103, 110	4:15	97
2:29	100	4:16	97, 103, 105
3:1	11, 90, 104	4:17	94, 96
3:1–2	100	5:1	97, 100
3:1–3	104	5:1–2	109
3:1–10	103	5:2	98, 106
3:2	3, 110, 114	5:4	100
3:5	104	5:4–5	113
3:6	97	5:6	110, 117
3:7	111	5:9	97
3:7–10	107	5:11	104
3:8	7, 100, 108, 112, 113	5:13	7, 101
3:8–10	107	5:18	100
3:9	97, 100, 105	5:19	113
3:10	103, 107, 111	<i>2 John</i>	
3:11	97, 100, 105, 115	1	90, 110, 115
3:12	112	4–5	115
3:14	97	6	116
3:15	97, 111	7	91, 109, 111, 113, 116
3:17	97 109	7–8	116
3:22	97	8	118
3:24	97	9	97, 111, 116
4:1	94, 113		
4:1–3	114	<i>3 John</i>	
4:2	113	7	97
4:2–3	91	<i>Jude</i>	
4:3	109	4	109
4:4–5	108	13	109
4:5	111		
4:6	111	<i>Revelation</i>	
4:7	100	11:7	109
4:9	109	13:1–10	109
4:12	97	13:11–14	70
4:13	97	13:13–15	69
4:14	1		

Early Christian Literature

Melito	1–71	148
	12	144
<i>Peri Pascha</i>	13	149
1–3	31	146

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 46 | 143 | <i>Epistles of Barnabas</i> | |
| 56 | 143, 147 | 13.7 | 148 |
| 58 | 143 | 15.9 | 79 |
| 59 | 149 | | |
| 60 | 147 | <i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i> | |
| 66 | 149 | 12.6 | 129 |
| 68 | 144 | | |
| 69 | 142, 149 | <i>Second Apology</i> | |
| 71 | 144, 149 | 8 | 131 |
| 72–99 | 148 | | |
| 79 | 143 | Athenagoras of Athens | |
| 82 | 145, 147 | | |
| 93 | 146 | <i>A Plea for Christians</i> | |
| 98–99 | 146 | 2.5 | 126, 127 |
| 103 | 143, 147, 149 | 3.1 | 129 |
| 103–104 | 145 | 13.1 | 126, 127 |
| 104 | 145 | | |
| | | Eusebius | |
| <i>Paschal Chronicle</i> | | <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> | |
| 92.80–81 | 134 | 4.26 | 127, 132, 139 |
| Hippolytus of Rome | | 5.23 | 120 |
| | | 5.23–24 | 2, 137 |
| <i>Refutation of All Heresies</i> | | 5.24 | 137, 138 |
| 8.18 | 135 | 26.8 | 132 |
| | | 26.9 | 132 |
| <i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> | | Origen | |
| 15 | 125, 135 | <i>Against Celsus</i> | |
| Justin the Martyr | | 4.51 | 131 |
| <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> | | 5.33 | 131 |
| 2.1 | 126 | 5.65 | 131 |
| 18.2 | 122 | 8.24 | 131 |
| 40.1 | 122 | | |
| 47.4 | 148 | Tatian | |
| 110 | 131 | <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i> | |
| 111.3 | 122 | 2.6 | 132 |
| 130.3 | 147 | 3.1 | 132 |
| 134.6 | 147 | 4.1 | 130 |
| 135.3 | 147 | 31.1 | 126 |
| | | 31.4 | 25 |
| <i>First Apology</i> | | Tertulian | |
| 2 | 131 | <i>Apology</i> | |
| 2.3 | 130 | 10.1 | 129 |
| 3.3 | 126 | | |
| 17.3 | 130 | | |
| 25.1 | 129 | | |

Greco–Roman Literature

Aristotle		<i>Carmen Saeculare</i>	
		8–9	33
<i>Generation of Animals</i>		25	34
722	55	40	34
766	55	55	34
Aelius Aristides		Livy	
<i>Oration 1</i>		<i>History of Rome</i>	
1.332	32	1.1	28, 29
1.335	33	1.6–7	51
Cicero		1.8	51
<i>On the Nature of the Gods</i>		1.15–16	31
1.2	128	1.15	31
Diodorus of Sicily		1.16	31
<i>Library of History</i>		4.4	33
23	29	5.7	33
Dionysius of Halicarnassus		Lucan	
<i>Roman Antiquities</i>		<i>Civil War</i>	
1.2	29	7.441	29
1.8	29	Ovid	
1.74	27	<i>Fasti</i>	
Herodotus		3.72	33
<i>Histories</i>		Philostratus	
1.32	26	<i>The Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i>	
8.144	102	3.33	72
Hippolytus		4.17–18	73
<i>Refutation of all Heresies</i>		4.23	73
8.18	135	4.42	72
Horace		4.47	72
		5.7	73
		6.14	72
		6.29	72
		6.42	72
		7.10	72

Pliny		21.4–6	36
		25.3	32
<i>Natural History</i>			
2.94	70	<i>Domitian</i>	
37.13	37	4	36
Plutarch		<i>Deified Augustus</i>	
		5	37
<i>Life of Solon</i>		31	37
27.1	25	98	35
		100	35
<i>Sulla</i>		<i>Nero</i>	
7.3	36	16	131
7.5	36		
<i>Camillus</i>		Tacitus	
19	37		
<i>On Isis and Osiris</i>		<i>Annals</i>	
378c–379	129	1.1	29
378d	129	12.5	30
379d	129	12.58	30
		12.66	31
<i>On Superstition</i>		15.39	30
2	129	<i>Histories</i>	
167d–168f	129	5.13	129
Polybius		Varro	
<i>The Histories</i>		<i>On the Language</i>	
4.49	27	6.11	35
4.69	27		
12.11	27	Virgil	
23.1	27		
Sallust		<i>Aeneid</i>	
		1.1	28
<i>The War with Catiline</i>		1.276	50
6.1	30	1.278–9	33
Strabo		3.35	50
		3.85	33
<i>Geography</i>		3.301–303	36
13.27	32	4.788	50
Suetonius		5.55	36
		5.80–93	36
<i>Deified Claudius</i>		6.788–800	49
		6.788–807	50
		6.794	33
		6.851	37

<i>Eclogues</i>		4.50	50
4.8	50	4.52	50
4.8–10	33		

Index of Modern Authors

- Aasgaard, Reidar 127, 132, 141
Ager, Sheila L. 52
Aichele, George. 4, 12
Ajer, Peter Claver 71
Albertz, Rainer 59, 101
Alcock, Susan E. 27
Alikin, Valeriy A. 8
Anderson, Kelly 115
Anderson, Paul N. 74, 91, 92, 96, 100, 104, 112
Ando, Clifford 35
Andrade, Nathanael J. 34
Argetsinger, Kathryn 36, 37
Atkinson, Kenneth 66
Attridge, Harold W. 45, 67
Aune, David E. 9
- Barclay, John M. G. 76, 131, 140
Baron, Christopher A. 27
Baronowski, Donald Walter 28
Barrett, C. K. 54, 69, 75
Bauckham, Richard 5, 8, 78, 133, 137
Beard, Mary 130
Becker, Eve-Marie 1, 17, 99
Beckwith, Roger T. 2, 18, 40, 59, 74, 137
Ben-Dov, Jonathan 16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 34, 119
Berthelot, Katell 65, 66
Berzon, Todd S. 89, 100, 101, 126, 139
Birth, Kevin K. 34
Bloch, René 41
Blom, Henriette, van der 110, 145
- Borgen, Peder 40
Bowie, A. M. 57
Boyarin, Daniel 126, 139, 148, 150
Bradshaw, Paul F. 119, 122
Brakke, David 14
Branch-Trevathan, George 24
Brant, Jo-Ann A. 54, 55, 58, 67, 76, 79
Brauwer, Michael de 142
Breck, John 82
Bremmer, Jan N. 129
Brent, Allen 137
Brickle, Jeffrey E. 98, 99
Broadhurst, Laurence 8, 146, 148
Brown, Peter 151
Brown, Raymond E. 4, 7, 46–48, 54, 69, 75, 79, 82, 84, 85, 90, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111–114, 117, 118
Brown, Sherri L. 46–48, 56, 68, 82, 84
Bruyn, Theodore de 141
Buchinger, Harald 125, 144
Buell, Denise Kimber 89, 101
Bultmann, Rudolf 5, 48, 49, 54, 75, 82
Burge, Gary M. 82
Buttrick, David 79
Byron, John 118
Byars, Ronald P. 144
Byrskog, Samuel 115
- Cagnat, René 52
Cameron, Averril 120, 133
Cancik, Hubert 25, 33
Cantalamessa, Raniero 122, 134, 135

- Carson, D. A. 96
 Carter, Warren 6, 56, 77, 87, 88
 Castelli, Elizabeth A. 89, 94, 105, 128
 Cerrato, J. A. 2, 137
 Chang, Dongshin Dong 66
 Choi, Agnes 141
 Clark, Elizabeth A. 12, 100
 Clarke, Katherine 1, 15, 26, 27–29, 32, 45, 46, 149
 Cobet, Justus 17
 Cohen, Shaye J. D. 16, 23
 Cohick, Lynn H. 12, 122, 139, 140
 Collins, Adela Yarbro 117
 Collins, John J. 20, 22, 25, 42, 43, 54, 117
 Connolly, R. Hugh 136
 Conway, Colleen M. 77
 Cook, John Granger 71
 Cornwell, Hannah 34
 Cronin, Sonya Shetty 46
 Culpepper, R. Alan 5, 46, 55, 74, 75, 79, 82–86, 90, 91, 92, 109, 116, 144

 Daise, Michael A. 12
 Danker, Fredrick W. 52, 53, 87
 Dawson, Patrick 1
 DeSilva, David A. 61, 64, 128
 Derow, Peter 28
 Dimant, Deborah 40
 Dindorfius, Ludovicus 134
 Doering, Lutz 89, 92
 Doran, Robert 64
 Drake, H. A. 151
 Drummond, James 8, 11
 Dube, Musa W. 6, 9, 10, 57, 70
 Duke, Paul D. 5
 Dunn, James D. G. 4
 Dunnill, John 102

 Elledge, C. D. 77
 Elliott, J. K. 135, 138
 Elliott, Neil 47, 53
 Estes, Douglas Charles 6, 45

 Falk, Daniel K. 21
 Feeney, D. C. 4, 9, 15, 27–30, 34, 35, 36, 46
 Feldman, Louis H. 39, 42, 131, 140
 Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler 104
 Flaherty, Michael G. 1
 Flechon, Dominique 26
 Fletcher, Kristopher 101
 Flusser, David 76
 Fonrobert, Charlotte 133, 139
 Forsythe, Gary 15, 35, 36
 Fraade, Steven 129
 Frankfurter, David 115, 117, 149, 150
 Fredriksen, Paula 101, 103
 Frey, Jörg 5, 46, 70, 81
 Frilingos, Christopher A. 12

 Galinsky, Karl 51
 Gallagher, Edmon L. 141
 Gallois, William 1
 Gerlach, Karl 1, 121, 138
 Giulea, Andrei-Dragos 141
 Glancy, Jennifer 77
 Glessmer, Uwe 23
 Goldstein, Jonathan A. 63, 66
 Grabbe, Lester L. 22, 24
 Graf, Fritz 36
 Grafton, Anthony T. 35
 Grant, Michael 35
 Grant, Robert McQueen 126, 127, 131, 138
 Green, Bernard 130
 Griffith, Terry 90
 Gruen, Erich S. 26, 27, 42, 44, 89, 101, 147
 Günther, Hans-Christian 34

 Hagg, Gregory 119
 Hakola, Raimo 7, 91, 115
 Hale, Rosemary D. 125
 Hall, Jonathan M. 100, 102
 Hall, Stuart George 137, 138
 Hannah, Robert 1, 37, 78

- Hardie, Philip 50
 Harstine, Stan 100
 Harvey, Graham 146
 Hasitschka, Martin 83, 85
 Hedrick, Charles W. 4
 Heil, John Paul 93, 118, 148 Hellen, Stephan 26
 Henten, Jan Willem van 39, 72
 Herbert, Danby 124
 Hirsch-Luipold, Rainer 128
 Hodge, Caroline Johnson 89, 101
 Hoffman, Lawrence A. 119, 125
 Holmes, Michael W. 79, 148
 Horbury, William 123
 Horrell, David G. 6, 76, 90, 101
 Horst, Pieter W. van der 139
 Houlden, J. L. 93
 Huebenthal, Sandra 94 Huitink, L. 72
 Humphreys, Colin 74
 Hylen, Susan E. 82, 84, 125

 Jacobs, Naomi S. 59
 Jacobsen, Anders-Christian 129
 Jacoby, Felix 28
 Jaffee, Martin S. 17
 Jenks, Gregory C. 110
 Jensen, Matthew D. 92, 104, 108, 112
 Jobes, Karen H. 113
 Johnson, Maxwell E. 119
 Jones, Christopher P. 31, 32, 101, 102
 Jones, Peter Rhea 92,

 Keating, Daniel 115
 Kee, Alistair 151
 Keener, Craig S. 123
 Kelly, Anthony 94, 115
 Kennedy, George A. 9
 Keresztes, Paul 129
 Kim, Lawrence 74
 Kim, Sang-Hoon 48, 57
 King, Karen L. 12, 99, 126, 150
 Kirchsclaeger, Peter G. 12

 Klawans, Jonathan 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 39, 40, 72, 73, 125
 Kloppenborg, John S. 101
 Knapp, Henry M. 8, 121
 Knoppers, Gary N. 101
 Knust, Jennifer W. 106, 107, 110, 116, 117, 139, 145, 151
 Koester, Craig R. 112, 113, 117
 Köstenberger, Andreas J. 96, 110
 Kraabel, A. Thomas 121
 Kruse, Collins G. 90–92
 Kunath, Friederike 6
 Kysar, Robert 90

 Labahn, Michael 117
 Laffi, Umberto 53
 Larsen, Kasper Bro 68, 71
 Latham, Jacob A. 128
 Lehoux, Daryn 25
 Leicht, Reimund 16
 Levine, Amy-Jill 60, 61, 76
 Lianeri, Alexandra 15
 Lierman, John 70
 Lietaert Peerbolte, L. J. 110–112 Lieu, Judith M. 5, 7, 8, 11, 90, 92, 95, 96, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113–115, 117, 120, 121, 127, 141, 142, 146, 149
 Liew, Tat-Siong Benny 86
 Lim, Timothy H. 22
 Lindsay, Hugh 31
 Lipka, Michael 128
 Longenecker, Bruce 63
 Lorein, G. W. 110 Lowenthal, David 2, 24, 89
 Lyne, Oliver 50

 Ma, John 52
 Magness, Jodi 140
 Malina, Bruce J. 6, 45
 Manis, Andrew Michael 127
 Marcus, Joel 75, 125

- Marincola, John 29
 Martin, Dale B. 130
 Martinez, Florentino G. 22, 23
 Martyn, James Louis 5, 82
 Mason, Steve 17, 38, 39, 74
 McClymond, Kathryn 130
 McGinn, Bernard 110, 117
 McGowan, Andrew B. 120, 124
 Meade, John D. 141
 Mehl, Andreas 45
 Melnick, Olivier 119
 Mendels, Doron 33
 Menken, Maarten J. J. 114
 Merritt, Jason L. 98, 113, 115
 Michels, Agnes Kirsopp 34
 Miller, John F. 37
 Minns, Denis 126, 130
 Moloney, Francis J. 46–48, 56, 68, 94
 Moolan, John 126
 Moore, Carey A. 59, 60
 Motyer, Steve 6
 Müller, C. Detlef G. 135
 Munz-Manor, Ophir 140, 142
 Murphy, Frederick James 64

 Nasrallah, Laura Salah 131
 Neill, Stephen 5
 Neiryneck, Frans 82
 Neyrey, Jerome 6, 45
 Nickelsburg, George W. E. 19, 64, 76
 Niehoff, Maren 40, 41
 Nijf, Onno van 34
 Noam, Vered 22, 65
 Nongbri, Brent 82
 Norris, Richard A. 138
 North, John 130
 Novakovic, Lidija 77

 O'Day, Gail R. 5, 49, 56, 82, 84
 Osiek, Carolyn 106
 Otzen, Benedikt 59

 Painter, John 91, 95, 98, 116
 Palmer, Syd 79, 87

 Parsenios, George L. 90–93, 95, 105, 106, 110
 Parvis, Paul 126, 130
 Pasco-Pranger, Molly 4, 35
 Petersen, William Lawrence 124, 138
 Pillar, Edward 77
 Pitcher, Luke 24
 Potter, David S. 52, 131
 Price, Simon R. F. 35–37, 130
 Pummer, Reinhard 38, 133

 Rajak, Tessa 38, 139, 140
 Rantala, Juss 24, 34, 35, 36
 Rapin, Hayim 140
 Ratzon, Eshbal 22
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 16, 121, 133, 136, 140
 Regev, Eyal 66
 Reinhartz, Adele 5, 49, 55, 56, 76, 79, 81, 104
 Reinhold, Meyer 140
 Rensberger, David 90, 97, 106
 Richardson, Cyril C. 136
 Richey, Lance Byron 53, 68, 87, 88
 Ridderbos, Herman. N. 4
 Rives, James B. 128, 131
 Robbins, Vernon K. 4
 Robinson, Alexandra 107
 Rogers, Guy Maclean 35
 Rosen, Ralph M. 15
 Rowe, Eric 6, 45
 Royalty, Robert M. 126
 Runesson, Anna. 10
 Rüpke, Jörg 12, 15, 34–36

 Sacchi, Paolo 19
 Salier, Bill 88
 Saller, Richard P. 128
 Sallmann, Klaus 35
 Salzman, Michele Renee 4, 17, 25, 33, 35
 Saulnier, Stéphane 18, 22, 23
 Schiffman, Lawrence 23

- Schmid, Hansjörg 7
 Schröter, Jens 95
 Schwartz, Barry 99
 Schwartz, Daniel R. 25
 Schwartz, Seth 17, 131
 Scott, Joan W. 88
 Segal, Michael 20
 Setzer, Claudia 77
 Shaw, Pamela-Jane 27
 Sheppard, Beth M. 10
 Sloyan, Gerald S. 95, 115, 116
 Smalley, Stephen 90, 92, 110, 118
 Smith, Dwight Moody 82, 90, 92, 96, 97, 99, 102, 105, 107, 109, 115, 116
 Smith, Rowland 25
 Smith, Shively T. J. 99, 102, 104
 Sobocinski, Melanie Grunow 36
 Sparks, Kenton L. 101
 Spaulding, Mary B. 12
 Spilsbury, Paul 42
 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 6
 Staley, Jeffrey L. 9, 10
 Stavrianopoulou, Eftychia 131
 Stern, Sacha 8, 10, 12, 16–18, 20–22, 24, 26, 38
 Stewart-Sykes, Alistair 2, 8, 119, 121, 125, 133, 137, 140, 142, 144
 Stökl Ben Ezra, Daniel 119
 Stone, Michael E. 16, 61, 63
 Stowers, Stanley K. 131
 Strand, Kenneth Albert 144
 Stratton, Kimberly B. 110, 115
 Strecker, Georg 7, 11, 90, 96, 110–114
 Streett, Daniel R. 108
 Streett, R. Alan 123
 Sugirtharajah, R. S. 7, 10, 106
 Sumi, Geoffrey S. 36
 Swain, Simon 35
 Swanson, Tod D. 87
 Swerdlow, N. M. 35
 Sykes, Christopher 1
 Talbert, Charles H. 97
 Talley, Thomas J. 119, 122, 124
 Talmon, Shemaryahu. 22
 Taylor, Miriam S. 121
 Thatcher, Tom 5, 45, 110, 117
 Thompson, Leonard L. 140
 Thompson, Marianne Meyre 46, 48, 54, 56, 68, 75, 77, 82, 85, 117, 148
 Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. 22, 23
 Townsend, Philippa 128
 Trebilco, Paul R. 90, 91, 129
 VanderKam, James C. 17–19, 20, 23, 24, 38, 123
 Vermes, Geza 23, 77, 111
 Vincent, Alexandre 98
 Wahlde, Urban C. von 48, 54, 90, 119, 144
 Walters, James Christopher 130
 Wan, Wei Hsien 6
 Watson, Duane F. 113
 Watt, Jan G. van der 7, 104–106, 108
 Webster, Jane 9
 Weisser, Bernhard 9
 Wendland, Ernst R. 109, 110
 Wendt, Heidi 141
 Wheaton, Gerry 12, 71, 123
 White, L. Michael 93
 Whitmarsh, T. J. G. 72
 Wiarda, T. 82
 Wifstrand, Albert 141
 Wilcox, Donald J. 1, 29, 31
 Wilken, Robert Louis 126, 130, 141, 151
 Wills, Lawrence M. 58, 60
 Wilson, Stephen 121
 Wintermute, O. S. 21
 Wright, Tom 5
 Woolf, Greg 34

Yarbrough, Robert W. 90
Yee, Gale A. 12

Zerubavel, Eviatar 89, 100, 149
Zimmermann, Ruben 7, 111–113

Index of Subjects

- Abraham 43, 101, 148
- anniversary 34, 35, 36
- antichrist 13, 91, 108–118, 154
- archaic 10, 28, 46, 47, 49, 50–53, 56, 57, 87, 103, 112, 113, 118, 143, 149, 153
- ἀρχή 48, 52, 53, 55
- Augustus 33–35, 37, 41, 49, 50, 52, 53, 69, 127
- authority 7, 9, 11, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 55–58, 62, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 77, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 92, 94, 98, 99, 100, 105, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 118, 142, 153, 155
- beginning 2, 3, 10–14, 18, 23, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 41, 46, 47, 48–50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 64, 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 92, 93–100, 105, 107, 108, 112–117, 127, 130, 137, 143, 154
- belonging 1, 6, 11, 13, 16, 17, 29, 45, 88, 89, 96, 101, 103, 104, 108, 139, 146, 150
- birthday 2, 35, 36, 37, 52, 53
- blood 55, 78, 102, 123, 130, 134, 136
- boundary 4, 16, 38, 41, 42, 49, 68, 85, 86, 94, 100, 106, 114, 120, 133, 138, 139, 141, 148, 150, 154
- Caesar 32, 33, 35, 49, 52, 53, 69, 73chronology 11, 25, 27, 29, 38, 66, 111, 122, 125, 134, 137, 142, 143, 154
- communal 2, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 22, 24, 42, 89, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104, 108, 112, 115–118, 120, 133, 135
- time 11, 89, 118
- community 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 22, 24, 37, 40, 41, 43, 47, 64, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 102, 103–105, 106–108, 111, 112, 115, 117, 118, 127, 128, 130, 134, 139, 140, 145, 146, 148, 149
- Devil 2, 7, 13, 14, 91, 97, 103, 107, 108, 110–113, 115, 117,
- death 2, 3, 4, 8–11, 30, 35–37, 46, 53, 64, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80–82, 97, 105, 113–115, 120–122, 124, 125, 126, 132, 134–136, 138, 143–151, 154
- Easter 2–4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 119–126, 127, 132, 133–146, 150, 151, 154
- Emperor 30, 32, 33, 48, 52, 53, 56, 69, 73, 129, 130
- Roman 33, 56, 67, 80
- Empire 6, 26, 30, 32, 35, 49, 50, 51, 127, 132
- Roman 26, 32
- eschatology, eschatological 5, 23, 24, 50, 91, 96, 110–114, 116, 118, 154
- family 13, 37, 59, 64, 65, 66, 92, 100, 101–104, 106, 108, 118, 123, 149, 150
- relation 102, 103, 108
- tree 13, 92, 100–104, 106, 108, 118, 149
- father 3, 11, 31, 33, 36, 41, 49, 51, 52, 54–57, 59, 69, 71, 77, 79, 80, 81, 89, 92–106, 108, 115–117, 135, 148

- festival 12, 15, 16, 18–25, 27, 34, 36, 37, 46, 47, 69, 72–74, 122–126, 129, 134, 135, 142
- fellowship 91–95, 98–100, 105, 113
- genealogy, genealogical 2, 3, 11, 13, 16, 31, 32, 34, 39, 42, 43, 89–91, 100–109, 118, 146, 149
- glory 3, 48, 51, 58, 60, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 81, 84, 85, 86
- Gospel of John 1, 2–4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 45–50, 53–55, 67, 69, 71, 74, 76, 80, 81, 86, 88, 90, 92, 93, 119, 122, 123, 147, 148, 153
- identity 7, 11, 12, 15–18, 21, 24, 31, 38, 39, 42, 45, 47, 48, 58, 61, 62, 67, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 94, 100, 101, 105, 115, 116, 118, 122, 126, 133, 147–151, 153, 154
- imperial 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 16, 24, 25, 30, 33, 46–48, 52, 53, 56, 67–69, 71, 77, 81, 87, 127, 132, 133
- incarnate 47–49, 55–57, 66, 70, 93, 98, 109, 145
- in those days 64–66
- Israel 2, 11, 14, 20, 21, 40–42, 46, 56, 59, 60–66, 68, 70, 74–76, 85, 102, 103, 121–123, 126, 133, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145–151, 154
- Jesus 1–14, 44–49, 52–58, 66–71, 74–102, 104–126, 130, 132–151, 153, 154
 - believer 8, 9, 11, 89, 90, 92, 107, 124, 126, 140, 148, 149, 150
 - death 2, 3, 8–11, 46, 71, 74, 75, 78–81, 105, 113, 114, 120–122, 124, 132, 134, 136, 138, 143–147, 149–151, 154
 - follower 2–4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 44, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 94, 97, 100, 104, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 125, 134, 135, 141, 145–148, 150, 154
 - life 1, 3, 4, 5, 78, 86, 133, 138, 142, 153
 - light 84, 96
 - savior 1, 13, 14, 47, 143
 - son 55, 56, 58, 68, 70, 80, 81, 85, 87, 95–98, 100, 106–109, 112, 113, 117, 134
 - word 2, 46, 48, 49, 55–57, 69, 70, 80–82, 85, 86, 93, 95, 98, 99, 105, 109, 114, 134
- Jewish 2, 3, 5, 8, 10–25, 38–48, 53, 54, 56–61, 63–66, 68, 71–80, 86–90, 92, 101–103, 107, 110–114, 117, 119, 120–127, 129, 130–134, 135–141, 146, 148–151, 154
 - calendar 17, 18, 20, 38, 42, 59, 120, 124
 - temporal frame 10, 74, 75,
 - temporal marker 58, 59, 65, 66, 73
 - time 3, 13, 14, 18, 38, 43, 73, 78, 80, 133, 138, 139, 151
- Jews 4, 8, 11, 16, 20, 21, 37–43, 59, 60, 64, 65, 69, 72–76, 80, 87, 101, 115, 120–122, 124, 126, 129–137, 139, 140, 141, 144–150, 154
- Johannine 1–12, 48, 49, 57, 67, 68, 75, 77, 79, 81–83, 85, 87, 89–92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 109, 111, 115, 117, 118, 125, 134, 136, 137, 142–144, 148, 154
 - community 6, 7, 91, 102
 - time 79, 154
- John the Baptist 10, 46, 48, 57, 58, 66–71, 84, 87
- King 20, 26, 27, 30, 31, 37, 42, 50, 59, 60, 65, 66, 68, 101, 111, 130, 139
 - king of Israel 68
- kingdom 20, 30, 31, 42, 123
- kinship 31, 32, 43, 100–102, 106
- legitimate 2, 9, 14, 22, 30, 31, 34, 40, 46, 57, 61, 63, 81, 84, 85, 89–93, 99, 100, 106, 107, 110–118, 131, 146, 150, 155
- Letters of John 7, 89, 92, 111
 - 1 John 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11–14, 89–118, 146, 154
 - 2 John 89–91, 98, 109–111, 113, 115–118, 154
- Logos 46, 48, 49, 53–57, 81, 87, 93, 131, 142, 145

- Melito of Sardis 2, 3, 8, 9, 137, 138,
139, 154
memory 7, 13, 45, 56, 78, 87, 93, 143,
155
Messiah 46, 67, 98, 70, 81, 87, 111, 114,
116, 123, 124
next day 10, 46, 57–58, 62, 63, 67–71,
74, 87
Olympiad 27–30
origin 2, 3, 10, 11, 28, 32, 37, 46–53, 60,
89, 90, 92, 93, 98, 99, 103, 106–108,
110, 113, 117, 127, 136, 143, 150,
154
Passover 3, 8, 12, 14, 18, 46, 71, 73–76,
119–126, 134–137, 139, 143, 144,
149, 151
patronage 52, 128
Prologue
– the Gospel of John 46–49, 54, 57, 58,
68–71, 80, 87
– 1 John 92, 93
Quartodecimans 1, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 119,
125, 135–137, 150, 151, 154
– Melito of Sardis 2, 3, 8, 9, 137, 154
Qumran 22–24, 40, 64, 129,
– calendar 22, 23, 24
resurrection 2–4, 8–11, 46, 47, 68, 71,
74, 76–81, 83, 86, 119–121, 124, 125,
132–138, 142, 143, 145–148, 150,
151, 154
revelation 19, 56, 61, 62, 70, 71, 78, 93,
105, 147
Roma aeterna 33
Sabbath 18–23, 65, 74, 78, 136
salvation 53, 61, 81, 96, 97, 118, 120,
121, 134, 142, 146, 147, 151
Savior 1, 13, 14, 41, 47, 52, 53, 143
son
– the only son 55, 80, 85
– the son of God 50, 55, 58, 68, 70, 81,
87, 105, 110, 134
time
– archaic 10, 28, 46, 47, 53, 56, 57, 103,
112, 118, 143, 149
– calendrical 8, 16, 19–21, 23–26, 137
– communal 2, 7, 9, 11, 16, 24, 42, 86,
94–95, 97, 98, 103, 104, 108, 112,
115–118, 120, 133, 135
– divine 2, 4, 7, 10, 19, 20, 45, 48–55,
57, 59–63, 65, 70, 71, 75, 77, 80, 81,
87, 95–97, 102–106, 109, 112, 118,
123, 128, 153
– future 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 15–17, 24, 25,
32–38, 42, 43, 49–51, 89, 96, 97,
100, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111–113,
115, 117, 118, 139, 153
– imperial 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 16, 24, 25, 30,
33, 46, 47, 52, 71, 76, 77, 81, 87, 127,
132
– Jewish 2, 3, 8, 10–14, 17–24, 38–43,
45–47, 53, 59, 61, 63, 65, 71–80, 86,
113, 120–122, 124–127, 130, 132–
134, 136–141
– Greek 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, 24–29, 43, 52,
65, 102
– past 2–5, 9, 11, 13, 15–18, 21, 24–32,
34, 36–43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 57, 62, 79,
93–95, 97–100, 107, 110–113, 116,
120, 143, 153–155,
– primordial 2, 47, 98, 107
– roman 13, 28, 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 49,
50–52, 79, 128
– ritual 3, 4, 8, 11, 14, 24, 121, 128, 129,
130, 143, 145, 150, 151, 153, 154
– saeculum Augustum 35
temporal
– axis 4, 27, 38, 58, 69, 71, 72, 78
– frame 1–17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26–29, 31,
38, 41, 43, 47, 53, 60, 71–79, 81, 86,
89, 92, 96, 102, 108, 110, 114, 115,
117, 118, 121, 137, 141, 143, 145,
146, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155
– marker 2, 3, 4, 9–13, 29, 31, 33, 35,
36, 45–47, 57–71, 73, 74, 78, 79, 82–
89, 91–94, 98, 100, 110, 115, 153
– sequence 29, 45, 46, 57, 63, 65, 67, 69,
79, 108
temporality 1, 3–6, 8–11, 13–15, 17, 21,

- 24, 31, 41, 45, 47, 61, 63, 87, 92, 94,
102, 108, 112, 113, 120–122, 125,
126, 129, 130, 132, 139, 142, 144–
147, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155
- Tiberias 69, 82
- Torah 2, 18, 21, 23, 61, 63, 102
- truth 6, 11, 49, 59, 91, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99,
100, 107, 108, 110, 114–118,
153, 154
- unity 11, 39, 52, 62, 74, 90, 103, 106,
126, 136, 137
- universal
– universal history 28, 43, 153
- will of God, 3, 109,
- wisdom 25, 31, 53–56, 63, 93
- word 2, 32, 46–49, 53–57, 61, 63, 66,
69, 70, 74, 80–83, 85–87, 92, 93, 95,
97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 105, 109, 114,
117, 119, 128, 134, 142
- Zeus 52, 73

