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Use of Isaiah in the Fourth Gospel in Comparison to the Synoptics and Other Places in the New Testament

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ABSTRACT

Isaiah, along with Psalms and Zechariah, is one of the most quoted OT books in the Fourth Gospel (FG). There are thorough studies regarding the citations from Psalms and Zechariah in the FG. However, a monograph-length study on the use of Isaiah in that book is still lacking. The present research aims to fill this gap.

This study proposes not only to research into Isaianic citations in the FG (Is 40:3; Is 54:13; Is 53:1; Is 6:9-10), but also to complete a comparative study of their other occurrences in the NT. This is done by analysing eleven citations in total, of which nine are found in the FG and Synoptics, while the other two are found in Acts and in the Letter to the Romans (one citation in each).

This comparative study leads to the conclusion that the same citation, even with the same *Vorlage*, can be used with two different meanings in two different places in the NT. Indeed, even where similar meanings are to be inferred, the exact uses of the citations have some nuances. Moreover, the deviations in the form of the citations should not be understood simply as due to defective memory: they may be explained by "application of exegetical techniques and devices" (Menken) or they may not. It seems rather that the Fourth Evangelist crafted them well, according to his genuine theological aims/agenda. In fact, he is much freer in the composition of his citations than the Synoptics. In common with the Synoptics, however, he mentions Isaiah in order to gain prophetic authority for some difficult claims and not merely to indicate the source of the citation. Finally, it is observed that all of the Isaianic quotations in the FG have one pattern in common: where the OT writer refers to the God of Israel, the Fourth Evangelist refers to Jesus Christ.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS……5

INTRODUCTION ……16

1. Locating the Present Research……17

2. Methodology……26

3. Outline of the Study……32

I. PREPARE THE WAY: ISAIAH 40:3 ……36

1. Hebrew Text of Is 40:3……36

1.1. Textual Criticism……36

1.1.1. Variants of the Text……37

1.1.2. Analysis of the Variants……38

1.2. The Subdivision of Isaiah 40:3……42

1.2.1. Parallelism……42

1.2.2. Cantillation Marks……43

1.2.3. Quotations……44

1.2.4. Translations……45

1.3 Syntactical Analysis of דרך יהוה……47

2. Septuagint Reading of Is 40:3……51

2.1. Missing Words……52

2.2. Inconsistency in the Use of Verbs and Nouns……53

2.3. Variation in the Use of the Divine Name……54

2.4. Unique Expressions/Forms……56

3. The Use of Is 40:3 in the Rule of the Community (1QS 8:14)……57

3.1. Marker of the Citation ……58

3.2. The Form of the Citation……59

3.3. Echoes of Is 40:3……..……..60
3.4. The Influence of the Citation……..……62
4. Is 40:3 in the Fourth Gospel……..64
4.1. *Crux interpretum* of εὐθύνω in Jn 1:23……65
4.2. The Septuagint Influence in Jn 1:23……..……69
5. Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1. The Identity of One Who Prepares the Way……...69
5.1. Mal 3:1 and Its Setting……70
5.2. *Inclusio* Between Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23……76
5.3. Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1, 23-24 in the Synoptic Gospels……..……77
6. The Meaning of Is 40:3 in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel in the Matter of Elijah……..……..……81
6.1. Not a Prophet (cf. Jn 1:21)……..……..81
6.2. Not Elijah (cf. Jn 1:21)……...…83
6.3. The Supposed Elijah……85
6.4. "I am" Answers……91
7. Conclusions……96

II. TAUGHT OF GOD: IS 54:13 IN JN 6:45……99
1. Hebrew Text of Is 54:13……..……..……..……....100
1.1. Textual criticism……....100
1.2. The Main Concepts of Is 54:13 within Is 54……..……101
1.3. The Temporal Axes in Is 54:13……..……103
2. The Septuagint Reading of Is 54:13……106
3. The Fourth Gospel's Understanding of Is 54:13……108
3.1. "It is written in the prophets"……...108
3.2. Structure of Jn 6:43-46……114
3.3. *Vorlage* of the Citation……..……115
3.4. The Meaning of the Citation……121
4. Conclusions……122

III. WHO WILL HAVE BELIEVED IF HE HAS CLOSED THEIR EYES?

IS 53:1 AND IS 6:10……126

1. Hebrew Text of Is 53:1……127

1.1. Textual Criticism of Is 53:1……127

1.2. Is 53:1 within the Immediate Context……129

2. The Septuagint Reading of Is 53:1……130

3. The Hebrew Text of Is 6:9-10……131

4. Septuagint Reading of Isaiah 6:9-10……134

5. The Structure of the Citations in Jn 12:38-40……136

4. *Vorlage* of the Citations in Jn 12:38-40……139

5. The Meaning of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38……156

6. The Meaning of Is 53:1 within Rm 10:16……163

7. The Meaning of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40……168

7.1. Johannine Drama in Jn 12:40……168

7.2. "This people": Omission……171

7.3. "Isaiah saw his glory"……173

8. Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics and Acts of the Apostles……176

8.1. The Form of the Text of Mk 4:12……176

8.2. *Vorlage* of Is 6:9-10 in Mk 4:12……180

8.3. *Vorlage* of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15 and Acts 28:26-27……186

8.4. The Meaning of Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics……190

8.4.1. Is Mk 4:11-12 Pre-Markan, un-Markan or a Later Addition?……190

8.4.2. Sin and Non-forgiveness in Mk 4:11-12……193

8.4.3. The *crux interpretum* of ἵνα in Mk 4:12……195

8.4.4. Sin in Mk 4:12……199

8.4.5. The People Who Are "Outside"……200

8.4.6. The People's Guilt in Mt 13:13-15……203

8.4.7. The People's Unbelief (Lk 8:10 and Lk 8:12)……207

8.5. The Meaning of Is 6:9-10 in Acts 28:25-27……210
8.5.1. Unusual Introductory Formula……..210
8.5.2. Role of the LXX *Vorlage* in Acts 28:26-27……211
8.5.3. Differences between LXX and Acts 28:26-27……...213
8.5.4. Provocative Contraposition……215
8.5.5. A Definitive Condemnation?.....217
9. Conclusions……220

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS……225
1. A New Form of an Old Text……225
1.1. The Fourth Evangelist's *Vorlagen* in Comparison to the Synoptics and Other NT Writers ……225
1.2. Introductory Formulae……228
1.3. Old Textual Problems in the New Context……230
2. A New Meaning of an Old Text ……231
2.1. From Is 40:3 (through Elijah) to John the Baptist……...232
2.2. The Identity of Jesus Christ……233
2.3. The Same Texts Used to Excuse and to Accuse……...237
2.4. Universality of the Fourth Gospel ……....240
3. Proposals for Further Research…… 241

BIBLIOGRAPHY……244

ABBREVIATIONS

I. The Biblical Text

1. Hebrew and Greek Texts

Aq.	Aquila as known from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint
BHS	K. ELLIGER – R. RUDOLPH (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [5]1997).
HB	Hebrew Bible as known from BHS
MT	Masoretic Text as known from BHS
LXX	as known from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint and from A. RAHLFS - R. HANHART (ed.), *Septuaginta.* Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006 [*editio altera*]).
NA[27]	EB. NESTLE – ER. NESTLE – B. ALAND – K. ALAND – J. KARAVIDOPOULOS – C. M. MARTINI – B. M. METZGER (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [27]2001).
NA[28]	EB. NESTLE – ER. NESTLE – B. ALAND – K. ALAND – J. KARAVIDOPOULOS – C. M. MARTINI – B. M. METZGER – H. STRUTWOLF (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [28]2012).
Symm.	Symmachus as known from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint
Theod.	Theodotion as known from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint

2. Translations in Modern Languages

BdiCEI	CONFERENZA EPISCOPALE ITALIANA (ed.), *La Sacra Bibbia* (Roma: Unione Editori e Librai Cattolici Italiani, 2008).
BT	[Biblia Tysiąclecia] JANKOWSKI, A. (ed.), *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*. W przekładzie z języków oryginalnych (Biblia Tysiąclecia; Poznań – Warszawa: Pallotinum, ^{3}1980).
GNB	*Good News Bible*. With Deuterocanonical Books/Apocrypha. Today's English Version (London: Collins, 1979).
KJV	*The Bible*. Authorized King James Version (With an Introduction and Notes by R. CARROLL – S. PRICKETT; Oxford World's Classics; Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
NAB	*The New American Bible*. Compact Edition (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
NIV	*The Holy Bible*. New International Version. Reference Edition with Concordance and Maps (London et al.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986).
NJB	*The New Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton et. al., 1985).
REB	*The Revised English Bible*. With Apocrypha (Oxford - Cambridge: Oxford University Press - Cambridge University Press, 1989).
BRS	[Bible of the Russion Synod] *Библия*. Тора, Пророки, Писания и Новый Завет. В русском переводе с параллельным текстом на иврите. Русский перевод печатается по Синодальному изданию (Иерусалим: Yanetz, 1991).

BiJer *La Bible de Jérusalem*, Traduite en français sous la direction de l'École biblique de Jérusalem (nouvelle édition revue et augmentée; Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, [3]1998).

NRSV *The Holy Bible containing The Old and New Testaments with The Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*. New Revised Standard Version ([© 1989]; London: HarperCollins, 1998).

NOAB *The New Oxford Annotated Bible.* New Revised Standard Version. An Ecumenical Study Bible (ed. M. D. COOGAN et al.; Fully Revised Fourth Edition; Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, [4]2010).

II. Biblical Books

The abbreviations given according to NAB.

III. Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Writings, Ancient Writers, Patristic Literature, Rabbinic Literature, Targums

1. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Odes Sol. *Odes of Solomon*

Pss. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*

Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*

2. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

Abbreviations given according to P. H. ALEXANDER et al. (ed.), *The SBL Handbook of Style. For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004) 183-220.

3. Ancient Writers

Philo

Agr.	*De agricultura*
Congr.	*De congressu eruditionis gratia*
Contempl.	*De vita contemplativa*
Gid.	*De Gigantibus*
Fug.	*De fuga et inventione*
Her.	*Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*
Leg.	*Legum allegoriae*
Mut.	*De mutatione nominum*
Plant.	*De plantatione*
Praem.	*De praemiis et poenis*
QE	*Questiones et solutions in Exodum*
Somn.	*De somniis*

Flavius Josephus

C. Ap.	*Contra Apionem*
A.J.	*Antiquitates judaicae*

4. Church Fathers

1 Clem.	*1 Clement*

Justin Martyr

Apol.	*Apology*
Dial.	*Dialogue with Trypho*

5. Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah

m.Dem	*Demai*
m.Soṭah	*Soṭah*

Tosefta

t.Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
t.Soṭah	*Soṭah*

Babylonian Talmud

b.'Erub.	*'Erubin*
b.Ber.	*Berakot*
b.Ḥag.	*Ḥagigah*
b.Meg.	*Megillah*
b.Pesaḥ.	*Pesaḥim*
b.Roš Haš.	*Roš Haššanah*
b.Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
b.Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
b.Soṭah	*Soṭah*
b.Sukk.	*Sukkah*

Jerusalem Talmud

y.Ber.	*Berakot*
y.Šeqal.	*Šeqalim*

Midrashim

Gen.Rab.	*Genesis Rabbah*
Num.Rab.	*Numeri Rabbah*
Qoh.Rab.	*Qohelet Rabbah*
Mek. Ex	*Mekilta*
MdrPs	*Midrash to Psalms*
Pesiq. Rab Kah.	*Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*

6. Targumic Texts

TgIs	Targum of Isaiah
TgPs	Targum of Psalms

IV. Other Works Cited

ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AMNSU	Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala
AncB	Anchor Bible
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ASNU	Acta Seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis
BCAT	Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament
BDR	F. BLASS - A. DEBRUNNER – F. REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ^{18}2001).
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibIntS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BinD	Bible in Dialogue
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTransl	*The Bible Translator*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament [Fünfte Folge]

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestnamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CdeAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CEA	Collection d'Études Anciennes
ConC	Connaître et croire
CRÉJ	Collection de la Revue Étude Juive
CT	*Collectanea Theologica*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTSRR	College Theology Society Resources in Religion
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
ECCom	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EstB	*Estudios Bíblicos*
EtB	Études Bibliques
EtB.NS	Études bibliques, Nouvelle Série
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FSCS	Faith and Scholarship Colloquies Series
FzAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament

HALAT	L. KOEHLER – W. BAUMGARTNER – J. J. STAMM et al. (ed.), *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, I-V (Leiden et al.: Brill, ^{3}1967-1995).
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HThKNT	Herders theologisher Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HThKNT	Herders theologisher Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICA	Initiations au christianisme ancien
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ISB.Sup	Introduzione allo studio della Bibbia. Supplementi
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBTh	*Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JPSLofJC	The JPS Library of Jewish Classics
JSJ.S	Journal for the Study of Judaism. Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
JSP.S	Journal for the study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JSPE.S	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JSS.M	Journal of Semitic Studies. Monograph
LA	*Liber Annuus*
LD	Lectio Divina
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LTP	*Laval théologique et philosophique*
LTPM	Louvain Theological and Pastoral Monographs

LTR	*Lutheran Theological Review*
McMaster NTS	McMaster New Testament Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NT.S	Novum Testamentum. Supplements
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OTL	Old Testament Library
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PIAS – HUJ	Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies / The Hebrew University Jerusalem
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
POC	*Proche-Orient chrétien*
PTL	*A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Language*
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
QH	Quaderni di Henoch
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RdQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RHPhR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RicBR	*Ricerche Bibliche e Religiose*
RivB	*Rivista biblica*
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RNTS	Reading New Testament Series
SBB	Soncino Books of the Bible
SBECh	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity

SBF.A	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Analecta
SBF.CMaior	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior
SBL.DS	Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation series
SBL.MS	Society of Biblical Literature. Masoretic studies
SBL.SPS	Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Papers Series
SBL.SymS	Society of Biblical Literature, Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SémBib	*Semiotique et bible*
SH	Scripta Hierosolymitana = Publications of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTIW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTBT	Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StudBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I (ed. G. KITTEL; transl. G. W. BROMILEY; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964).
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VT.S	Vetus Testamentum. Supplements

WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUNT II	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament II [Zweite Reihe]
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

INTRODUCTION[1]

Isaiah, along with Psalms and Zechariah, is one of the most quoted OT books in the Fourth Gospel. There are monographs regarding the use of Psalms and Zechariah in FG,[2] while a thorough study on the use of Isaiah is still lacking. The present research aims to fill this gap in the current scholarship.

There are four citations from the book of Isaiah in the FG, namely, Is 40:3 in Jn 1:23; Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45; and both, Is 53:1 and Is 6:9-10 in Jn 12:38-40. This research, though, does not merely study these four Isaianic citations in the FG, but also provides a comparative analysis of these texts as they occur elsewhere in the NT. This entails researching eleven citations in total, of which nine are in the FG and Synoptics, while a further two are to be found in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Letter to the Romans (one citation in each).[3]

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[1] As an introductory note, in this thesis the biblical texts are taken from BHS, *Vetus Testamentum Graecorum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum* (or from *editio altera* of the LXX, when a book is not yet edited in the Göttingen edition) and from NA[28]. The translations are my own, unless otherwise stated and the numeration of Psalms follow BHS.

[2] M. DALY-DENTON, *David in the Fourth Gospel, passim*; A. KUBIŚ, *The Book of Zechariah in the Gospel of John*, *passim*.

[3] Cf. use of Is 40:3 in Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 3:4-6; Jn 1:23; Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45; Is 53:1 in Rm 10:16; Jn 12:38; Is 6:(9)-10 in Mt 13:14-15; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40; Acts 28:25-27.

1. **Locating the Present Research**

On one hand, this study interacts with previous scholarship on the use of the OT in the NT, in particular in the FG and, on the other hand, offers a new hypothesis for this field of scholarly discussion.

In past decades various books have been published and articles written on the use of the OT citations in the FG and in the NT. In the sixties two influential monographs appeared on this very topic. F.-M. Braun in the first part of his book entitled *Jean le Théologien* mainly lists OT citations in the FG with a very brief analysis and some references to the Synoptics. The second part of this book is dedicated to such themes as the Messiah, the Lamb of God, the Great Priest, Logos etc., while the final section is concerned with eschatological and historical questions. The other monograph entitled *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John* was published by E. D. Freed [1965]. The author analyses all the OT citations in the FG and gives various textual possibilities as to the sources of citations, including the Targums and other Jewish lterature, especially the texts found at Qumran. The research of each of these two scholars has some features in common. Their main focus is on finding the source of a given citation. They place much emphasis on the targumic versions of the cited texts, attempting to explain in this way variations from the Hebrew or Greek texts, though it should be noted that we cannot be sure whether some version of the targumic texts known to modern scholarship was somehow present in the time of the NT writers. Although both authors mention the Synoptics, they limit their research mainly to the use of the citations in the FG. Finally, they rather list the citations (with a short analysis), then provide a thorough

discussion: for instance, Freed dedicates only 17 pages to the Isaianic quotations, Braun even fewer.[4]

Worth mentioning also is the work completed in the nineteen seventies, most importantly that of G. Reim entitled *Studien zum alttestamentichen Hintergrund des Johannes Evangelium*. His approach differs from what was published before and after him in that he does not follow the order of citations in the FG in his analysis, but rather the order of the Hebrew Bible. The strength of his work lies in the deep diachronic textual analysis and in a balanced approach to the use of the targumic texts as possible sources of citations. However, he was not followed by other scholars in his attempt to explain the differences in the citations from the Hebrew or Greek Bible as due to the "unknown OT text."[5] More balanced work was done by another German scholar G. Richter. A collection of his previously published articles was gathered in a book entitled "Studien zum Johannesevangelium" in 1977. While other scholars strived to identify the source of the citations in the FG, he was much more concerned about the meaning of the citations in a particular context. However, his study covered only selected citations in the FG, mainly Jn 1:23; 6:31; 6:45; 13:18.

In 1980 A. T. Hanson published a book "The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture," in which the final chapter is dedicated to "John's Techniques in Using Scripture."[6] He distinguishes five ways in

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[4] E. D. FREED, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 1-7, 17-20, 82-88; F.-M. BRAUN, *Jean le Théologien*, II, 3-4, 9-10; 12-13; 15-16; 23-24.

[5] G. REIM, *Studien*, 189: "Die Ungenauigkeit, mit der Johannes an anderen Stellen seine alttestamentlichen Quellen anführt, läßt sich nur aus der Unkenntnis des schriftlichen Textes des AT bei der Abfassung des Evangeliums und aus dem traditionellen Character eines großen Teiles des alttestamentlichen Meterials erklären."

[6] A. T. HANSON, "John's Technique in Using Scripture," 157-176.

which the author of the Fourth Gospel uses Scripture.[7] His conclusion is that the Evangelist by his use of the OT writings presented Jesus Christ as the answer to Israel's question (Jn 1:18; 1:51; 11:11-13; 12:19). Hanson's division of citations into five groups was not widely accepted in subsequent scholarship.

At the end of the nineteen eighties Martin Hengel published an article on scriptural interpretation in the Fourth Gospel as a background to early Christian exegeses.[8] He underlines the role of Abraham, Moses, Isaiah and John the Baptist as witnesses to the coming of the Son of God, to indicate a messianic fulfillment of Scripture. He claims that this paradigm was adopted in later Christian exegesis. Outside a general overview of the citations, however, Hengel did not present a thorough analysis of their use.

In the same decade C.A. Evans presented his study on the use of Is 6:9-10 in various sources, from the Hebrew Text, through LXX, NT, rabbinic sources, up to the Church Fathers.[9] This is one of the most important pieces of research in terms of a comparison of the use of the same Isaianic text in various sources. His constant concern was to read a citation within its context in each of the sources and not as a separate

[7] His distinctions are as follows: 1) He [the Fourth Evangelist] uses Scripture, because it has come to him in his source (Jn 1:23; 12:13; 12:15); 2) He cites Scripture with the formal indication *hina plērōthē/i hē graphē*, or (once [Jn 19:28]) *hina teleiōthē/i hē graphē* (Jn 12:38-40; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12; 19:24, 28-29, 36-37); 3) Scripture is explicitly quoted and discussed, but without the formal introductory formula (Jn 2:17; 3:14-15; 6:31; 6:45; 7:35; 10:34); 4) Scripture can be detected as the basis of his Christology (Jn 1:18; 1:51; 5:35; 8:39-40, 56-58); 5) Scripture can be shown to have influenced his narrative (examples given are: a) Jn 1:30-31, 43-51; b) Jn 10:24; 11:41; 12:13 (perhaps); c) Jn 11:11-13; d) Jn 12:1-8; e) Jn 12:19, 32). In Hanson's further studies he added other eleven texts to this group. See A. T. HANSON, *A Prophetic Gospel*, 245-247.

[8] IDEM, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangelium auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," 249-188.

[9] C. A. EVANS, *To See and not Perceive*, *passim*.

entity. However, Evans's study on the use of Is 6:9-10 in Jn 12:40 is quite a short one (seven pages). Moreover, he separated this citation from the text of Is 53:1 cited in Jn 12:38, even though both seem to be introduced by the same introductory formula — at the very least, they complement each other, as will be demonstrated later in the present research.

Another relevant monograph on the use of the OT in the FG was published by B.G. Schuchard in 1992, where he examines 13 citations identified by means of a formula.[10] His chief goal was to characterize in detail the interrelationship of form and function in the OT citations in the Fourth Gospel.[11] He agrees with Achtemeier's assumption that citations were "much more likely to be quoted from memory than to be copied from a source."[12] Schuchard, though, does not agree with Achtemeier's conclusion that, because the NT writers cited from memory, the study of the source of citations "will tend to be an exercise in futility."[13] His research, though, seems to be based on a preliminary assumption that the Fourth Evangelist used "one and only one textual tradition, the OG,"[14] which excludes other possibilities at the very beginning of his research. Moreover, he does not provide us with a comparative study of how an OT citation which appears in the FG was

[10] B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, passim. He studies the following citations: Jn 1:23; 2:17; 6:31, 45; 10:34; 12:14-15, 38, 40; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24, 36, 37.

[11] B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, XIII.

[12] P. J. ACHTEMEIER, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*," 27. P. J. ACHTEMEIER, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*," 27. See B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, XVI-XVII.

[13] P. J. ACHTEMEIER, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*," 27. See B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, XVI-XVII.

[14] B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, XVII. The term OG means for him the text of *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum graece auctoritate Societatis Gottingensis editum* or for those books not to be found in this edition, A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

used in the other NT sources, which is so crucial to understanding the nuances of early Christian exegesis of the same passage.[15]

One of the most important contributions on the use of the OT citations in the FG was made by M.J.J. Menken.[16] He suggests that there are 17 OT citations in the FG. In his book "Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel" (1996), which mainly collects his previously published articles, he analyses eleven of them.[17] Another three LXX citations are studied in an article "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John" (1997).[18] While the previous scholarship concentrated mainly on the question of the sources of citations, Menken's contribution lies in a combination of addressing the question of sources and examining the possibility of redaction, that is to say, how the evangelist edits his citations and why he does so. He argues that in an explanation of the differences between the citations in the FG and in the source text it is unnecessary to have recourse to the theory of multiplicity of versions of Scriptural text possibly available to the Evangelist, and suggests they

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[15] In terms of the Isaianic citation there is an exception in the case of Is 40:3 in Jn 1:23, B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, 1-15. However, in terms of the citation of Is 53:1 he mentions in a footnote that it appears also in Rm 10:16 (*ibidem*, 85, n. 1). Similarly, Schuchard mentions that Is 6:9-10 is used in the Synoptics, but he does not provide a thorough study (*ibidem*, 92).

[16] He produced a book entitled *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel* [1996], which contains his previously published articles and one new article. In addition, he analysed the quotations in an article, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John" [1997], 367-393.

[17] The analysed citations are in Jn 1:23; 2:17; 6:31, 45; 7:38; 12:15, 40; 13:18; 15:25; 19:36, 37.

[18] The LXX citations are in Jn 10:34; 12:38; 19:24. According to Menken's definition of citations there are three other citations (Jn 7:42; 8:17; 12:36). He decided not to study Jn 7:42 and Jn 8:17 because they form a special category in the sense that the Fourth Evangelist adduces the content of an OT passage in his own paraphrase. Furthermore, he does not study the third citation in Jn 12:34, which is a result of the evangelist's rephrasing on the lips of the crowd. See M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 15-18.

are rather due to his redaction. Menken claims that "many deviations in scriptural quotations and in the transmission of the biblical text are the result not of defective memory, but of conscious application of exegetical techniques and devices," a matter that will be discussed in the present research.[19] Indeed, Menken's detailed linguistic analysis has greatly influenced the field of OT citations in the NT. While the present research is also in debt to Menken's scholarship,[20] it enters into dialogue with some of his conclusions, for instance, whether Jesus refers to his Father κύριε in Jn 12:38[21] or the text of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15 was taken from Acts 28:26-27.[22] It also has to be mentioned that Menken concentrated mainly on the use of OT citations in the FG and did not carry out a thorough comparative analysis of how the same texts are used elsewhere in the NT. This, however, is understandable, because Menken's research is very concise and short, so for each of the citations is dedicated a study of a length of an article or even less.[23]

So far, the most thorough study on the use of the OT in the FG has been presented by A. Obermann in his book *Die christologishe Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium* (1996). He presents a detailed analysis of some of the citations, which he divides into two groups: a) citations as a

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[19] M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 14.

[20] Cf. for instance the definition of the citation taken from M.J.J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 11.

[21] Cf. § III, 5; M. J. J. MENKEN, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 383-384.

[22] § III, 8.3. M. J. J. MENKEN, *Matthew's Bible*, 230-231; cf. K. STENDAHL, *The School of St. Matthew*, 129-132; J. GNILKA, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 103-105; IDEM, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 479-485; J. DE WAARD, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7; W. ROTHFUCHS, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums*, 23-24; G. STRECKER, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 70, n. 3; J. D. KINGSBURY, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13*, 38-39; W. D. DAVIES - D. C. ALLISON Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, II, 394.

[23] Cf. Is 53:1 in M. J. J. MENKEN, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 382-386.

background for the Christ event (Jn 1:23; 2:17; 6:31, 45; 10:34; 12:13, 15) and b) fulfilment citations for the Christ event (Jn 12:38, 40; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24, 28, 36, 37. His main concern is the function and meaning of these texts in the FG. Moreover, he presents a comprehensive study on the meaning of such key words like "written," "law," "fulfilment," "the word of God" etc. Obermann, however, like other scholars, limits his study to the use of the OT citations to the Fourth Gospel. He indicates in the footnotes that a given citation is also in the other parts of the NT, but he does not enter into a detailed analysis of the other occurrences.

The book *Isaiah in the New Testament* (2005) edited by S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken is the first publication to present a comprehensive study of the use of this OT book in the NT, as well as in Q and within Judaism of the Second Temple Period.[24] Each of the authors presents an article-length study which not only summarises the previous research but also suggests a new solution and hypothesis. As far as the use of Isaiah in the FG is concerned C. H. Williams emphasised a rhetorical device of *inclusio* between the first and the last two citations from Isaiah in the FG, Jn 1:23 and Jn 12:38-40 respectively.[25] In both cases the name of the prophet is mentioned as well as the verb "to speak." Williams analyses the two citations in Jn 12:38-40 (Is 53:1 and Is 6:9-10) not as separate entities, but together, which is also preferred in the present study. She did not compare the Isaianic text with their use in the Synoptics and elsewhere in the NT because other authors had treated them in their own articles. Although the book *Isaiah in the New Testament* presents a short study, sometimes dedicating only few pages to a citation, it provides us with some relevant insights.

[24] S. MOYISE – M. J. J. MENKEN (ed.), *Isaiah in the New Testament*, *passim*.

[25] C. H. WILLIAMS, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 101-116. See also IDEM, "The Testimony of Isaiah," 107-124; IDEM, "Seeing the Glory," 186-206.

G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson edited an important volume entitled *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (2007). The advantage of this book is that all the contributors follow similar methodology in the presentation of the material. The citations are studied in their NT context and in the original OT context, as well as in early Judaism. Their theological use is also explored as well as some of the textual matters. Moreover, the citations and sometimes even allusions (cf. book of Revelation) are studied in every NT book. This publication, however, summarises the previous research rather than launching a new hypothesis.

In addition, there are other publications which study the use of the OT citations in the Fourth Gospel.[26] General information about the use of the citations in the FG is also present in the commentaries, amongst which it is worth mentioning these of R. Schnackenburg,[27] C. K. Barrett,[28] R. E. Brown,[29] A. J. Köstenberger,[30] C. S. Keener,[31]

[26] Cf. F. W. YOUNG, "A Study of the Relation of Isaiah to the Fourth Gospel," 215-233; K. R. SNODGRASS, "Streams of Tradition Emerging from Isaiah 40:1-5," 24-45; E. TROCMÉ, "Jean-Baptiste dans le quatrième évangile," 129-151 ; D.A. CARSON, "John and the Johannine Epistles," 245-264; R. J. HUMANN, "The Function And Form Of The Explicit Old Testament Quotations In The Gospel Of John," 31-54; É. COTHENET, "L'arrière-plan vétéro-testamentaire du IVe évangile," 43-69; F. MANNS, *L'Évangile de Jean à la lumière du Judaïsme*, *passim*; M. THEOBALD, "Schriftzitate in "Lebensbrot" – Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 327-366; A. T. LINCOLN, *Truth on Trial*, *passim*; J. CALLOUD, "Quatrième évangile: le témoignage de Jean (I)," 25-49; P. MILLER, "'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him,'" 127-151; C. BENNEMA, "The Character of John in the Fourth Gospel," 271-284; U. MITTMANN, "Jes 53 LXX, ein umstrittener urchristlicher Referenztext," 217-232; C. A. EVANS, "Isaiah 53 in the Letters of Peter, Paul, Hebrews, and John," 145-170.

[27] *Das Johannesevangelium.*

[28] *The Gospel according to St John.*

[29] *The Gospel according to John.*

[30] *John.*

[31] *The Gospel of John.*

M. Theobald,[32] and, most recently, that of U. C. von Wahlde[33] and F. D. Brunner.[34] There are other publications with which this research enters into dialogue. Indeed, before a specific issue is discussed, a literature review is proposed alongside the study.[35]

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned literature and the present state of scholarship, this dissertation aims to take a step further in this field of research in three main areas. First, it proposes a monograph-length study on the use of Isaiah in the Fourth Gospel, which is still missing in modern scholarship. Second, this study does not limit research only to the FG, but compares the citations of Isaiah in the FG with its use in the other NT books — this is why it studies eleven citations of four texts (Is 40:3; 54:13; 53:1; 6:9-10). Third, in comparison to current scholarship, it focuses much more on the question of the *meaning* of the Isaianic citations in a particular context. At the same time it proposes a detailed linguistic study of each of the citations in order to discern the *source* of the citation and understand the *redaction* of an NT writer and the *function* of a given Isaianic text in the NT. Because this thesis proposes a comparative study, it asks the crucial question of whether the same text in two or more places in the NT has the same meaning or if there are different or contrasting meanings in the respective instances.

Moreover, this research challenges the claims of other scholars on some important issues. For instance, in contrast to Evans, Menken, Obermann

[32] *Das Evangelium nach Johannes.* Kapitel 1-12.

[33] *The Gospel and Letters of John.*

[34] *The Gospel of John.*

[35] Cf. pp. 56-57, 62-63, 74-76, 95, 103, 107-108, 118, 150-152, 160, 165, 168-169, 172-173, 180-183, 184-186, 189-192, 214-216.

and Schuchard,[36] it is preferred here to analyse the two Isaianic citations in Jn 12:38-40 not as separate entities but together, since they complement each other and are most probably introduced by one introductory formula. The present study also challenges the assumption that according to the Jewish sources Elijah had to come to prepare the way for the Messiah.[37] Moreover, it proposes a new solution to the exegetical problem of why in the Synoptics John the Baptist is called Elijah, while in the FG he clarifies that he is not.[38] In contrast to the various Bible editions (cf. NJB, NIV etc), this research does not interpret the text of Jn 12:38-40 as describing "The Unbelief of the Jews."[39] These and many other questions are raised within this study.

2. Methodology

Research into OT citations in the FG presents some issues that need to be re-evaluated or developed. First of all, the citations are usually analysed as separate entities, which means, as unconnected to each other in a biblical book.[40] As a result, their *Vorlage* is studied as well as

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[36] Cf. § III.5. See C. A. EVANS, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John," 124-138; IDEM, *To See and not Perceive*, 129-135; IDEM, "Isaiah 53 in the Letters of Peter, Paul, Hebrews, and John," 145-170; M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 99-122; IDEM, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 367-393; A. OBERMANN, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 218-255; B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, 85-106. In contrast, E. D. Freed and C. H. Williams analyse these two citations in Jn 12:38-40 together. Cf. E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 82-88 and C. H. WILLIAMS, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 101-116.

[37] Cf. § I.5. See important study of R. NIR, "יוחנן המטביל בן דמותו שׁל אליהו," 55-78.

[38] Cf. § I.6.

[39] Cf. § III.7.

[40] Cf. E. D. FREED, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, *passim*; G. REIM, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, *passim*; B.G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, *passim*; A. OBERMANN, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, *passim*; R. C. BEATON, "Isaiah in Matthew's Gospel," 63-78; K. S. O'BRIEN, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, *passim*.

their meaning within a particular context, but there is very little research on the interconnection between a particular citation and other citations in the same biblical book. Secondly, sometimes the OT citations are studied as they are found embedded in the NT text, without a thorough comparison to the original context of those citations in the Hebrew and Greek Bible as well as to other Jewish sources that preceded that particular NT text or which were of the same epoch. This makes research incomplete since it fails to take into consideration not only the original background, but also the various stages of the development of Jewish thought. Indeed, by examining the OT text in its original context one can better evaluate missing parts or emendations of the OT text as cited in the NT. Thirdly, a thorough study of the introductory formulae in the Gospels is often missing in research on OT citations in the NT and the focus of attention is given to the text cited. It seems, however, that its new meaning depends not only on the *Vorlage* and the new form of citation, but also on the introductory formula.

This research, in contrast, presents a study of the citations of Isaiah in the Fourth Gospel not as separate entities, but as part of a larger network. It includes an investigation into the relationship between these Isaianic citations within the FG, and also the relationship of these citations to the Synoptic Gospels. In addition, it proposes the study of the use of these citations in some other Jewish and Christian sources, such as the Qumran literature, the Acts of the Apostles and the Letter to the Romans. Secondly, it is argued that before the study of an OT text as it is embedded into the NT context is begun, one has to study first the Hebrew and Greek version of it in order to see the original text form, its *Sitz im Leben* and other textual issues, which may have an echo in the NT. One has to be aware, however, that a variety of manuscripts were most probably in circulation at the time of composition of the NT:

these were not preserved and thus are not available to modern scholarship. Thirdly, particular attention is paid to the introductory formulae, especially in the Gospels, in order to find a reason why they differ so greatly in introducing even the same, or at least a similar, citation. This is particularly important when taking into consideration the variety of introductory formulae in the FG in comparison to the Jewish sources. In fact, after a survey of the introductory formulae used in the Qumran literature J. A. Fitzmyer[41] claimed that they can be divided into three main groups according to the verb used: a) "to write," b) "to say" c) other formulae, groups which seem to be familiar to the Fourth Gospel, where the formulae pertaining to verbs of writing are used in the first part of the Gospel (Jn 2:17; 6:31; 10:34; 12:14), verbs of fulfilment being used in the second part of it (Jn 12:38; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24; 19:36), while the verbs of speaking are employed in both parts (Jn 1:23; 7:38, 42; 12:39; 19:37). However, a key difference is the fact that the fulfilment formulae present in the NT "have practically speaking no equivalent in the Qumran literature."[42] Moreover, almost all of the formulae which introduce the texts from Isaiah state explicitly that they come from the prophet/book Isaiah. Do the NT writers wish to indicate the source of citation, or is there another reason behind it?

Another difficulty in a study of the OT in the NT is the terminology used; in particular, the criteria for identifying allusions and echoes are elusive. In this research, Menken's definition of a *citation/quotation* is applied. Thus, by OT quotation/citation is understood "a clause (or series of clauses) from Israel's Scriptures that is (or are) rendered verbatim (or anyhow recognizably) (…) and that is (or are) marked as

[41] J. A. FITZMYER, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 297-333.
[42] J. A. FITZMYER, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 303.

such by an introducing or concluding formula."[43] It seems appropriate to distinguish the category of paraphrase. According to D. Lincicum, "An instance of paraphrase or rewriting occurs when the substance of the original scriptural account is rendered in other words."[44] In addition, S. E. Porter argues that a paraphrase is "an intentional and specific invoking of a definable passage even if it is made in other words and in another form. (…) A paraphrase is typified by the use of words from the same semantic domain, or similar words in differing syntax, as a recognizable passage [cf. Is 45:23 in Phil 2:10-11]."[45] Indeed, paraphrases of Scripture were known around the time of the redaction of the NT. The prime examples of the paraphrasing of biblical texts are in the writings of Josephus.[46] This literary device was also applied in Qumran.[47] Thus, in the present study, any other textual reference which is not marked by a citation formula and is not a *paraphrase* is considered an *allusion* or an *echo*.[48] One has to bear in mind, however, as M. Jauhiainen stated, that the distinction between the last three categories remains a *subjective* enterprise.[49]

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[43] M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 11.

[44] D. LINCICUM, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*, 14.

[45] S. E. PORTER, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," 108.

[46] Cf. L. H. FELDMAN, "Josephus's Biblical Paraphrase as a Commentary on Contemporary Issues," 124-201.

[47] Cf. L. H. SCHIFFMAN, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the Temple Scroll," 543-567; E. Tov, "A Paraphrase of Exodus: 4Q422," 351-363.

[48] For further literature on allusion and echo cf. R. B. HAYS, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29-32; M. THOMPSON, *Clothed with Christ*, 31-36; *Z. Ben-Porat*, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL* 1 (1976) 105-128.

[49] M. JAUHIAINEN, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*, 34: "Depending primarily on their competence, some readers perceive an allusion, others see only an echo, while yet others may not discern a reference to the OT at all. The best approximation to objectivity is the normal scholarly debate to which all interpretations are subjected. The key issue is not how we discover or identify allusions, but rather how we are able to argue that our reading of the text makes the most sense."

Indeed, according to NA[27] there are 32 allusions/echoes to the book of Isaiah in the entire FG,[50] but it is worth mentioning that NA[28] increases this to 36.[51] On the other hand, H. Hübner shows 88 allusions and echoes to the book of Isaiah in the first chapter of FG alone, so in the whole Gospel they can be counted in the hundreds.[52] This demonstrates that there is little agreement on this issue and that such agreement will probably never be reached. Taking into consideration all possible allusions or echoes to the book of Isaiah in the FG, would result in performing a superficial study, therefore in this research it is preferable to concentrate on the citations from Isaiah in the FG, while there will also sometimes be references to the allusions and echoes. Another reason for preferring to examine citations is the fact that they are preceded by an introductory formula, which shows the particular interest of the NT writer in emphasising a certain OT text. Moreover, this thesis aims to research how the same Isaianic citations used in the FG have been understood in the Synoptics and in other NT books, a matter which is studied in the *milieu* of the ancient Jewish sources.

The idea of focusing research on the use of one biblical book in the FG is considered by many scholars as an appropriate way of dealing with the larger issue of the use of OT texts in the FG. Such an investigation stands beyond the selectiveness and partiality typical of studies done on isolated passages and provides a synthesis of the reception of a given OT book in the FG. In fact, there are monographs dedicated to the use of the allusions/echoes of an OT book in the FG, such as the work of J. Bowman, which focused on the book of Esther (1975)[53], A. Roberts-

[50] NA[27], 789-793.

[51] NA[28], 857-861.

[52] H. HÜBNER (et al.), *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, 2-51.

[53] J. BOWMAN, *The Fourth Gospel and the Jews*, *passim*.

Winsor's analysis of the use of Song of Songs (1999)[54] or G.T. Manning's research showing the influence of Ezekiel (2004).[55] There are also short studies dedicated to the Fourth Gospel's reception of the book of Genesis,[56] Deuteronomy,[57] the wisdom literature,[58] and Isaiah.[59] The impressive results of such studies show that the approach of focusing on the reception of a single biblical book in the FG can be an effective response to the larger question regarding the use of the OT in this Gospel.[60] This is also an approach adopted in the series of "The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel," which presents a series of articles on how one OT book [or a collection of books], such as Psalms, Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Minor Prophets and Genesis were used in a particular NT book.[61]

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[54] A. ROBERTS-WINSOR, *A King is Bound in the Tresses*, *passim*.

[55] G.T. MANNING Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet*, passim. For other works on the use of Ezekiel in the FG see *Ibidem*, 2-3.

[56] Cf. D. LIOY, *The Search for Ultimate Reality*, *passim*.

[57] Cf. M. LABAHN, "Deuteronomy in John's Gospel," 82-98.

[58] J.H. CHARLESWORTH, "Lady Wisdom and Johannine Christology," 92-133; L. DEVILLERS, "Miettes de sagesse dans le quatrième Évangile," 477-503; C. CORY, "Wisdom's Rescue," 95-116; F. MANNS, *L'Évangile de Jean et la Sagesse*, *passim*; H. R. MOELLER, "Wisdom Motifs and John's Gospel," 92-100; M. MORGEN, "Les traditions sapientielles à l'arrière-plan de Jn 3," 385-409; M. SCOTT, *Sophia and the Johannine Jesus*, *passim*; M.E. WILLETT, *Wisdom Christology in the Fourth Gospel*, *passim*.

[59] F. W. YOUNG, "A Study of the Relation of Isaiah to the Fourth Gospel," 215-233; P. MILLER, "They Saw His Glory," 127-151; C. H. WILLIAMS, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 101-116; IDEM, "The Testimony of Isaiah," 107-124; IDEM, "Seeing the Glory," 186-206.

[60] A similar approach is adopted in the study of the influence of OT personalities in the FG, i.e. Abraham (H. E. LONA, *Abraham in Johannes 8*, *passim)* or Moses (W.A. MEEKS, *The Prophet-King*, *passim*; T. F. GLASSON, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, *passim*; M.-É. BOISMARD, *Moïse ou Jésus*, *passim*; S. HARSTINE, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, *passim*.

[61] For the information about this project cf. S. MOYISE, "Matthew's Bible in the Infancy Narrative," 24, n. 36.

3. Outline of the Study

This work consists of three chapters arranged according to the Isaianic citations, in the order in which they appear in the FG (Is 40:3 in Jn 1:23; Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45; Is 53:1 and Is 6:9-10 in Jn 12:38-40). The two final citations are considered together, since they are linked by the NT writer in Jn 12:38-40.

In the first chapter, some crucial issues are raised regarding Is 40:3. For instance there are issues as regards the division of the Hebrew text itself, whose meaning is very debatable, with the question of whether it means "a voice cries in the desert: prepare the way" or "a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way." From the syntactical point of view, it is also unclear how to understand the syntagm: דרך יהוה - "way for the Lord" or "way of the Lord"? In terms of the NT reception of Is 40:3, in all the Gospels this text is applied to John the Baptist. The FG differs, however, because in Jn 1:23 John the Baptist attributes Is 40:3 to himself, whereas in the Synoptics it is the narrator who does this. The other main difference is the fact that Is 40:3 is linked with Mal 3:1 and both texts are cited by all Synoptic Gospels (although in a different order).[62] It is worth mentioning here, though, that sometimes it is suggested that Mal 3:1 and/or Ex 23:20 is cited in Mk 1:2 . This research takes this into consideration, but the connection between Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23-24 and the context of Elijah and John the Baptist points rather to the use of Mal 3:1 than Ex 23:20, as will be discussed later.[63] Thus it seems that in Mk 1:2-3, Mal 3:1 is cited first and then Is 40:3 (combined), whereas in Matthew and Luke first comes Is 40:3 (Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4-6) and then separately there is a citation of Mal 3:1 (Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27). On the

[62] It is worth mentioning that Mal 3:23 is cited in Mk 9:11 and in Mk 9:12 is an allusion to Mal 3:24, which is a reference to Elijah.

[63] For a general picture of citations in Mk 1:2-3 see S. MOYISE, "Evoking a Scriptural Framework for understanding Jesus," 6-20.

basis of Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1, John the Baptist was called Elijah (Mt 11:14; Mt 17:10-13); a forerunner who comes in the spirit and power of Elijah (Lk 1:17); a prophet of the Most High (Lk 1:76) and more than a prophet (Mt 11:10). In distinction to the Synoptics, however, the Fourth Evangelist does not quote Mal 3:1 and John the Baptist refuses to be called either Elijah, a prophet or the Messiah (Jn 1:21). One can understand why he denies the two latter titles, but why in the FG does he refuse to be named Elijah, while in the Synoptics Jesus calls him by this very title (Mt 11:14; cf. Mk 9:12-13)?

The second chapter is dedicated to the citation from Is 54:13: "They will be taught of God," which, in contrast to all the other Isaianic citations in the FG, is not cited by the Synoptics, nor elsewhere in the NT. Not only can one not compare its use here with its use in other sources, but there are other problematic issues, starting with the textual variant, whether the proper reading is בניך (your sons) or בוניכי (your builders) as is found in 1QIsa[a]. After having discussed this in the Hebrew sources, there remains the question as to why in the LXX the syntagm בניך, which appears twice in the same verse, is translated once as "your sons" and the other time as "your children"? Furthermore, this short text, cited in Jn 6:45, has one emendation (ἔσονται) and one omission ("your sons"). Why, then, was the verbal form ἔσονται, which is already an interpretation, added? And what is the new meaning of the citation without a translation/rendering of τοὺς υἱούς σου/(בניך), so crucial in the Hebrew and LXX context of Is 54? Moreover, the citation itself is introduced by the formula "it is written in the prophets." Does the

plural form "prophets" mean that the citation comes from the second division of the Hebrew Bible - נביאים, as various scholars claim?[64]

The final chapter studies the quotations found in Jn 12:38-40, where the citation from Is 53:1 is combined with the text of Is 6:10 and both are introduced by the same introductory formula. The citations of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 as well as in Rm 10:16 are clearly taken from the LXX *Vorlage* and they present an identical form of the text.[65] Does this mean that their meaning is identical in the NT? Is 6:9-10 is one of the most frequently used OT texts in the NT and a key one to understanding early Christianity? It appears — in one form or the other — not only in all of the Synoptics, but also in the Acts of the Apostles. It is cited (though sometimes only Is 6:10) in Mt 13:14-15, Jn 12:40, and Acts 28:26-27; and is paraphrased in Mt 13:13, Mk 4:12 and Lk 8:10. Is there a significant difference in the new meaning of Is 6:9-10 between when it is paraphrased and when it is quoted? Moreover, the *Vorlage* of the citations in Mt 13:14-15 and Acts 28:26-27 comes clearly from the LXX, but what is the *Vorlage* in Jn 12:40 and does it have the same meaning as in these two citations? Was the choice of a *Vorlage* in Jn 12:40 dictated by the theological aims of the Fourth Evangelist? It has to be mentioned that in contrast to the other citations of Is 6:9-10, the FG leaves out the syntagm τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου/(העם הזה) in Jn 12:40, like τοὺς υἱούς σου /(בניך) in Jn 6:45, which again refers to the people of Israel. What is the meaning of such omissions? Furthermore, each of the citations or paraphrases of Is 6:9-10 has a different introductory formula. To what

[64] E. D. FREED, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 18; M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 69; B. G. SCHUCHARD, *Scripture within Scripture*, 48-49; C. H. WILLIAMS, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 108; cf. A. OBERMANN, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 156-158

[65] Save Jn 12:38 quotes the second part of Is 53:1, but the first one is identical as in Rm 10:16.

extent do they influence the meaning of the same text? Finally, is there a single common claim made by all the Isaianic citations in the FG?

In order to answer properly these and other questions one has to perform a detailed textual study of the Isaianic texts and their citations in the new contexts (including LXX, Qumran literature, NT etc.). Such a textual study can be seen as a study of a "mosaic" in comparison to the other "mosaics." Each part of the research deals with a different stone in a mosaic in order to see the original colour, its provenance, as well as its link with other neighbouring stones, and finally its place within the whole mosaic, which, in its turn, is compared with other mosaics. In order to conduct a proper study of a mosaic one has to use various instruments, sometimes simple ones and sometimes very sophisticated ones. It depends on the stones. However, this is not the end of the work. In knowing the original colours and recognizing the small details, as well as discovering the new little parts of a mosaic, one has to explain the meaning of them within the place, time and culture where the mosaic was found and always in comparison to the other mosaics from the same and other *milieux*. Furthermore, there is another difficulty, because in the case of this work one must deal with the use of some images/features of an old style in a new style, which produces a new mosaic. Despite these difficulties, a "comparative study of a mosaic," with a recognition of the variety of images/features of the old style, can provide new insights. Only at the end of the work, though, can one see the whole picture.

I. PREPARE THE WAY: ISAIAH 40:3

Is 40:3 is quoted by the Fourth Evangelist (Jn 1:23) as well as by all the Synoptics (Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 3:4-6 [Is 40:3-5]). In order to provide a proper analysis of this text one has first to see the Hebrew and Greek text of Is 40:3 in its context. Indeed, there are some debatable issues, the understanding of which has crucial consequences for later interpretation of this text. In the case of the NT, the text of Is 40:3 is applied to John the Baptist (in all the Gospels), but there is a difference between its use in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel, a subject to which this research aims to introduce a new hypothesis.

1. Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40:3

To commence the research on Is 40:3, the Hebrew text of this passage is analysed. First, textual criticism is applied. Secondly, the main textual problems are explored and, in particular, the place of the syntagm במדבר, whether Is 40:30 means "a voice calls: in the desert prepare the way" or "a voice calls in the desert: prepare the way." It is also not clear how to understand the syntagm: דרך יהוה - "way for the Lord" or "way of the Lord"?

1.1. Textual Criticism

The main scope of textual critical investigation[1] is to compare the most ancient versions of the text, from which Qumran manuscripts are privileged, to be able to discern whether the text was always the same in

[1] The need for textual criticism of the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible is discussed in: E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 10-22.

the process of transmission or was significantly changed in some early manuscripts or scrolls.

1.1.1. Variants of the Text

Seven out of eight codices/manuscripts of Is 40:3, currently considered the main textual sources for the book of Isaiah, present the same consonant version of this text, as it is seen below:[2]

קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו.

MS New York 346, however, reads קרא in place of קורא.[3] Furthermore, in one of Kennicott's manuscripts there is an omission of בערבה.[4]

Of the Qumran material, fragments of 1QIsa[b] and 4Q56 (4QIsa[b]) have the same version as the main sources.[5] 1QIsa[a] varies in two places from them, namely, it has the name of God in *scriptio plena* לאלוהינו and verbal form ויֿשרו (MT ישרו).[6] Moreover, when Is 40:3 is cited in 4Q176 1-2: a) it reads קורה in place of Masoretic קורא; b) has four dots in place of the Tetragrammaton; c) reads ישר (?) in place of ישרו; d) and also has

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[2] D. N. Freedman - A. B. Beck – J. A. Sanders (ed.), *Codex Leningradensis*, 481 (235 *recto*); M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), *The Aleppo Codex*, רלח; F. Perez Castro et al. (ed.), *El codice de Profetas el Cairo*, IV: Isaias, 140; A. Sperber (ed.), *The Prophets According to the Codex Reuchlinianus*, 189. For the critical edition see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), ספר ישעיהו, קעג-קעד; D. Barthélemy did not analyse Is 40:3. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 2: Isaïe, 277-278.

[3] M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), ספר ישעיהו, קעג.

[4] B. Kennicott (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, II, Isaias, 48.

[5] 1QIsa[b] col. I, frag. 12 in: E. L. Sukenik (ed.), אוצר המגילות הגנוזות שבידי האוניברסיטה העברית = Idem (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, *in loco*; cf. P. W. Flint – N. N. Dykstra, "Newly Identified Fragments of 1QIsab," 80-89; 4Q56 (4QIsa[b]) pls. III-VI, frag. 24-25 in: E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 35.

[6] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 66; D. W. Parry – E. Qimron (ed.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a])*, 66-67; F. Moore Cross – D. N. Freedman – J. A. Sanders (ed.), J. C. Trever (from photographs by), *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I*, 80-81; M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, I, *in loco*.

the divine name in *scriptio plena*.[7] The same text cited in 1QS 8:14 has four dots in place of the Tetragrammaton as well, and the divine name in *scriptio plena* לאלוהינו (one of two occurrences of this divine name in the whole document).[8]

1.1.2. Analysis of the Variants

In terms of קרא from MS New York 346, this reading can be analysed as *scriptio defectiva* of the participle קורא. It is worth mentioning that *scriptio plena* in the original text can represent a deliberative exclusion of a perfect form or an imperative.[9] Regarding the omission of בערבה in the Kennicott's manuscript, this is attested only in one manuscript, and therefore should not be stressed.[10] It could be an involuntary omission. On the other hand, the lack of representation of בערבה in the Septuagint translation may be linked to this manuscript reading, even though this seems unlikely, because of the late date of the manuscript and lack of the wider support from other textual sources.[11]

Some more problematic variants are in the Qumran library. It should be noted that the divine name אלהים in the MT appears in *scriptio plena* only

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[7] 4Q176 Tanḥûmîm 1-2 in: J. M. Allegro – A. A. Anderson (ed.), *Qumrân Cave* 4, I [DJD 5], 60-61.

[8] M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, II: Fascicle 2, *in loco*; cf. vocalized text in A. M. Habermann (ed.), *Megilloth Midbar Yehuda,* 68, 187; see also C. Martone (ed.), *La 'Regola della Comunità,'* 150. In general 1QS when quoting Isaiah, seems to agree with the MT. Cf. P. Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran*, 186.

[9] *Scriptio plena* of this participle occurs only four times in the HB, from which twice in the book of Isaiah: Ps 42:8; Is 40:3; 64:6; Hb 2:2; the participle of the verb קרא in the plural does not occur with the *waw*. Cf. J. Barr, *The Variable Spelling of the Hebrew Bible*, 71, 113, 129-130.

[10] B. Kennicott (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, II, Isaias, 48.

[11] Cf. J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266-267.

three times, out of 2603 occurrences.[12] In contrast, in the manuscripts from Qumran, the form אלוהים is the usual way of writing the divine name, found not only in the Isaiah Scroll, but also in other biblical and non biblical texts.[13] Therefore, there is no unique significance to the *scriptio plena* of the divine name in the Qumran text of Is 40:3. One might consider this as merely an alternative form of God's name. With regard to replacing the divine name with a series of dots, the use of four dots to represent the Tetragrammaton is found elsewhere and it is one of the wide range of signs to indicate the name יהוה.[14]

As far as divine names are concerned in the quotation of Is 40:3 in the Rule of the Community, 4Q259 (4QS^{e}) col. III, l. 5 also has the form לאלוהינו.[15] There is a lacuna in the place of the Tetragrammaton, but because of the parallelism with the expression from the previous line (דרך האמת), it is suggested that in this lacuna the scribe of 4Q259 would have also written

[12] Ps 18:47: אֱלוֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי; Ps 143:10: אֱלוֹהַּ רוּחֲךָ טוֹבָה; Ps 145:1: אֱלוֹהַי הַמֶּלֶךְ. Cf. G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*, I, 81-100; A. Even Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 128-139.

[13] Cf. 1QIsa^{a}, 1Q8 (1QIsa^{b}), 4Q55-4Q69b, 5Q3; M. G. Abegg (Jr.) – J. E. Bowley – E. M. Cook – E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance,* I/1, 57-60. See also DJD series and F. García Martínez – E. J. C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, *passim*. One of the features of 1QIsa^{a} is to present the text in *scriptio plena* even more often than other Qumran versions of the book of Isaiah. Cf. E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 8, 21, 47-49, 76, 90, 100; D. W. Parry – E. Qimron (ed.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^{a}), passim*.

[14] For the more recent stage of research in this matter cf. E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 218-221, 238-246; J. M. Allegro – A. A. Anderson (ed.), *Qumrân Cave 4* [DJD 5], 60-67. For other occurrences see 4Q175, and when Is 40:3 is quoted in 1QS 8:14. J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson claim that it was written by the same scribe. *Ibidem*, 58; H. Stegemann and P. W. Skehan suggest that it was the usage of 1st century BC. C. Martone maintains that it was in use in the time of the passage from the Hasmonean to the Herodian period, namely 50-25 BC. See H. Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," 200; P. W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," 14-44; C. Martone (ed.), *La 'Regola della Comunità,'* 154.

[15] P. H. Alexander – G. Vermes (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4* [DJD 26], 144.

דרך האמת.[16] In fact, in 4Q259 we do not find four dots for the Tetragrammaton either. There is a third manuscript of this passage from the Rule of the Community, namely 4Q258 (4QS^{d}). However, there is a lacuna in the place of the quotation, but the empty space is small, so probably the quotation from Is 40:3 is absent there (as it is in other places of 4Q258).[17] Nonetheless, the editors have adopted, as a possible choice, the form דרך הואהא, with הואהא as a surrogate for the Tetragrammaton, possibly because of the version דרך הואהא in 1QS 8:13.[18]

Very controversial is the matter of the verbal forms. In terms of the use of קורה in 4Q176 1-2, it has to be underlined that the verbal form קורה does not occur in the MT, although it is attested in Qumran that א and ה of the verb קרא are interchangeable.[19] The verbal forms ישר (4Q176 1-2) and וישרו (1QIsa^{a}), however, would make a considerable difference to the tenses used in the text. The form (ו)ישר is not certain because of the ל in the line below that could join up with the waw of ישרו.[20] The most problematic issue is undoubtedly the form וישרו. It is found in 1QIsa^{a} the oldest manuscript of this text (c. 125-100 BC),[21] but presents a unique variant, absent in all known posterior manuscripts, codices and printed

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[16] P. H. Alexander – G. Vermes (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4* [DJD 26], 146.

[17] Cf. 4Q258 (4QS^{d}) col. I, l. 9-10 in: P. H. Alexander – G. Vermes (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4* [DJD 26], 93-97.

[18] P. H. Alexander – G. Vermes (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4* [DJD 26], 105-107; M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, II: Fascicle 2, *in loco*. See H. P. Rüger, "הואהא-Er, Zur Deutung von 1QS 8 13-14," 142-144.

[19] M. G. Abegg (Jr.) – J. E. Bowley – E. M. Cook – E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, I/2, 659. This interchangeable spelling of Hebrew in Qumran is widely attested. Cf. *Ibidem*, I/1-2. Cf. E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 48. For the use of the lemma קרא in 1QIsa^{a} cf. J. Cook, "The Orthography of Some Verbal Forms in 1QIsa^{a}," 142-144.

[20] J. M. Allegro – A. A. Anderson (ed.), *Qumrân Cave 4* [DJD 5], plate XXII.

[21] E. Tov (ed.), *The Texts from the Judean Desert* [DJD 39], 385. Cf. the same date in C. Martone, *The Judean Desert Bible*. An Index, 150.

editions.[22] One has to be aware, though, that when 1QIsa[a] is compared with the MT, one can see variants in the verbal forms. For instance, in the case of Is 19:9 *w[e]qatal* of the MT (ובשׁו) is in *yiqtol* (in *scriptio plena* יבושׁו) in 1QIsa[a] or Is 22:18 *yiqtol* of the MT (יצנפכך) is in *w[e]qatal* (וצנפכך) in 1QIsa[a].[23] However, in these cases, one must be aware of the possible misreading of ו and י by either a Dead Sea Scroll scribe or a modern Dead Sea Scroll editor. Nevertheless, in E. Ulrich's (et al.) presentation of the comparative orthography between the Qumran manuscripts and the MT of the book of Isaiah, there is no occurrence of the change from the imperative form of the verb פ״י to waw + imperative.[24] Moreover, the Masoretic *wayyiqtol* (ויציאו) (Jer 8:1) is attested as the *yiqtol* form (יציאו) in 4Q70 (4QJer[a]) col. III, l. 6e.[25] Thus, similar changes occur in other Qumran scrolls. In fact, E. Y. Kutscher analysed the additional ו in the form וישׂרו as a copula.[26] It seems that the 1QIsa[a] scribe, in general attentive to the text, freely used the conjunctive ו, even if sometimes it changed the verbal form.

Outside the consonantal text, there are two divergences regarding the accents in Is 40:3. The Cairo Codex, MS New York 346 and a few of the Leningrad textual sources place a *metheg* under ב in the form בערבה; the same codices, along with Rabbinic Bible (Venice 1524-1525) and Leningrad II Firk 25-26, also put a *metheg* under the waw of לאלהינו.

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[22] M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), ספר ישׁעיהו, קעג.

[23] E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 8, 21, 100.

[24] E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 8, 21, 47-49, 76, 90, 100. See also P. W. Flint – E. Ulrich, "The Variant Textual Readings in the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (1QIsab)," 60-79.

[25] E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 151, 155.

[26] E. Y. Kutscher,
הלשׁון והרקע הלשׁוני שׁל מגילת ישׁעיהו השׁלמה ממגילות ים המלח, 322 = Idem, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (I Q Isa[a])*, 417. [See also Idem, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Is[a]* [sic]*)*. Indices and Corrections by E. Qimron]. Cf. K. Kinoshita Sacon, "Isaiah 40:1-11. A Rhetorical-Critical Study," 100-105.

As has been demonstrated, the most coherent version of Is 40:3 is that attested in the main textual sources. However, it should always be compared with the Qumran versions for two main reasons; firstly, the Dead Sea Scrolls are the most ancient witness to the Hebrew text and secondly they could be related to the form of the OT quotation in the NT. Moreover, in the latter case, the variants of the form of the Tetragrammaton of Is 40:3 in Qumran seem to be crucial for the understanding of this text quoted in Mt 3:3 and parallels, as it will be seen below.

1.2. Subdivision of Isaiah 40:3

The main problem is whether the form במדבר is linked with what precedes or with what follows. In fact, R. Kittel's edition of Biblia Hebraica from 1906 has one division of Is 40:3, which differs, for example, from that in the 1929 edition, proving that this is a complicated issue.[27] Another division of the text is suggested by BHS.[28] There is no agreement, however, between the editions of the text in modern translations. Some editions prefer the version that "a voice cries in the desert: prepare the way (...)"[29]; others, more commonly, translate, "a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way (...)."[30]

1.2.1. Parallelism

How, then, are we to assess which is the most justified reading? Parallelism is a noticeable feature of the text, and its usage might hold a clue, though even here there are two possibilities:

במדבר פנו דרך יהוה

ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו.

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[27] R. Kittel (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica*, II [1906], 601; R. Kittel – P. Kahle et al., *Biblia Hebraica* [3]1929], 54.

[28] K. Elliger – R. Rudolph (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* [5]1997], 734. It is closer to R. Kittel's edition from 1929.

[29] Cf. *The Holy Bible*, 660; M. Luther (ed.), *Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift*, 469.

[30] Cf. *The Revised English Bible*, 623; *The New Jerusalem Bible*, 1248; *Good News Bible*, 700.

In this parallelism, one can see a chiasm within the first two syntagms of the parallel lines and then object: B - A + C // A - B + C. The chiasm is made more noticeable by the use not only of the verbs in general, but the verbs in the same grammatical form *Piel* and with similar meaning – *to prepare/to make straight*. Moreover, the prepositional complements are also mirrored in each phrase, since מדבר and ערבה indicate the same idea of desert/wilderness; and they are preceded by the same preposition ב and articles. The element C is also in clear parallelism, having two main divine names and parallel terms דרך // מסלה.[31]

The second possibility of the parallelism here is:

פנו דרך יהוה

ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו.

In this case, we do not have all three elements, nevertheless it can still be seen as a parallelism between these two lines: A + C // A - B + C. There is no convincing reason, why one parallelism would be preferred to the other. Therefore, two readings might be justified, namely this from the first parallelism: "a voice cries in the desert: prepare the way (...)" as well as that coming from the second parallelism: "a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way (...)."

1.2.2. Cantillation marks

Given the insufficient information from an investigation into parallelism to reveal the correct rendering of the text, the cantillation marks could be investigated in order to identify subdivision of the text. However, one has to keep in mind that these marks are late in time, since they were put into the text by the Masoretes. Nevertheless, they reflect an earlier tradition of the reading of the Hebrew consonantal text.

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[31] Of significance here is the use of the preposition ל, but this will be analysed in the syntactical part of this research. For the structure of this verse cf. P. Shalom, ישעיה פרקים. מ-סו עם מבוא ופרקים, 83-94.

The expressions קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר have disjunctive accents: on the former is *zaqef gadol* and on the latter is *zaqef qaṭan* (this does not mean, that *zaqef gadol* is stronger). However, there are various opinions as to how these accents divide the text. On one hand there are scholars who claim that these two accents can substitute for each other and have the same pausal value.[32] On the other hand, there is an important contrasting opinion that when two similar accents appear together, the first indicates a stronger division than the second.[33] Thus, there is no agreement that the Masoretic accents in this case determine the place of the syntagm במדבר.[34]

1.2.3. Quotations

In researching the syntactical place of במדבר we can analyse also the early quotations of this passage.[35] One of the most ancient quotations of Is 40:3 appears in 1QS 8:14[36]:

כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך •••• ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו.

This document prefers the version "a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way (...)." This is indicated by the introductory formula כאשר כתוב after which is the citation, which starts with במדבר. However, we have to be conscious that the members of the Community lived in the desert, therefore Is 40:3 could be used here for ideological purposes within the document. Indeed, the document states that members of the Community shall be separated from the settlement of the men of injustice in order to go to the

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[32] J. D. Price, *The Syntax of Masoretic Accents in the Hebrew Bible*, 71-79; I. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*, 181-185.

[33] P. Joüon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 15, k; F. Delitzsch, *Commentar über das Buch Jesaia*, 410.

[34] It is worth noticing, though, that two parallel locative syntagms from chiasmus have the same accent, and both on the last syllable: יַשְּׁרוּ בָּעֲרָבָה // בַּמִּדְבָּר פַּנּוּ. Nevertheless, this also fails to identify the precise place of במדבר in the phrase.

[35] Cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), ספר ישעיהו, קעג.

[36] M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, II: Fascicle 2, *in loco*.

wilderness to prepare there the way of Truth, and then the quotation from Is 40:3 follows. A few lines later, there is a statement that it is then the time to prepare the way in the wilderness and he (God) shall make them masters of all.[37] Nonetheless, one cannot exclude the possibility that the early understanding of Is 40:3, namely to prepare the way in the wilderness, was, together with other biblical passages, the inspiration to form the community in the wilderness, and not the other way around. In any case, the quotation of Is 40:3 in 1QS 8:14 makes clear the place of **במדבר** as being linked with **פנו**, which favours the version: "a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way (...)."

1.2.4. Translations

It is interesting to notice that the modern editors of the Septuagint did not put a semicolon after ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ which was included in all the Gospels editions, where the same passage is cited:[38]

Is 40:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν·

Mt 3:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

Mk 1:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ,

Lk 3:4 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ·

Jn 1:23 ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, (...).

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[37] M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, II: Fascicle 2, *in loco*. Cf. 4Q258 (4QS[d]) col. VIII, l. 4 in: P. H. Alexander – G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4* [DJD 26], 114-119; 4Q259 (4QS[e]) col. III, l. 19 in: *Ibidem,* 145-149. Further on, in the Qumran interpretation of Isa 40:3, will be analysed the question who is "He" in 1QS 8.

[38] J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266-267; C. von Tischendorf, *Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, II, 302; H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint,* 173; NA[28], *in loco*.

This division seems to be a traditional division in the time of the NT writers or at least at the time of the earliest Gospel manuscripts, and possibly of the time of the earliest Septuagint manuscripts of Isaiah as well.

The same division of the text as in the New Testament Greek is also in the Peshiṭta of Is 40:3:[39]

ܡܠܟ ܐܠܗܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܦܢܘ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܬܘ ܡܫܘܝ ܒܡܫܬܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܢ ܠܡܛܪ ܀

It is worth mentioning here the Greek translation of Is 40:3 with Hebrew characters:[40]

(קול) סַמַנְדָּא פּוֹנִי קְרָוִי ״ אַדְוָסְטֵי אֵסְטוֹן אֵירִימוֹ

[transliteration:] (קול) σάματι [sic] φωνὴ κράζει ״ ἀδιάστε εἰς τὸν ἔρημο[ν]

The changed word order, the use of *metheg* and the division sign (״), which is a typical sign for this document, show how the subdivision of the text differs from the Septuagint and the New Testament Greek form.

In conclusion, it has to be stressed that there are no textual reasons to prefer one reading to the other. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind two things. First, there is a clear parallelism that involves all the segments and links the syntagm במדבר with the verb פנה. Secondly, Is 40:6 begins with a similar introduction: קול אמר. In both cases, קול is followed by a participle of the verb of speaking and an imperative. However, in this case the verb of speaking is not in *scriptio plena*, as it is in Is 40:3, where the form קורא excludes its interpretation as a finite verb or imperative. Nevertheless, the expressions קול קורא and קול אמר, even if not as introductory formulae, might be interpreted as the introductory words, to what follows ("in the

[39] S. P. Brock (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, III, Fascicle 1: Isaiah, 69.

[40] S. Sznol, "תרגום ביוונית־יהודית להפטרת 'ואתחנן' ל'שבת נחמו' (ישעיה מ 1-26)," 15, 17. For general introduction cf. Idem, "הפטרת 'נחמו' (ישעיה מ,א-כו) בתרגום ליוונית־יהודית," *Beit Mikra* 151 (1997) 332-342.

desert prepare the way (…)"). Still though, the text of Is 40:3 remains ambiguous, which could be a deliberate choice.[41]

1.3. Syntactical Analysis of דרך יהוה

It seems that the main syntactical problem of Is 40:3 is the expression דרך יהוה. The table below shows the difficulty. On one hand, many translations render this text as "the way for the Lord," but on the other hand, no less significant translations prefer "the way of the Lord," which, obviously, has a different meaning:

Version	Reading	Version	Reading
GNB[42]	a road for the Lord	KJV[43]	the way of the Lord
NJB[44]	a way for Yahweh	NRSV[45]	the way of the Lord
REB[46]	a road through the wilderness for the Lord	W. O. E. Oesterley[47]	the way of the Lord
NIV[48]	the way for the Lord	I. W. Slotki[49]	the way of the Lord
BdiCEI[50]	la via al Signore	R. López Rosas[51]	el camino del Señor
BRS[52]	путь Господу	A. Condamin[53]	La route de Iahvé
BT[54]	drogę dla Pana przygotujcie	C. R. North[55]	the way of the Lord

[41] The NIV translation wisely presents the main text as: "A voice of one calling: 'In the desert prepare the way for the Lord' (…)," but also gives a footnote: "A voice of one calling in the desert: / 'Prepare the way for the Lord'." See *The Holy Bible*. New International Version, 660.

[42] *Good News Bible*, 700.

[43] *The Bible*, Authorized King James Version, 800-801.

[44] *The New Jerusalem Bible*, 1248.

[45] *The Holy Bible*. New Revised Standard Version, 651.

[46] *The Revised English Bible*, 623.

[47] W. O. E. Oesterley, *Studies in Isaiah XL-LXVI*, 30.

[48] *The Holy Bible*. New International Version, 660.

[49] I. W. Slotki, *Isaiah,* 185.

[50] Conferenza Episcopale Italiana (ed.), *La Sacra Bibbia*, *in loco*.

[51] R. López Rosas, "'Disciernan el camino del Señor'," 3-4.

[52] *Библия*. Тора, Пророки, Писания и Новый Завет, *in loco*.

[53] A. Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaïe*, 240.

[54] A. Jankowski (ed.), *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, *in loco*.

[55] C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah*, 32.

C. Westermann[56]	the way for Yahweh	K. Baltzer[57]	the way of Yahweh
P.-E. Bonnard[58]	un chemin pour Yahweh	B. S. Childs[59]	the way of the Lord
J. Blenkinsopp[60]	a way for Yahveh	B. Duhm[61]	den Weg Jahves

As one can see, at different times and in various languages this expression was understood in the two primary ways mentioned above.

Firstly, one could argue that the appropriate translation is "the way of the Lord," because דרך יהוה could be understood as being in the construct state. Furthermore, from the theological point of view, one could suggest that Deutero-Isaiah introduces the theme of "the way of the Lord" as a manner of life for Israel (cf. Is 55:7).[62]

That said, however, the possibility of translating this text as "the way for God/the Lord," which has crucial consequences later for the NT, is preferred in the present research for the following reasons. The expression דרך יהוה occurs six times in the Bible.[63] All of the occurrences, except Is 40:3, have a similar moral character. Thus, 1) Gn 18:19, Jr 5:4, 5 - have in common the noun מִשְׁפָּט.[64] In the latter case it is repeated in v. 4 and v. 5 in the structure of a clear parallelism דרך יהוה // מִשְׁפַּט אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, so the construct state in both cases leaves no doubts about the translation of the text. 2) Gn 18:19 and Jgs 2:22 have in common the verb שָׁמַר. 3) Again Gn 18:19 and the context of Prv 10:29 is dominated by the use of the noun

[56] C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 31.

[57] K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 49.

[58] P.-E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe*, 83.

[59] B. S. Childs, *Isaiah*, 293.

[60] J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 177.

[61] B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 261.

[62] R. E. Brown – J. A. Fitzmayer – R. E. Murphy (ed.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 332.

[63] Gn 18:19; Jgs 2:22; Prv 10:29; Is 40:3; Jer 5:4, 5.

[64] The noun מִשְׁפָּט occurs also in the immediate context of these passages, namely in Jr 5:1.

צדקה and adjective צדיק. Only in Prv 10 the words צדיקים/צדיק occur 13 times and always in opposition to רשׁעים/רשׁע (except vv. 21 and 31). This proves the moral character of the expression דרך יהוה, and the editors agree with the same translation "way of the Lord" in all five instances. In contrast, the Isaianic usage of דרך יהוה differs from the others. It does not appear in context with the usual syntagms (משׁפט, שׁמר, צדקה, צדיק) and this causes problems of interpretation.[65]

Moreover, from the syntactical point of view, it is important to notice that דרך יהוה appears three times in the Bible in parallel to the name of God אלהים with the pronominal suffix (Is 40:3 included):

Jr 5:4: דרך יהוה // משׁפט אלהיהם

Jr 5:5: דרך יהוה // משׁפט אלהיהם

Is 40:3 דרך יהוה // מסלה לאלהינו

The version in the book of Jeremiah only stresses the construct state of דרך יהוה, since it is a grammatical parallelism (the way of//the judgments of). In the case of Isaiah, it is not a grammatical, but lexical parallelism (cf. use of synonymous דרך//מסלה). Moreover, there is a preposition ל, therefore the Isaianic passage has to be treated separately.

Furthermore, in the book of Isaiah, namely in Is 61:2, there is a parallel use of the preposition ל before these two divine names:

לקרא שׁנת רצון ליהוה

ויום נקם לאלהינו

In this case, though, ל has genitival meaning and indicates "of the Lord" and "of our God." The ל in the expression מסלה לאלהינו is different because it clearly indicates the indirect object. The question is whether we

[65] The closest occurrences for משׁפט are Is 34:5 and Is 40:14. For שׁמר are Is 26:2 and Is 42:20. For the root צדק are Is 33:15 and 41:26.

can understand דרך יהוה in the same way as we understand מסלה לאלהינו, because of the parallelism, even though it is without the preposition ל.[66]

In this textual problem, the ancient translations can be of assistance. The Septuagint, for instance, shows the same syntax, namely, that after an accusative, in both instances, comes the genitive:

Ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου

εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.[67]

The Vulgate version has a similar syntactic feature, though it may itself have been influenced by the Septuagint:

(...) parate viam Domini

rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri.[68]

Very interesting is the case of the Isaiah Targum. In Is 61:2, where two names of God are preceded by ל, in the targumic text the preposition קדם occurs:

למקרי שנת רעוא קדם יוי

ויום פורענותא קדם אלהנא לנחמא כל אבילי.[69]

The same preposition is found also in the parallel lines of Is 40:3:

קל דמכלי במדברא פנו אורחא קדם עמא דיוי

כבישו במישרא כבשין קדם כנשתא דאלהנא.[70]

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[66] For the question of parallelism in Hebrew poetry cf. A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, *passim* (especially regarding grammatical, lexical and semantic aspects of biblical parallelism); W. G. E. Watson, *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*, 104-312; Idem, "Internal or Half Line Parallelism once more," 27-36; Idem, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, *passim*; R. P. Morendino, "Is 40,3-5: Osservazioni sul testo," 3-30.

[67] J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266-267.

[68] R. Weber et al. (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, II, 1136.

[69] The text is taken from A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts,* III, 121.

[70] The text is taken from A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts,* III, 79. See also B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, 77; J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah*, 130-131; M. Cohen, מקראות גדולות הכתר. ספר ישעיהו, 254.

The meaning of the targumic text itself is a matter for further analysis. Nevertheless the use of the same preposition in both lines is striking, which is equivalent to the use of ל.

As we can see, the meaning of דרך יהוה in Is 40:3 is ambiguous. It is ambiguous because of its poetic setting and its unique context, which apparently is not of a moral character. However, if Is 40:3 were a part of Hebrew prose, the meaning of this expression would be, as in other cases, "the way of the Lord," but because it is part of Hebrew poetry, the translation "the way for the Lord," can be justified, as indicated and supported by the parallelism with מסלה לאלהינו. These main issues, namely the syntactical position of במדבר and the meaning of the syntagm דרך יהוה are important for the interpretation of Is 40:3 in the later Jewish and Christian sources (Septuagint, Qumran material, Gospels) as it will be seen below.

2. Septuagint Reading of Isaiah 40:3

The Septuagint is one of the most important and debated texts in biblical studies.[71] In the present research the relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek text of Is 40:3 is studied as well as its relationship to the entire book of LXX-Is. In this research, particular attention to the linguistic patterns applied in LXX-Is 40:3 is paid.[72] The critical editions of the texts are as follows:[73]

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[71] For the preliminary questions cf. R. L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, esp. 1-172; I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, esp. 119-251; P.-M. Bogaert, "Septante et versions grecques," 536-676; C. Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint*, *passim*; W. Chrostowski, "Literatura targumiczna a Septuaginta," 49-68; G. Dorival et al., *La Bible Grecque des Septante*, *passim*; A. Van der Kooij, *Die Alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, esp. 22-119.

[72] For the linguistic analysis of the text of LXX-Is cf. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, *passim*.

[73] M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (ed.), ספר ישעיהו, קעג; J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266.

HB: קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו.

LXX: φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· Ετοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν·.

2.1. Missing Words

The Hebrew syntagm **בערבה** occurs three times in the book of Isaiah (35:6; 40:3, 41:19) yet it was translated in the Septuagint only once in Is 35:6 (ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ). In all three occurrences, all poetic pieces, the syntagm **בערבה** is in clear parallelism with **במדבר**. Why, then, was it translated only once? One could suggest that the translator of these texts judged as superfluous the translation of **בערבה** (in Is 40:3) because of the parallelism with ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, and made a similar judgment in Is 41:19, because of the parallelism with εἰς τὴν ἄνυδρον. It seems, however, that each rendering has been deliberately chosen, and it shows the translator's/community's understanding of the text in specific circumstances as well as the theological aims of the translator/community.[74]

In the case of Is 40:3, this omission seems to be for various reasons. After the introduction φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ the Hebrew syntagm **בערבה**, even if translated as ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ, would no longer be such a clear parallelism to ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ as it is in the Hebrew text. Secondly, the Septuagint text demonstrates a grammatical and semantic parallelism with a repetition of the same pattern: predicate + object + complement. It is possible that for the translator it was not so important where to prepare the way. In fact, it seems that Is 40:3 in LXX-Is 40:3 does not stress that the place where the way was to be prepared should be the desert/**במדבר** or wilderness/**בערבה**, in contrast to the Qumran Community.

[74] The term "translator" does not judge whether it was one translator or more translators of LXX, but refers to the translator of the text in focus. Cf. M. S. Hurwitz, "The Septuagint of Isaiah 36-39 in Relation to That of 1-35, 40-66," 75-83.

The question is whether the Septuagint text presents what was the common understanding of the Hebrew text at the time and place of the translation or whether it was chosen by the translator or his community for any number of theological reasons. The division of the text ("a voice cries: in the desert prepare the way) suggesting an invitation to go to the desert would be another challenge for the Greek reading Jewish Community in Egypt. K. Kim convincingly argued that LXX-Is functioned as an "identity-document" for the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt.[75] This community regarded its residence in Egypt as being due to God's initiative, thus "Eisodos" instead of "Exodus" was emphasized. Therefore, Is 40:3 appears as an integral part of the whole theology of the LXX-Is. Moreover, this missing word has influenced the NT reception of the passage as it will be seen below.

2.2. Inconsistency in the Usage of the Verbs and Nouns

In LXX-Is 40:1-11 the same verb παρακαλέω is used for three different Hebrew verbs: נחם,[76] קרא and נהל. Although the same verb קרא in LXX-Is 40:2 is translated with παρακαλέω and in the next verse with βοάω, there is a consistent use of βοάω (twice in Is 40:6) when this Hebrew verb occurs with the noun קול. One may suppose that this occurs because the Greek verb has various meanings that render the meaning of the various Hebrew verbs in a particular context.

As far as the use of nouns in the Septuagint book of Isaiah is concerned, it shows a certain consistency. The substantive קול occurs 36 times and is

[75] K. Kim, *Theology and Identity of the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora in Septuagint of Isaiah*, 272-276.

[76] The verb נחם occurs more than 100 times in the Bible and is translated with various Greek verbs; the form נחמו is present twice, only in Is 40:1.

always translated with φωνή[77]; מדבר in 19 out of 21 occurrences is rendered with ἔρημος[78]; דרך 46 times out of 49 it is translated with ὁδός.[79] Apart from that, there are some inconsistencies. The noun ערבה is translated as Ἄραψ (15:7), ἔρημος (35:1; 51:3), γῆ διψώσῃ (35:6) and sometimes is not translated (33:9; 41:19; 44:4)[80]; מסלה also has different translations, mostly ὁδός (7:3; 19:23; 33:8; 36:2; 59:7) but also δίοδος (11:16) and τρίβος (40:3; 49:11). It fits the perception that LXX-Is 40:3 is a part of a rather "free translation."

2.3. Variation in the Usage of the Divine Name

The name אלהים occurs 94 times in the book of Isaiah and is usually translated as θεός. Although eight times it is not translated,[81] three times it is rendered with κύριος[82] and once with κύριος ὁ θεός.[83] When identifying other gods than the God of Israel, the translator uses εἴδωλον (37:19) or παταχρον (8:21: 37:38). It is important to stress that the Greek loanword from Aramaic, παταχρον, occurs twice in the Septuagint (LXX-Is 8:21; 37:38) and is not found elsewhere in Greek literature (cf. TLG)[84]. The Aramaic form

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[77] The noun קול is twice omitted in the Greek translation of Isaiah (Is 10:30; 24:18), but only φωνή is an equivalent of קול.

[78] The two occurrences are: Is 27:10 ἀνειμένον ἔσται and Is 41:19 εἰς τὴν ἄνυδρον.

[79] In Is 3:12 it is rendered by the noun τρίβος; in Is 57:10 it is the noun πολυοδία and in Is 58:13 there is no Greek equivalent probably because of the Hebrew expression מעשׂות דרכיך.

[80] It raises the question of whether the inconsistency in the translation of ערבה is a deliberate choice or caused by the unfamiliarity of the translator with Palestinian geography, in particular the valley of Jordan. The early Greek translations of this syntagm vary as well. In Aquila's translation בערבה appears as εν ομαλη and in Symm. as εν αβατω. Cf. J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266-267. A. Salvesen demonstrated that Symmachus in general translated in clear Greek which accurately reflected the Hebrew original. Cf. A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch,* 263-264.

[81] Is 21:9; 35:4; 45:21; 46:9; 53:4; 55:7; 60:9; 61:2.

[82] Is 7:13; 61:10; 62:5.

[83] Is 57:21. The divine name אל was also translated as θεός. Cf. Is 45:15; 46:9.

[84] Cf. J. Lust – E. Eynikel – K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint,* 475; H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1347.

פתכרא itself is very rare in the Jewish sources.[85] It is an extremely important hint of the background of the translator. It shows that even if Aramaic was not the first language of the translator and his audience, he knew a few rare Aramaic words. Thus, it points to his connection with Aramaic-speaking circles in Egypt.

The translator was quite consistent in not identifying gods other than the God of Israel with the Greek word θεός or κύριος in the singular. A few times θεοί is used to identify pagan gods,[86] and once in contrast to the pagan gods (37:19).[87] Sometimes when אלהים is used to indicate pagan idols it is left without translation.[88] Thus, apart from a few variations, the divine name אלהים in LXX-Is was translated with a certain amount of consistency.

The statistics about the translation of the Tetragrammaton in the book of Isaiah reveal a very important pattern. The name יהוה occurs 451 times in this book. About 70 times it is translated as θεός, another 21 times it is rendered with κύριος ὁ θεός, and 26 times it is not even translated.[89] In chapters 40-45 there is a particular inconsistency in the translation of the divine name. For instance, the Tetragrammaton is translated 21 times with

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[85] Cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary*, 1254; J. Levy, *Haldäisches Wörterbuch*, II, 574.

[86] Cf. Is 36:18; 37:12; 41:23; 42:17.

[87] The translator would not indicate that there are gods other than the God of Israel. In the Hebrew context there is no difficulty because the form אלהים can be translated in the singular or plural. The Greek translation θεοί is in the plural probably because of the parallelism with εἴδωλα. The other argument is the presence of the pronoun המה, that is not translated, but it influences the form of the verb ἦσαν. One could see here also the plural translation of the name אלהים, but probably it would not be the case, since there is a strong tradition in the whole translation of the book of Isaiah and in the Septuagint that אלהים, refers to the God of Israel, meaning one God. Cf. Is 41:23; 42:17. See C. T. Fritsch, "The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of Isaiah," 155-169.

[88] Is 21:9; 45:21; 46:9.

[89] The Tetragrammaton is sometimes not translated in the case where the name κύριος is in the previous verse (cf. Is 4:5; 16:14). In general it depends of the syntax of the particular verse.

κύριος ὁ θεός, of which 18 occurrences are in Is 41:17-45:11.[90] Similarly, the Tetragrammaton is translated 17 times as θεός in Is 40:27-45:24.[91] It stresses even more significantly the free quality of the translation of LXX-Is, and, in particular, these five chapters, which are the immediate context of Is 40:3.

Thus, in contrast to the translation of אלהים, which is usually rendered with θεός, the translation of יהוה is much more variable in LXX-Is. Nevertheless, it was always translated as an indication of the God of Israel. It is worth noticing that in the Hebrew Bible are many names for the same God, for instance: אביר, אדון, אל, אלה, אלוה, אלהים, אלהי צבאות, יהוה, יהוה צבאות, קדוש ישׂראל, שׁדי. These titles, however, were rendered in Greek mainly by two names: θεός and κύριος.

2.4. Unique Expressions/Forms

The use of the verb ישׁר is quite common in the Hebrew Bible, but only once was translated with an adjective εὐθύς plus verb ποιέω (εὐθείας ποιεῖτε LXX-Is 40:3). This expression is not present in the NT Greek, except when the Isaianic passage is quoted. Moreover, there are certain forms in Is 40:3 that are quite rare in LXX. The verb βοάω in the form of the participle (pres. act. genv.) does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, thus it seems to be a deliberate choice here. Another verb ἑτοιμάζω in the form of the imperative aor. 2 p. pl. is present only eight times in the LXX, two of which are in LXX-Is, but with two different meanings (21:5; 40:3). Third, a quite common noun τρίβος in acc. fem. pl. occurs 25 times in the LXX, mainly in the Psalms and Prophets, but only three times in Isaiah.[92]

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[90] The occurrences are: Is 41:17, 21; 42:6, 8, 13, 21; 43:1, 3, 10, 14, 15; 43:15; 44:2; 45:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11. The other three occurrences are: Is 26:12, 13; 30:18.

[91] The occurrences are: Is 40:27, 28, 31; 41:4, 13-14; 42:12, 19, 24; 43:11; 44:5 (twice), 6 (twice), 23 (twice); 45:18, 24.

[92] Is 40:3; 42:16; 58:12.

The analysis of LXX-Is 40:3 and its patterns show that LXX-Is is not only a translation, but also an interpretation of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. This interpretation could reflect the understanding of the Hebrew text in the time and context of the translation, and also the theology and primary aims of the translator or of his community.[93] It seems that this "free translation" of Is 40:3 does not originate from misunderstanding of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, but is a deliberate and conscious choice.

3. The Use of Isaiah 40:3 in the Rule of the Community in Qumran (1QS 8:14)

The text of Is 40:3 was preserved in Qumran in various manuscripts/scrolls, namely 1QIsa[a] 33; 4Q56 (4QIsa[b]) 3-6:24-25; 1Q176 22-23:1-2; 4Q259 3:4-5; 1QS 8:14. All of them have been presented in the textual critical analysis of the Hebrew text at the beginning of this research. The latter one, as a text cited in the Rule of the Community, plays a crucial rule, for, as J. H. Charlesworth claimed, "this verse is the most important of all the prophetic words of the Scripture for the development of the Qumranites' conceptual universe and their own 'self-understanding.'"[94]

It seems quite intriguing that in the whole Rule of the Community there are only three citations from the Hebrew Bible, of which two are from the book of Isaiah (Is 2:22; 40:3) and one from Exodus (Ex 23:7). Their citation against this backdrop would indicate the particular importance of each of these quotations, and suggest they were considered to be highly significant. Moreover, 1QS 8:1-10:8a is widely recognized as a primitive text of the Rule of the Community, called "Rules for the Holy Congregation" and within it is found the *Manifesto* (1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-10:8a). Moreover, it has been claimed

[93] Cf. A. Van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre*, 112-123; cf. Idem, "The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments," 208.

[94] J. H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3," 223.

that the section 1QS 8:1-9:26 was "an originally independent early document."[95]

The text itself of Is 40:3 is the same as is found in 1QIsa[a] and 4Q56 (4QIsa[b]) save only that in the place of the Tetragrammaton there are four dots, and the other divine name is written in *scriptio plena*:
כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך ‥‥ ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו.[96]
On the other hand, 1QIsa[a] has the verbal form וישרו unlike the other Qumran sources and unlike the MT.[97] Moreover, when Is 40:3 is cited in 4Q176 22-23:1-2 it also has four dots in place of the Tetragrammaton and has the other divine name in *scriptio plena*.[98] It is worth noting that this divine name in the form אלוהים is quoted only twice in the whole document of 1QS.[99]

The citation of Is 40:3 itself is an *authoritative quotation*. The text itself of 1QS is an authoritative-legislative composition. The quotation also has an imperative form of the verb פנה, which has a parallel form of the verb ישר.

3.1. Marker of the Citation

The citation begins the new line and is preceded by the introduction: כאשר כתוב. This is quite an unusual marker in the sectarian Dead Sea

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[95] J. H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3," 216, n. 74.

[96] 1QIsa[b] col. I, frag. 12 in: E. L. Sukenik (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, *in loco*. Cf. P. W. Flint – N. N. Dykstra, "Newly Identified Fragments of 1QIsab," 80-89; 4Q56 (4QIsa[b]) pls. III-VI, frag. 24-25 in: E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, X: The Prophets [DJD 15], 35.

[97] 1QIsa[a] plate 23 [Is 40:2-28] in: D. W. Parry – E. Qimron (ed.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a])*, 66-67; F. Moore Cross – D. N. Freedman – J. A. Sanders (ed.), J. C. Trever (from photographs by), *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I*, 80-81; M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, I, *in loco*.

[98] 4Q176 Tanhûmîm 1-2 in: J. M. Allegro – A. A. Anderson (ed.), *Qumrân Cave 4*, I [DJD 5], 60-61. For the matter of Isianic citattions in Qumran cf. G. J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts," 609-612.

[99] M. Burrows – J. C. Trever – W. H. Brownlee (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, II: Fascicle 2, *in loco*; C. Martone (ed.), *La 'Regola della Comunità,'* 150.

Scrolls.[100] In 1QS this marker refers only to the book of the prophet Isaiah, which seems to be held in high esteem by the Qumran Scrolls Community.[101] There is also a marker of the end of the citation, namely the empty space, which makes the line one of the shortest of the column. Furthermore, the postformative term הואה follows the citation and indicates how it has to be understood ("This [alludes] to…").[102]

3.2. The Form of the Citation

The form of the citation is already an interpretation of it. In this case, the one who quoted the text omitted two words: קול קורא from the source text. As was stated before, the meaning of Is 40:3 itself is ambiguous and can be understood as: "a voice calls in the desert: prepare the way…" or "a voice calls: in the desert prepare the way…".[103] In 1QS 8:14, the latter meaning was chosen, which has to have a particular reason behind it. It is even more striking, because in the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]), before קול קורא there is a *vacat*, to indicate a certain intersection of the text, but there is no *vacat* before במדבר. This reading was deliberately chosen, perhaps to stress the first word of the citation: במדבר.

It seems that this citation within the Rule of the Community can be understood on two levels. On the one hand, 1QS as a legislative text stated rules for the members of the Community, and they could refer to it when necessary. On the other hand, these rules were made known to the public in general, in particular to the people that wanted to join the community, but

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[100] Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 300-305.

[101] In fact, the book of Isaiah, unlike the other biblical books left in the Qumran Library, has various Pesharim, namely 3Q4, 4Q161-165 and an "Isaianic Fragment" in 4Q285, outside, of course, the findings in the caves 1 and 4.

[102] G. J. Brooke and D. Dimant have demonstrated that this post-formative term has to be read as masculine and not as feminine היאה. G. J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," 121. For detailed analysis see D. Dimant,

"לא גלות שׂבמדבר אלא שׂברוח: הפשׂר על ישׂעיהו מ 3 בסרך היחד," 28-29.

[103] This expression can be also translated as: "The voice of one who calls (…)."

not only to them. The text might serve for "self-understanding" for the community and at the same time it might explain to the others the life-style they chose. The Isaianic *Vorlage* gave authority to the whole document.

3.3. Echoes of Is 40:3

The scroll itself marks the beginning and the end of the unit, in which the citation appears, with the *vacat* (1QS 8:12-16). This marker respects the syntax of the text. In this text the explicit and implicit echo of the citation can be seen. The term "explicit echo" would indicate an explicit word that in the context of the citation would link to the citation, whereas "implicit echo" would mean the implicit meaning of the word in the context of the citation that would link to the citation.

The explicit echo can be identified with the use of the words from the citation: מדבר, דרך, פנה. The implicit echo one can see in the use of the infinitive ללכת with the preposition ל, which suggests מדבר. Also שׁם in this context can be identified with מדבר. In addition, the rare form of the masculine pronoun הואהא is an indication of the Tetragrammaton. What is interesting is that the implicit echoes refer to the same words of the citation as the explicit ones. Only one expression, however, is repeated, even if with different words: דרך •••• = דרכ הואהא.

In order to see the complete picture, the indirect context should also be explored. In fact, it shows that the three words found in the direct context are also found in the indirect context. The most frequent word is דרך:

8:10: בתמים דרך

8:13: דרכ הואהא

8:14: the citation of Is 40:3

8:18: להלכ בתמים דרכ

8:21: ההולכים בתמים דרכ

8:25: אמ תתם דרכו

9:2: לתמים דרכו

9:5: ותמים דרכו

9:9: בתמים דרכם

9:9: וללכת בתמים דרכ

9:17–18: לביחרי דרכ

9:19: על פנות הדרכ למדבר

9:20: ולוא הסר דרכו

9:21: הדרכ למשכיל

Another important noun is מדבר:

8:13: ללכת למדבר

8:14: the citation of Is 40:3

9:19–20: היאה על פנות הדרך למדבר

The verb פנה is also repeated three times:

8:13: לפנות שׁם

8:14: the citation of Is 40:3

9:19: על פנות

Quite often דרך is written with an initial/medial *kaph* in the final position. Also an initial/medial *mem* is used in the final position. This may indicate the antiquity of this portion of the Rule of the Community.[104]

The idea of "the way" is very prominent in 1QS. It shows that this idea of "preparing the way" was not uncommon in early Judaism of the Second Temple Period, but there is an exegetical question. If Is 40:3 in 1QS 8:14 was an invitation to go into the desert in order "to prepare the way," how were these words understood by Christians, since "the way" was a technical term of an early Christian way of life, even a community.[105] What is the

[104] J. H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3," 222.

[105] Cf. Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22.

difference between the exegetical application of the text in Qumran and in other documents of the same period, i.e. Christian sources?

3.4. The Influence of the Citation

It is indisputable that Is 40:3a had a strong influence on the text of the Rule of the Community. The main question is how this text influenced the daily life of the Community. Was it an invitation to go into the wilderness or just an exhortation to study the Torah without a change of location?

On the one hand, N. Golb argues that "there is nothing in either of these last two quoted passages (1Q8:12-15; 9:18-20) to imply even remotely that those who would follow the rules of the manual actually believed that they should go to live in a desert."[106] On the other hand, Charlesworth maintains that the community lived in Qumran, probably in Cave 11.[107]

Golb's main argument is based on the explanation of Is 40:3 given in the following line (1QS 8:15): הואה מדרש התורה. However, this explanation of Is 40:3 syntactically does not exclude the possibility of the movement into the wilderness to study Torah there. In elucidating this point, the echoes in the prelude are of further assistance. In fact, the text that precedes the quotation implies spatial movement and repeats this idea twice: once, with the expression: ללכת למדבר and the second time with an indication of the place שם, which refers to the desert. Furthermore, the form of the citation preserves the word מדבר.

D. Dimant, however, aptly showed that the word מדבר does not always mean the desert-wilderness.[108] It can be related not only to a literal desert, but also to a metaphorical one. For instance, in the War Rule, 1QM 1:3 there

[106] N. Golb, "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 16b.

[107] J. H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3," 209.

[108] D. Dimant, "לא גלות שבמדבר אלא שברוח: הפשר על ישעיהו מ 3 בסרך היחד," 28–29, 33–35.

are three expressions with the noun מדבר, but with different meanings: מדבר העמים, גולת המדבר, מדבר ירושלים.[109] Thus, the mention of מדבר does not resolve the problem.

In addition, it seems appropriate to bear in mind the social and the geographical context of 1QS. The territory of Israel, except Galilee, is 80% wilderness. Thus, when movement is implied, as in the prelude of 1QS 8:14, it would not be difficult for the Community to go to the literal and not merely metaphorical wilderness.

Therefore, as Charlesworth wrote: "The pretext [the Hebrew text] provided the Qumranites with the explanation for their primary questions of *who* they were, *where* they were, *why* they were in that place, and *what* they were called to do."[110] According to the form of the citation, the Qumran Scrolls Community seems to feel itself called to prepare the way for God in the desert. The context shows that they describe themselves as chosen ones of the Way (1QS 9:17-18: לבחירי דרך) and the perfect ones of the Way (1QS 8:10, 18, 21; 9:5 etc.). The echo of Is 40:3 in the context of the Rule of the Community proves how Is 40:3 influenced the whole document of 1QS. In fact, the word which appears most frequently is דרך. The unusual orthography of this noun (with an initial or medial *kaph* in the final position) probably proves the antiquity of this portion of the Rule of the Community.

It seems that Is 40:3 as an authoritative-legislative composition might be, actually, an invitation to go to a deserted place and to study the Torah (one does not exclude the other). One could suppose that 1QS 8:14 is not only an explanation of how to understand Is 40:3, but also what to do in the desert. This claim could elucidate, in part, the vast quantity of the biblical texts in

[109] The syntagm מדבר העמים is also in the Pesher on Isaiah 4Q161 2-6 (4Qpls[a]).

[110] J. H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3," 220-221.

the Qumran Library. In any case, this is also the main concern when Is 40:3 is used in the FG and in the Synoptics, as can be seen below.

4. Isaiah 40:3 in the Fourth Gospel

Is 40:3 is quoted by all four evangelists in reference to John the Baptist.[111] In all four instances, an introductory formula indicates the origin of the citation, namely the book of the prophet Isaiah. The question arises, however, what was the *Vorlage* of the citation in the FG and in the Synoptics? The text cited in the Gospels reads as follows:

Is 40:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ᾽Ετοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν·

קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה יׁשרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו

Mt 3:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

Mk 1:3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ,

Lk 3:4 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.[112]

Jn 1:23 ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου,

It is a unique example of how such a long passage was quoted by the Synoptics as it is in the Septuagint (with few changes); only the Fourth Gospel differs. In the Synoptics' version the expression τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν is missing, or rather substituted by the personal pronoun αὐτός, which refers to κύριος. Interestingly enough, it occurs in all three Gospels. Moreover, the participial form in genv. βοῶντος occurs only in Is 40:3 and in its citations in the Gospels out of the whole Greek Bible. The noun τρίβος is present 70 times in the OT, but never in the NT, except this Isaianic citation in the Synoptics.[113] The imperative ἑτοιμάσατε is used 15 times in the Bible, but

[111] Cf. K. R. Snodgrass, "Streams of Tradition Emerging from Isaiah 40:1-5,"24-45.

[112] Lk 3:4-6 has Is 40:3-5, but this research focuses on the use of the texts which are in the FG. For the recent studies on Lk 3:4-6 see J. Smit, "The Function," 41-55.

[113] Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 3:4 (cf. Lk 3:4-6); Jn 1:23.

again, the expression ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδόν is only in the passages above. Likewise, the adjective εὐθείας occurs 10 times in the Bible (six in the OT and four in the NT), but the expression εὐθείας ποιεῖτε is only in Is 40:3 and its citation in the NT is a clear translation of the verbal form ישרו.

The question of the source of the citation in the Fourth Gospel is much more complicated. It has the verbal form βοῶντος that occurs only here in the Johannine corpus. Actually, this form occurs in the LXX and NT only in the passages above, and even the verb βοάω is quite common in the Bible.[114]

4.1. *Crux interpretum* of εὐθύνω in Jn 1:23

The main problem is the use of the verb εὐθύνω in the place where the LXX and Synoptics have ἑτοιμάζω. There are many hypotheses regarding this issue. (1) Freed suggested that the change of the verb was deliberately chosen to reflect the sense of moral and ethical direction and not simply of the surface of the road. The verbal form ἑτοιμάσατε would inadequately express John's thought.[115] He supports this point of view with reference to the ethical sense of (κατ)εὐθύνειν in the LXX (esp. in the Wisdom literature), in the NT as well as the moral sense of Is 40:3 in 1QS 8:14 and 1QS 9:19-20. Freed's opinion has been followed i.e. by Humann[116] and Schuchard.[117] (2) According to Menken, the change of verb "was motivated by the preoccupation to make John the Baptist not so much the precursor of Jesus as a witness contemporaneous with Jesus."[118] He points out that for the Synoptics John the Baptist's ministry ends with the baptism of Jesus and after that, when the way has been prepared, Jesus begins his public

[114] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, II, 162.
[115] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 6.
[116] R. J. Humann, "The Function and Form of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John," 45, n. 49.
[117] B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 11-15.
[118] M. J. J., Menken, *Old Testament Quotations,* 33.

ministry.[119] In contrast to the Synoptics, the Fourth Evangelist would prefer to underline the contemporaneity of the mission of both.[120] This explanation was adopted later by Freed and Ottillinger.[121] Moreover, Menken suggests that this explanation fits well with the question about the prophet Elijah. In the Synoptics, John the Baptist is identified with Elijah (Mt 11:14; 17:10-13; Mk 9:11-13; Lk 1:17). In the Fourth Gospel, however, the Baptist denies he is Elijah, because Elijah was understood as a precursor of the Messiah, whose ministry ends with the arrival of the Messiah, whereas in the Fourth Gospel the Baptist is rather a contemporaneous witness.[122] (3) Braun and Schuchard suggest that the presence of the expression εὐθείας ποιεῖτε in the LXX of Is 40:3 led the evangelist to replace ἑτοιμάσατε by εὐθύνατε, and in this way, permitted him to shorten the two parallel lines in Is 40:3 into one line.[123] In their opinion, he would be drawing on the LXX text. (4) It is also supposed that the evangelist was simply quoting from memory.[124] (5) Moreover, Barrett and Reim explained εὐθύνατε as a free translation of פנה.[125] (6) In Koch's opinion there is no indication of why the Evangelist did not use ἑτοιμάζω.[126]

All the opinions above, except perhaps the latter two, have to be considered as a possible answer to the problem in question. It might be possible, though, that the Fourth Evangelist reflects a literal rendering of ישרו as

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[119] Cf. Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:9-11. According to the Gospel of Matthew and Mark, it is only when John the Baptist has been jailed, that Jesus begins his public ministry (Mt 4:12; Mk 1:14a). Luke even mentions the Baptist being jailed before the baptism of Jesus in order to separate the ministry of Jesus from that of the Baptist (Lk 3:19-22; cf. Acts 13:24-25; 19:4).

[120] Cf. Jn 1:19-37; 3:23-30.

[121] This point was adopted later by E. D. Freed, "Jn 1,19-27 in Light of Related Passages in John, the Synoptics, and Acts," 1959 [sic]; A. Ottillinger, *Vorläufer, Vorbild oder Zeuge?*, 97, 101 n. 93, 267.

[122] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 26-35.

[123] F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien,* 9-10, 21; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 3.

[124] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations*, 6; F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, 2, 44; R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 104.

[125] C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to John*, 28-29, 173; G. Reim, *Studien*, 5, 90.

[126] D.-A. Koch, "Der Täufer als Zeuge des Offenbarers," 1971 [sic], n. 27.

εὐθύνατε, in order to refer to the second part of Is 40:3. There are several arguments to support this point of view.

It is rather improbable that εὐθύνατε reflects פנו. The verb εὐθύνω is used six times in the Septuagint, though never for the verb פנה, but usually for ישׁר.[127] In order to translate פנה in *Piel* in the Septuagint and in other Greek versions of the OT, various verbs were used but never εὐθύνω:
- ἑτοιμάζω in LXX-Gn 24:31, LXX-Is 40:3; Theod. Mal 3:1
- ἀποσκευάζω in LXX-Lev 14:36; Aq. Is 40:3; 57:14; 62:10; Aq. Mal 3:1; Symm. Ps 79:10; Symm. Is 62:10; Theod. Is 40:3; 62:10
- εὐτρεπίζω in Symm. Is 40:3
- ὁδοποιέω in LXX-Ps 79:10; LXX-Is 62:10
- σκευάζω in Theod. Is 57:14, 62:10
- σχολάζω in Symm. Mal 3:1; Symm. Is 57:14.[128]

Thus, a free translation of פנה with the verb εὐθύνω can be excluded as highly improbable.

It is, rather, probable that the Fourth Evangelist rendered ישׁרו from Is 40:3c by εὐθύνατε and then put it in place of פנו of Is 40:3b. As was mentioned above, εὐθύνω is the usual translation for the verb ישׁר. The form εὐθύνατε is an obvious equivalent of εὐθείας ποιεῖτε and might even be suggested by the root of the former syntagm. In the LXX ישׁר (*Piel*) is translated by the verb κατευθύνω (2 Chr 32:30; Prv 9:15; 15:21). Moreover, in the Hebrew version of Ben Sira the verb ישׁר occurs only once (39:24) and in its place in the Greek text the adjective εὐθύς appears.[129] The same adjective εὐθύς is used in the

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[127] Cf. Nm 22:23 (נטה); Jos 24:23 (נטה); Jgs 14:7 (ישׁר); 1 Sm 18:20 (ישׁר), 26 (ישׁר); Prv 20:24 (ישׁר).

[128] M. J. J., Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 24.

[129] P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 68; J. H. A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus,* 54. In the Greek version of Ben Sira there are six occurrences of the verb εὐθύνω (Sir 2:2; 2:6; 6:17; 37:15; 38:10; 49:9), from which the latter four (sometimes partially) are also in the Hebrew text. In none of these occurrences, as was stated above,

LXX to translate the verb יִשַּׁר (*Piel*) in Is 45:15 and an adjective יָשָׁר in Hos 14:10. Outside the LXX, also Symmachus translated יִשַּׁר (*Piel*) with εὐθύνω (Is 45:13). It is worth noticing that Aquila's translation, as found in ms. 86, has in Is 40:3c the form εὐθύ[νατε].[130] It shows that use of εὐθύνω is a straightforward translation of the verb יִשַּׁר, thus, the Fourth Evangelist could present this rendering in the usual way. At the same time it is important to notice that the Fourth Gospel's expression "to prepare the way" is quite similar to that of Ben Sira: Jn 1:23: εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, Sir 2:6: εὔθυνον τὰς ὁδούς σου.[131]

In addition to that, according to Menken the replacement of the verbs פנה by יִשַּׁר, which constitute a synonymous parallelism, would be a legitimate replacement and could be explained in the context of Jewish tradition. Menken argues that in Jn 1:23 is found an echo of the 22nd of 32 exegetical rules (מדות) of R. Eliezer b. Jose the Galilean, which is:
דבר שחברו מוכיח עליו, "a sentence to which its parallel brings evidence."[132] It means that parallel sentences have to be understood in agreement between each other or supplied from each other. These rules were possibly in use in the late 2nd - 3rd century (cf. *Mek.-Ex* 23:1).[133] However, there are some serious doubts as to whether the evangelist would apply such a rule in Jn 1:23. Nevertheless, it remains the case that the verbs

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that the verb יִשַּׁר appears, thus, this Greek verb is an equivalent of other Hebrew verbs and it shows that it was quite frequently used also in this translation.

[130] J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, 266; M. J. J., Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, 24. Menken suggests that the verb εὐθύνω "figured in Is 40:3c in the tradition before Aquila, when the text of the LXX was compared with and adopted to the MT or something very alike to it (…) the verb may have been in the Evangelist's Vorlage."

[131] J. H. A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, 3. This similarity raises the question of whether the Fourth Gospel uses Ben Sira's language or is completely independent. This issue is even more significant because some fragments of the book of Ben Sira in Hebrew were found at Qumran (2Q18). Cf. M. Baillet – J. T. Milik – R. de Vaux – H. W. Baker, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*, 75-77; P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 133. Other manuscripts of Ben Sira are quite late, mostly from the medieval period

[132] D. I. Brewer, *Techniques*, 230; H. L. Strack – G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 37.

[133] D. I. Brewer, *Techniques,* 17-23, 226-231; H. L. Strack – G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud,* 32-33; J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, 61.

in Hebrew poetry, in particular in synonymous parallelism, are easily exchangeable.

4.2. The Septuagint Influence in Jn 1:23

It has to be stressed that the Evangelist did use the Septuagint text of Is 40:3 for a part of the citation. This evidence can be proved by the verbal form βοῶντος that occurs only here in the Johannine corpus (and it is a citation). To indicate "crying" or "shouting" the Fourth Evangelist uses κράζω (1:15; 7:28, 37; 12:44) or κραυγάζω (11:43; 12:13; 18:40; 19:6, 12, 15), which is his typical expression.

It is commonly agreed that there are only three citations in the Fourth Gospel, which are certainly of the Septuagint origin, namely Jn 10:34 (Ps 82:6); Jn 12:38 (Is 53:1); Jn 19:24 (Ps 22:19). There is also another citation close to the LXX text, namely Jn 2:17 has ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεταί με (LXX ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέν με). Other Isaianic citations in the Fourth Gospel differ more or less from the LXX.[134] It shows the evangelist's knowledge of the Greek text of the LXX, but at the same time it proves clear independence from the Septuagint.

5. Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1. The Identity of One who Prepares the Way

Since this research proposes to study the citations not as separate entities, but as a part of a larger network, it includes investigation into the relationship between Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1,[135] a subject which is absent in current Johannine scholarship, but which provides a hermeneutical key to a

[134] A. Köstenberger, "John," 417.

[135] As was mentioned in the introduction, it is sometimes indicated that in Mk 1:2 the text of Mal 3:1 or/and Ex 23:20 is cited. This possibility is also considered in the present research, but the connection between Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23-24 and the context of Elijah and John the Baptist suggests rather the use of Mal 3:1 than Ex 23:20, as will be seen later.

deeper understanding of the use of Isaiah in the NT, especially in the Gospels.

In contrast to the FG, the same passages (Mal 3:1 and Is 40:3) are cited by all Synoptic Gospels, although the order of citations is different. In Mk 1:2-3 first Mal 3:1 appears and then Is 40:3 (combined), whereas in Matthew and Luke the first citation is Is 40:3 (Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4-6) and then separately that of Mal 3:1 (Mt 11:10; Lk 7:27).[136] On the basis of Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1 John the Baptist was called Elijah (Mt 11:14; Mt 17:10-13); a forerunner who comes in the spirit and power of Elijah (Lk 1:17); a prophet of the Most High (Lk 1:76) and more than a prophet (Mt 11:10).[137]

There are some common features in the use of Mal 3:1 wherever the text is cited in the NT, though each of the Synoptics uses this text in a slightly different way. In order to understand these usages, however, there is a need to investigate first the Hebrew text of Mal 3:1 before one can study the use of this text as combined with Is 40:3 in the NT. The *crux interpretum* מלאך הברית will prove very challenging in this respect.

5.1. Mal 3:1 and Its Setting

It is commonly recognized that the book of Malachi contains six oracles, all of which are structured as a disputation between the prophet and the people.[138] Mal 3:1 is part of the fourth oracle unit (Mal 2:17-3:5).[139] This

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[136] It is worth noticing that Mal 3:23 is cited in Mk 9:11 and Mk 9:12 is an allusion to Mal 3:24, which makes a reference to Elijah.

[137] For the list of early Christian and Jewish texts about John the Baptist cf. R. L. Webb, "John the Baptist," 185-186. In the FG John is never called the Baptist/Baptiser, which does not mean that he did not baptize; on the contrary, he baptized Jesus (cf. Jn 1:25-33; 3:23; 10:40).

[138] For a general introduction on the book of Malachi see esp. R. Kessler, *Maleachi*, *passim*; P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and* Malachi, *passim*; A. E. Hill, *Malachi*, *passim*.

[139] Some scholars have claimed that some of the verses of the fourth oracle are later additions (Mal 3:1 included), as well as Mal 3:22-24. It is beyond the scope of this research to enter into this discussion because at the time of the NT writers they were

verse itself appears as a masterpiece of literary art, although it has its literary challenges:

הנני שלח מלאכי	ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου,
ופנה דרך לפני	καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου,
ופתאם יבוא אל היכלו האדון	καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥξει εἰς τὸν ναὸν κύριος,
אשר אתם מבקשים	ὃν ὑμεῖς ζητεῖτε,
ומלאך הברית אשר אתם חפצים	καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης, ὃν ὑμεῖς θέλετε·
הנה בא אמר יהוה צבאות	ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

The expression ומלאך הברית is a *crux interpretum* as is shown by the variety of opinions held by scholars. E. H. Merill,[140] R. Kessler[141] and others[142] identified מלאכי with ומלאך הברית in contrast to האדון. A. S. Van der Woude did not see the connection between האדון and מלאך הברית.[143] According to R. T. France מלאכי, מלאך הברית and האדון are three distinctive figures, but "all three figures are in fact different descriptions of the same messenger of Yahweh, joint in typical Hebrew parallelism."[144] G. Wallis claimed: " … so nimmt der *măl'āk hăbb^{e}rît* dort die die Stellung des Majordomus ein. Durch ihn wird die rechte, bundesgemäße Ordnung im Tempel wiederhergestellt."[145] A. E. Hill analyses ומלאך הברית as "a third eschatological figure" with *waw* not functioning epexegetically (transl. "that is") but as a simple conjunction (transl. "and").[146] R. Vuilleumier has no doubts that מלאכי refers to the prophet Malachi (author of this biblical

already part of the book of Malachi. For a summary of various opinions see E. Assis, "Moses, Elijah and the Messianic Hope," 207, n. 2.

[140] E. A. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 429-435.

[141] R. Kessler, *Maleachi*, 229-233.

[142] Cf. for instance S. McKenzie - H. N. Wallace, "Covenant Themes in Malachi," 553-555; W. P. Brown, *Obadiah through Malachi*, 200.

[143] A. S. Van der Woude, "Der Engel des Bundes," 289-300.

[144] R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 91-92.

[145] G. Wallis, "Wesen und Struktur der Botschaft Maleachis," 231.

[146] A. E. Hill, *Malachi*, 269-270.

book) and he adds: "Dans le même verset, מַלְאָךְ a deux sens différents: messager (1a) et ange (1c). Cependant, le deuxième מַלְאָךְ est nettement défini par בְּרִית."[147] O. D. Vena, in his turn, suggested that ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης (Mal 3:1) is Elijah.[148] According to B. V. Malachow Mal 3:1b-4 is a later interpolation in which מלאך הברית should be identified with the Hellenistic era high priest Onias III (as part of an elaborate apologetic by later Judaism for a priestly messiah).[149] D. L. Petersen claimed that מלאך הברית is a minor deity or someone identical to the messenger from Mal 3:1a.[150] In contrast, P. A. Verhoef,[151] B. Glazer-McDonald[152] and some other scholars[153] have pointed out that with מלאך הברית is equated in this text to האדון.

It is argued in the present study that the same word מלאך (ἄγγελον) in Mal 3:1 has two completely different meanings. The first time it means a messenger distinct from God and the second time it refers to God himself. There is evidence to support this claim. It is widely recognized that מלאך can mean not only an angel, but also a messenger, and this is the former case. The word מלאך, however, is used in the Bible to indicate God, and this usage is found in Gn 16:7-13; 22:11, 15; Ex 3:2; Jgs 2:1 etc. (מלאך יהוה),

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147 R. Vuilleumier, "Malachie," 243.

148 He uses only the Septuagint version of the text and fails to analyze the Hebrew *Vorlage* with its syntax and parallelisms. His conclusions, that Paul the Apostle saw him as the eschatological Elijah are rather arbitrary. See O. D. Vena, "Paul's Understanding of the Eschatological Prophet of Malachi 4:5-6," 44-49.

149 B. V. Malchow, "The Messenger of the Covenant in Mal 3:1," 253-254.

150 D. L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9-14 & Malachi*, 209-212; cf. Idem, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 42-45.

151 P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 288-290. He also mentions the parallelism in Mal 3:1 and possible chiasm, in which the parallelism האדון corresponds to מלאך הברית:

He will come suddenly…the Lord you are seeking.
The messenger…in whom you delight…Behold he comes.

152 B. Glazier-McDonald, "Mal'ak habbĕrît," 93-104.

153 S. Douglas, "*Malachi*,"1350-1352; E. J. Pentiuc, *Jesus the Messiah in the Hebrew Bible*, 113-114.

but exactly the same expression in other occurrences means just a messenger, which is the case in Mal 2:7. The other identification of מלאך with God is found in the expression מלאך (ה)אלהים (Gn 21:17; 31:11; Ex 14:19), but again it can mean, at least in 2 Sm 14:20, just an angel of the Lord and not God himself. Thus, the meaning of such expressions depends heavily on the context.

In fact, the literary context of Mal 3:1 sheds light on the meaning of מלאך הברית, because of the parallelism in the pattern:

A: ומלאך הברית/האדון

B: אשׁר/אשׁר

C: אתם/אתם

D: חפצים/מבקשׁים.

This parallelism is even strengthened by the form יבוא, which is used in the singular form in order to clarify that האדון and מלאך הברית are not two distinct persons. Otherwise, the verb בא would have been put in the plural form. In addition, one has to recognize that in the Hebrew Bible האדון (with article) means not just a lord – a noble person - but God himself. This word appears five other times in the Bible and always in the expression האדון יהוה צבאות.[154] All these elements are present also in Mal 3:1. Moreover, the personal suffix in הנני, מלאכי, לפני refers to יהוה who is speaking.

However, there are some problematic issues in this verse. One of them is the use of the participle בא, which is ambiguous, mainly because the interjection הנה has a variety of syntactical applications.[155] On the one

[154] Is 1:24; 3:1; 10:16, 33; 19:4.

[155] S. Kogut, "On the Meaning and Syntactical Status of הִנֵּה in Biblical Hebrew," 140-154; Y. Sadka, "Hinne in Biblical Hebrew," 479-493.

hand, the subject of בא could be מלאכי, because of the use of הנה, which could break with what precedes and could be in parallel to Mal 3:1a and Mal 3:23. On the other hand the subject of this participle could be מלאך הברית/האדון, again because of the use of הנה, which could also refer to the preceding text and place an emphasis on it, although it appears without a *waw* (והנה). Moreover, the second הנה could put the Lord/the Messenger of the Covenant *vis à vis* a messenger. We have to note also the use of the participles שלח and בא in Mal 3:1, which could be understood as "I am sending a messenger" and "he is coming" (the messenger). If the participle בא refers to the immediately preceding subject, the singular form strengthens the idea of the unity between האדון and מלאך הברית, as the same person. It needs to be added that probably the adverb פתאם, which is unique to Mal 3:1 in the Twelve Prophets, probably does not have here the meaning of *statim* in the sense of "immediately," "at once," but rather in the sense of *subito* "unexpectedly," "surprisingly" (cf. Nm 6:9; Is 30:13; 47:11; Jr 4:20; Prv 6:15 etc.).[156]

Another problem are the verbal forms. It is written that "he will come – יבוא," in the sense that האדון will come, and following this statement we read that God speaks about coming of the Lord (האדון), and this word is another indication of God. Furthermore is again the form בא, which indicates the present tense (a form used usually after הנה). Than is the past tense "said God of hosts." Such abrupt changes, however, are not unusual in prophetic (or poetic) language (cf. Is 42:20; 54:14; 61:7; Dt 32:15; Jb 16:7; Lam 3:1 etc.).[157] W. Rudolph explains this in a sense that YHWH in his speeches does not use the form "I" but the term "Lord" and that by speaking of himself in the third person God elevates not only the

[156] P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 288; A. E. Hill, *Malachi*, 267. He notes the emphatic position of this adverb.

[157] B. Glazier-McDonald, "Mal'ak habbĕrît," 95-96.

solemnity, but underlines also the majesty of his appearance.[158] These arguments are quite plausible. Moreover, the Hebrew text in this form, and with this "discrepancy," fits very well into the NT context, because it shows that the messenger will prepare the way for האדון, which here represents a divine title. At the same time there is a switch in the person, in the sense that יהוה is speaking about האדון. This is maybe another reason why Mal 3:1 is so often used in the NT.

This linguistic analysis of the OT text has crucial consequences for the understanding of the NT usage of it. According to Mal 3:1 a messenger is sent to prepare the way before God. The Synoptics use this text to explain that the messenger – John the Baptist – prepares the way before God (האדון/κύριος), which in the NT context means Jesus Christ. Thus, it is not a messianic text for NT writers, as scholars usually classify Mal 3:1,[159] but it has, actually, far deeper meaning. In this regard, A. S. Malone concluded: "It [Mal 3:1] should no longer be considered amongst the often-nebulous category of predictive messianic texts – a simplistic mould into which this verse cannot responsibly be squeezed. It is better counted amongst those Old Testament passages which are appropriated by the New Testament, whereby the attributes and activities of YHWH himself are recognized in and ascribed to Jesus."[160]

This is even more relevant, because, in all the Synoptic Gospels, it forms part of the answer that Jesus gives about his identity when asked by the disciples sent by John the Baptist: "Are you the one who is to come, or are

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[158] W. Rudolph - A. Jepsen, *Haggai - Sacharja 1-8 - Sacharja 9-14 – Maleachi*, 278.

[159] Cf. J. Barton Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical prophecy*, 473-474; W. C. Kaiser Jr., *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 227-230; H. Lockyer, *All the Messianic Prophecies of the Bible*, 65; E. J. Pentiuc, *Jesus the Messiah in the Hebrew Bible*, 113-114, 123-124; A. Yarbro Collins - J. J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God*, 124-125, 131; J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 123-126, 128-131; R. Nir, "יוחנן המטביל בן דמותו של אליהו," 55-78

[160] A. S. Malone, "Is the Messiah Announced in Malachi 3:1?," 228.

we to expect someone else?" Interestingly, in his answer Jesus clarifies not his own identity but the identity of John the Baptist as a messenger who is to prepare the way for him. In this way, Jesus indirectly sheds light on his own identity.

5.2. *Inclusio* Between Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23

The belief that Elijah has to return is referenced in all the Synoptic Gospels.[161] In Mathew and Luke Elijah is identified with John the Baptist, who comes in the spirit of Elijah, or who is Elijah (Mt 11:13-14, 17:9-13; Lk 1:17). It seems that the NT writers used the citation from Mal 3:1 and allusion to Mal 3:23-24 to show that the messenger (John the Baptist) who prepares the way for God (Jesus Christ) is the prophesied Elijah who has returned. For instance, there are no doubts that Lk 1:17 refers to Mal 3:23-24. Thus, we cannot neglect the link between Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23:

Mal 3:1: הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני

Mal 3:23: הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני.

It is the contention of this research that these two verses of Mal 3:1 and Mal 3:23 form an *inclusio*, since there are many similarities between these two texts. The only difference is the expression ופנה דרך, whereas other syntagms correspond to each other:

a) the form הנה אנכי is a clear equivalent of הנני;
b) in both texts is the same verb שלח;
c) לכם refers to אתם, which is used twice in Mal 3:1;
d) אליה הנביא corresponds to מלאכי;
e) in both cases the form לפני is used which, in fact, appears only twice in the book of Malachi.

This *inclusio* sheds light on the question why the citation of Mal 3:1 is used in the explanation of the coming of Elijah. It seems that it was used, because "my messenger - מלאכי" can be understood as Elijah the prophet.

[161] Mt 11:13-14, 17:9-13; Mk 9:9-13; Lk 9:8.

Moreover, Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1 share crucial terms in common, namely, the verb פנה and the noun דרך. Indeed, Mal 3:1 can be understood in the light of Mal 3:23, since they are quite similar and related texts. This claim can be further vindicated when we compare the use of these two texts in the Synoptics.

5.3. Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1, 23-24 in the Synoptic Gospels

In Mt 11:10-14 the identification marker – "he is," is used twice to show the identity of John the Baptist. The first time, οὗτός ἐστιν is used in the introduction to the citation of Mal 3:1, where John the Baptist is called *messenger* and the second time the identification marker is used with the formula αὐτός ἐστιν, where John the Baptist is called Elijah, which is an allusion to Mal 3:23. We thus see that the *inclusio* mentioned above is reflected in Mt 11:10-14. Moreover, we cannot neglect to note that John the Baptist is sometimes identified as a prophet (or "more than a prophet").[162] This identification is another sign of a strong tradition, which leads to Mal 3:23-24, in which light the messenger can be understood as the prophet Elijah.

In Lk 7:26-30 (the parallel passage to Mt 11:10-14) there is only one "identification marker" - οὗτός ἐστιν followed by the citation from Mal 3:1. In contrast to Mt 11:14, there is not the second "identification marker" - αὐτός ἐστιν followed by the allusion to Mal 3:23. It does not seem, though, that in Luke's Gospel an allusion to this text is lacking. On the contrary, the identification of John the Baptist with Elijah or the prophet is made very clear, but in another part of this Gospel, namely in Lk 1:17, where it is foretold that John the Baptist will go with the spirit and the power of Elijah before the Lord, God of Israel to reconcile fathers to their children.[163] It is

[162] Mt 11:10; Lk 1:17, 76; 7:26.

[163] For detailed studies of Elijah in Lk see the monograph J. Rindoš, *He of Whom It Is Written*, *passim*.

clearly an allusion to Mal 3:24, but it shares some textual similarities with Sir 48:10 as well:

Mal 3:24	והשׁיב לב אבות על בנים	ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν
	ולב בנים על אבותם	καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ,
Sir 48:10[164]	להשׁיב לב אבות על בנים	ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱόν
Lk 1:17	----------	ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα

Sir 48:10 is an allusion to Mal 3:24. Nevertheless, although the infinitive ἐπιστρέψαι in Sir 48:10 (as a literal translation of להשׁיב) is identical to Lk 1:17, the rest of the Greek text of Sir 48:10 is the same as LXX Mal 3:24 in contrast to Lk 1:17. In both cases (Mal 3:24; Sir 48:10) we do not find a literal translation of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Mal 3:24/Sir 48:10, except for the use of the noun "heart" in the singular form.[165] The Hebrew plural forms "fathers" and "sons" are rendered in the singular, which is not the case for Lk 1:17, where even the Hebrew noun "heart" is in the plural form. Intriguing, however, is the use of the same verbal form as is found in Sir 48:10.[166] Does this mean that the evangelist used the Hebrew or Greek version of Ben Sira? A detailed comparison between Lk 1:16-17 and Mal 3 sheds light on this problem. The idea of the "turning" of the people to God rendered with the verb ἐπιστρέφω is clearly present in Mal 3:7: שׁובו אלי ואשׁובה אליכם (ἐπιστρέψατε πρός με καὶ ἐπιστραφήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς).[167] In this case, the verb ἐπιστρέφω is used. The same verb is also used in Lk 1:16, where a very similar concept is described: καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ

[164] Hebrew text is taken from P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 86.

[165] The LXX has the singular form "heart."

[166] B. J. Koet suggested that Lk 1:17 seems to be "a cocktail of elements from Mal 3:24 and Sir 48:10." Cf. Idem, "Elijah as Reconciler of Father and Son,"185.

[167] Cf. Zec 1:3: שׁובו אלי (…) ואשׁוב אליכם. LXX Zec 1:3: ἐπιστρέψατε πρός με καὶ ἐπιστραφήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. E. Assis pointed out the similarities between Jer 24:7 and Mal 3:23-24 based on the use of לב and שׁוב. Idem, "Moses, Elijah and the Messianic Hope," 214.

ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν. This would actually seem to be a word play based on ἐπιστρέφω in Lk 1:16-17 with Mal 2:17-3:24 as a background. In both texts, first comes the question of turning to God (Mal 3:7; Lk 1:16) and then the question of the fathers who turn to their sons and the sons to the fathers (Mal 3:24; Lk 1:17). The horizontal direction comes after the vertical one. The use of the form ἐπιστρέψαι, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a dependence on Sir 48:10. It seems, rather, that Lk 1:17 depends on LXX Mal 3:24.

Furthermore, it is important to note that what was foretold by the angel before the birth of John the Baptist is repeated by Zechariah after the birth of his son. In Lk 1:76 we find an allusion to Mal 3:1, 23 and Is 40:3: καὶ σύ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ· προπορεύσῃ γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ἑτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ. The mention that he will be called "the prophet of the Most High" does not mean that he will be just a prophet like many other prophets, but it seems to have a precise meaning, namely that he will be called the prophet Elijah (cf. Lk 1:17). The verb προπορεύομαι means to go before somebody, but was never used in the LXX.[168] However, πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου is an allusion to Mal 3:1 as ἑτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ is an allusion to Is 40:3. This case is particularly important, because it shows that Lk 1:76 alludes exactly to the same two texts which are cited in Mk 1:2-3 (Mal 3:1 followed by Is 40:3) and both evangelists referred to John the Baptist in these two texts.

There is a difference, however, between Mark in comparison to Matthew and Luke. In the former Gospel there is no identification marker – "he is," as it is present in Mt 11:10 and Lk 7:26-27.[169] This marker is particularly relevant because it shows the identity of John the Baptist. Even more,

[168] The other occurrence appears in Acts 7:40.

[169] Mk 9:11-13 is very close to such an identification, but it is not explicit.

because it is the only case in the Synoptic Gospels where Jesus quotes an OT text and names a person whose mission was foretold in the Scripture.

In conclusion, the occurrence of Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1 proves, once again, that the study of OT citations in the NT requires that they be studied not as separate entities but as part of a network. Moreover, the citations have to be investigated in their original Hebrew setting, a subject that is lacking in current scholarship. Only such an approach can provide us with a deeper understanding of the text under investigation. This is particularly important in the analysis of the *crux interpretum* מלאך הברית in Mal 3:1 which, in this context, does not mean simply an angel of the covenant, but somebody equivalent to האדון. Thus, in contrast to usual exegesis, Mal 3:1 is not a messianic text, but for the NT writers it has a far deeper meaning, as J. B. DeYoung stated: "Jesus is indeed deity, so he 'fulfills' the role of Yahweh, and John 'fulfills' the role of the messenger."[170]

Moreover, this study suggests a hypothesis about the *inclusio* between Mal 3:1 and 3:23-24. This inclusion seems to be proved even by the allusions to the latter text in Mt 11:14 and Lk 1:17, 76. In this light we can better understand why John the Baptist – as a messenger – was called also a prophet and the prophet Elijah. Thus, Mal 3:23-24 ought to be added to the network of citations related to Is 40:3 and Mal 3:1.

There are some questions for further research, though. One of the most important is why the Fourth Gospel, in contrast to all the Synoptics, does not quote or allude to Mal 3:1, 23-24, but only to Is 40:3 when speaking of John the Baptist?

[170] J. B. DeYoung, "The Function of Malachi 3.1 in Matthew 11.10," 90.

6. The Meaning of Is 40:3 in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel in the Matter of Elijah

The Synoptic titles of Elijah (cf. Mt 11:14; Mt 17:10-13) or a prophet of the Most High (Lk 1:76) seem at first to be in contrast with the Fourth Gospel, where the citation from Mal 3:1 is not mentioned and where John the Baptist himself declares that he is not the Messiah, not the prophet, and not Elijah. [171] One can understand his refusal to be called ὁ χριστός, but why did he refuse to be called by the other titles used by the Synoptics? Moreover, what is the reason for the absence of the citation from Mal 3:1 so strongly linked with Is 40:3 in all the other Gospels?

6.1. Not a Prophet (cf. Jn 1:21)

Although John the Baptist is called a/the prophet in the Synoptic Gospels,[172] the word "prophet" in the Fourth Gospel is used in a very specific context. Jn 1:21 is usually read in the light of Dt 18:15: "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your countrymen, you shall listen to him" (cf. Dt 18:18-19). The prophet like Moses – according to Acts 3:22; 7:37 – was understood in early Christianity to be Jesus Christ himself, and this seems to be the meaning of this word in the context of the Fourth Gospel. One has to acknowledge that, on the one hand, Jesus is claimed by others to be "the/a prophet," as may be seen in Jn 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17 (cf. Jn 7:52), and the noun "prophet" in the singular form does not occur elsewhere in the so-called Johannine corpus.[173] Furthermore, Jn 7:52 intensifies the debate with the people who

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[171] For the list of early Christian and Jewish texts about John the Baptist cf. R. L. Webb, "John the Baptist," 185-186.

[172] Cf. Mt 3:4; 17:10-13; 21:26; Mk 1:6; 9:9-13; 11:32; Lk 20:6. For use of the word prophet in some Jewish and Christian sources cf. J. E. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 223-234.

[173] The noun προφήτης does not occur in 1-3 Jn while in the Book of Revelation is used only in the plural form. This does not include instances in which the noun "prophet" is used with the name of the prophet Isaiah (Jn 1:23; 12:38), because the identity of the prophet is clear. Likewise, there are two cases in the FG where "prophets" means a part of

claim that Jesus cannot be the prophet, because there was to be no prophet from Galilee. On the other hand, though, the title "prophet" in Jn 4:19 is superseded by the title of Messiah in Jn 4:25-26, which Jesus applies to himself. Jn 6:14 could be evidence of the belief that Jesus, like Moses, gives bread/manna, but he clarifies that his Father gives the true bread from heaven (Jn 6:32). Moreover, in Jn 7:40-41 some call Jesus the prophet and some call him ὁ χριστός and in Jn 9:17 the title prophet is superseded by the title "Son of man" (Jn 9:35-38).[174] The title "a/the prophet" could be also used in reference to Jesus, implying that he is a true prophet and not a false one.[175] One must also be aware that what the crowd says is not necessarily correct. The evangelist might be using it as a literary device to show that the crowd was mistaken, but with respect to the title of "prophet" this does not seem to be the case, because the evangelist makes the comment that "Jesus himself testified that a prophet has no honour in his own country" (Jn 4:44), which in this context could be a self-reference, reported also by all the Synoptics.[176]

All this shows that "a/the prophet" in the Fourth Gospel is a title reserved for Jesus. Whether this always means a prophet like Moses according to Dt 18:15, 18-19 is difficult to judge with certainty. Obviously, this is not the final title of Jesus in the FG, since there are others, such as "Son sent by the Father," "Son of man," "Christ," or "the king," but it is one of his titles. In contrast, in the Synoptic Gospels the title of "prophet" is not restricted only to Jesus Christ. If John the Baptist had claimed to be the prophet in the context of the FG it would have meant claiming the title reserved for Christ.

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the Bible (Jn 1:45; 5:45), and elsewhere prophets from the past are mentioned in general (Jn 8:52-53), but there the word is in the plural form, and so refers to a group of prophets.

[174] For a recent state of research on the question of the Son of Man cf. L. W. Hurtado – P. Owen (ed.), *'Who Is This Son of Man?'*, esp. 1-27 and 101-129.

[175] M. De Jonge, "Jesus as Prophet," 170-172.

[176] Mt 13:57; Mk 6:4; Lk 4:24.

Nevertheless, why did John the Baptist refuse to be called Elijah, since Jesus calls him thus (Mt 11:14; cf. Mk 9:12-13; Mt 17:2)?[177]

6.2. Not Elijah (cf. Jn 1:21)

This is one of the most controversial statements in the Fourth Gospel in comparison with the Synoptics. Many scholars have tried to explain it. L. Morris speculates that John might not have known that he was Elijah.[178] C. K. Barrett claims that perhaps Jn 1:21 can be referred to the pre-synoptic stage of Christian belief, before apocalyptic necessity called for the discovery of Elijah in a forerunner of Christ.[179] M. De Jonge on the basis of *Dial.* 8:3, 49:1, 110:1 claims that there were Jewish expectations that it was Elijah's duty to anoint the hidden Messiah and make him not only known to the people, but also to make him aware of his messianic identity.[180] In contrast, G. Richter argued that Elijah was a messianic figure because he was not a forerunner of a Messiah but of God, since according to Mal 3:1, he was called to prepare the way for the Lord and not for the Messiah. He concludes: "Dass die Frage Joh 1,21 »bist du der Prophet?« den gleichen Sinn hat wie die erste und die zweite Frage (…)."[181] So – according to Richter - claiming to be Elijah or a prophet would mean in Jn 1:21 to claim to be the Messiah. H. N. Ridderbos takes issues with this, showing that in 1QS 9:11 a prophet and the Messiah of Aaron as well as the Messiah of Israel are distinguished.[182] J. H. Hughes, R. Nir as well as other scholars[183]

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[177] Cf. Mk 9:12-13; Mt 17:2. Rothschild shows that a Prophet at the time of Jesus was considered a messianic figure, who was to prepare the way for God. C. K. Rothschild, *Baptist Traditions and Q*, 48-49.

[178] L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 135.

[179] C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 173.

[180] M. De Jonge, "Jesus as Prophet,"160-177. See also M. Stowasser, *Johannes der Täufer im Vierten Evangelium*, 83-95. However, it is rather questionable whether the Fourth Evangelist knew Jewish conceptions like that described by Trypho in *Dial.* since this is a post New Testament writing and no Jewish evidence has been found of such claim that the Messiah was not familiar with his task.

[181] G. Richter, "»Bist du Elias?«," 40; cf. *Ibidem*, 33-41.

[182] Cf. H. N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel according to John*, 64-65.

referred to the Jewish literature, according to which Elijah was not to prepare the way just for the Messiah, but for God and for the day of God, which is clear also from the biblical text (Mal 3:1, 23). E. Trocmé, on his part, argued that Jn 1:20-21 is a polemic with the Baptist's disciples, who claimed their master to be superior to Jesus Christ.[184] C. F. D. Moule, followed by others,[185] tried to answer this *crux interpretum* from a psychological point of view: "We have to ask *by whom* the identification is made, and *by whom* refused. (…) The Baptist humbly rejects the exalted title, but Jesus, on the contrary, bestows it on him. Why should not the two both be correct?"[186] R. E. Brown argues that the identification of John the Baptist with Elijah "is not the view of John the Baptist himself but the view of early Christian theology which saw the role of Elijah as the best way to interpret the relation of John the Baptist to Jesus, namely John the Baptist was to the coming of Jesus what Elijah was to have been to the coming of the Lord."[187] In Brown's opinion John the Baptist never considered himself as Elijah, but as a Voice (cf. Is 40:3), and he could have regarded Jesus as the Elijah-like figure, since his disciples asked Jesus whether he was "the one who is to come" (Mt 11:3-14).[188] Also according to J. E. Taylor, John the Baptist sent his disciples to Jesus asking if he was the one to come, because

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[183] J. H. Hughes, "John the Baptist," 212. He claims that there is no reliable pre-Christian evidence for the belief that Elijah was to be forerunner of the Messiah, which might suggest that the conception originated with Jesus. R. Nir, יוחנן המטביל בן דמותו שׁל אליהו, 55-78. See also G. Richter, "»Bist du Elias?«," 33-41; U. C. von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, II, 35-36; C. K. Rothschild, *Baptist Traditions and Q*, 48-49. For additional bibliography cf. J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 129, n. 72. It seems that the first mention in a Jewish source, except the NT and *Dial.* 8:3, 49:1, 110:1, that Elijah was supposed to be forerunner of Messiah is in *b.'Erub.* 43ab. See also M. M. Faierstein, "Why Do the Scribes Say that Elijah Must Come First?" *JBL* 100 (1981) 82-86.

[184] E. TrocmÉ, "Jean-Baptiste dans le quatrième évangile," 129-151. His studies, however, are based on the presupposed polemic passages in the Fourth Gospel with no evidence of such claims from the Baptist's disciples/movement.

[185] L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 135; F. D. Brunner, *The Gospel of John*, 76.

[186] C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, 70.

[187] R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 48-49.

[188] R. E. Brown, "John the Baptist in the Gospel of John," 138-140.

he supposed Jesus to be the expected Elijah (Mt 11:2-6; Lk 7:18-23).[189] J. Ernst - with some reservation – suggests that John the Baptist considered himself as one expected in the Elijah tradition and he points out that his garment was similar to that of Elijah (2 Kgs 1:8; Mk 1:5; Mt 3:4), but it has to be said that the hairy mantle was really the ordinary prophetic uniform.[190] C. K. Barrett suggests that John the Baptist "corresponds to no known character within the framework of Jewish religion."[191] In contrast, R. Macina drew a conclusion different from all those mentioned above. He suggests that the double Christian exegetic tradition regarding John the Baptist as Elijah or a Voice is not contradictory, but complementary and Elijah is still expected to come.[192] There are other hypotheses as well, but still they struggle with this *crux interpretum*.[193]

7.3. The Supposed Elijah

As it can be seen, scholars are very far from agreement on this issue. However, this research argues a new hypothesis, namely that John denies that he is Elijah in the way the people suppose him to be, so to say, according to popular expectations. The common tradition reported by all the evangelists is that John the Baptist is not worthy to untie Jesus' sandals.[194] However, Acts 13:25 has new information when John the Baptist speaks: "I am not the one you suppose me to be." So what might the people have supposed him to be?

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[189] J. E. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 288-294.

[190] J. Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer* [1989] 295-297; cf. Idem, *Johannes der Täufer* [1994] 57-63.

[191] C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 173.

[192] R. Macina, "Jean le Baptiste était-il Élie? 209-232.

[193] Cf. R. L. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 91: "The theological interests with respect to John are quite different in the fourth Gospel as compared with Q and the synoptic Gospels, and it is these interests which have led to the reshaping of John's relationship with Jesus in this account." See also C. R. Kazmierski, *John the Baptist*, 49-58; L. Guyénot, *Jésus et Jean Baptiste*, 138-140. He argues that John the Baptist is conscious of being an Elijah. For another hypothesis, in particular referring to the Gospel of Luke, cf. J. Rindoš, *He of Whom It Is Written*, 14-34.

[194] Mt 3:11; Mk 1:7; Lk 3:16; Jn 1:27; Acts 13:25.

The verb ὑπονοέω (to suppose) is used only eight times in the Bible and in almost all of the occurrences is used to refer to a wrong one, as it is in Acts 13:25. In this discussion, one must make a distinction between "being or not being" a person and "being considered or not being considered" a person. Luke's detailed account about the birth of John the Baptist (Lk 1:5-25, 57-80) proves that he is not the same person as Elijah, but he is a new person. So he is not a "reincarnated" Elijah, but he comes in the spirit and power of Elijah (Lk 1:17).[195] Now, who was Elijah expected to be at the turn of the era? Answering to the question helps us to understand what was the understanding of Elijah among the interlocutors of John the Baptist? This is clearly an extremely difficult task because of the scarcity of the sources, but some traces of common belief can be found in biblical texts, Qumran writings and in the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.

In terms of a biblical understanding of someone who comes in the spirit of Elijah, the relationship between Elijah and Elisha is meaningful, because it provides some insights as to expectations regarding John the Baptist. It is written that Elisha asked for "two parts" of the spirit of Elijah and indeed he was seen as somebody who received the spirit of Elijah (2 Kgs 2:9, 15). So what does it mean to have the spirit of Elijah? It seems that it indicates two things, which are: a) *deeds* and b) *words*, so to say: a) to be able to perform mighty deeds/miracles like Elijah and b) to prophesy/teach like Elijah.

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[195] However, a closer analysis on the Elijah exegetical problem in the Synoptics shows that only in the Gospel of Matthew John the Baptist is identified directly with Elijah (Mt 11:14; Mt 17:10-13). There is no such identification in the Gospel of Mark. Similarly, in the Gospel of Luke, John the Baptist is called a forerunner in the spirit and power of Elijah (Lk 1:17). It is important to observe that there are clear indications in the Synoptic Gospels, also in Matthew, that the people distinguished John the Baptist from Elijah and from a prophet (Mt 16:14; Mk 6:14-16; 8:27-28; Lk 9:7-9, 19). Moreover, the question whether John might be the Messiah (cf. Jn 1:20) is raised also in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 3:15-16).

Elijah was known as a prophet who raised a child from death (1 Kgs 17:17-24; cf. Sir 48:5; Lk 4:24-26). Indeed, there are many similarities between this story and the story of Elisha, who also raised a child from death (2 Kgs 4:18-37): a) both did this for a woman who took care of them; b) both women were not from Israel; c) these women called the two prophets in the same way איש האלהים; d) the child in each case was in the prophet's bed; e) in each case it was upstairs; f) they stretched themselves upon a child; g) a child was revived; and h) they gave a child to the mother. The similar or even identical vocabulary in these two accounts is striking, which might be a rhetorical device to show that Elisha, who had the spirit of Elijah, could do the same or analogous miracles as his master.

This could also be the case in the miracle of the multiplication of oil, when Elisha performed a similar action to Elijah (1 Kgs 17:7-16; 2 Kgs 4:1-7). In fact, one characteristic of Elijah and Elisha is their ability to revive a person and to perform miracles/mighty deeds. This is even stressed in Sir 48:12: "When Elijah was enveloped in the whirlwind, Elisha was filled with his spirit. He performed twice as many signs, and marvels with every utterance of his mouth." Moreover, in Sir 48:11 the idea of rising from the dead can be attested. É. Puech restored the Hebrew text of this verse to read: אשׁר[י] ר(ו)אך ומת כ[י]תתן ה[יי]ם [וי]חיה ("Happy is he who sees you before he dies, for you give life and he will live").[196] He understands it as meaning that the righteous who die after the return of Elijah could someday be raised from death. Thus, the idea of the resurrection would also be present in the description of Elijah in Sir 48:11, as is also referred to in Sir 48:5, but there is a difference between these two texts. The former one narrates what is described also in 1 Kgs 17:17-24 and the latter one refers to the future return of Elijah. Also in later Jewish sources resurrection is

[196] É. Puech, "Ben Sira 48:11 et la résurrection," 87.

associated with Elijah.[197] In the NT Elijah is associated with the power of "closing and opening heaven," because through his prayer it did not rain for three and a half years and after his prayer it rained (Lk 4:25; Jas 5:17-18; cf. Rev 11:6).[198] All these texts have consequences for understanding the mission of John the Baptist. It would seem logical that somebody who is claimed to be Elijah, acts in a similar way as he did. In fact, it was even demonstrated by Elisha who acted in the spirit of Elijah and was able to raise the dead, even after his own death (2 Kgs 13:20-21). In contrast, John the Baptist did not perform the mighty deeds/miracles like Elijah (cf. Sir 48:4) or his successor Elisha (cf. Sir 48:12, 14). He did not raise anyone from the dead and he is not associated with the resurrection. He did not "close or open the heaven" so in terms of the miraculous deeds he is not like Elijah. However, there remains the question, whether he was like Elijah in terms of his words/preaching.

It seems important in this case to refer to the Qumran writings, where we find two texts, which refer to the coming of Elijah. The first one - 4Q558 frag. 51, preserves in line 3 an Aramaic text ending with והא אנה, which according to É. Puech, can be in reference to Mal 3:23 הנה אנכי.[199] Moreover, in the following line is a clear reference to Elijah:

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[197] For instance in *m.Soṭah* 9:15 is written: (…) ותחית המתים באה על ידי אליהו (The resurrection from the dead comes through Elijah). See also *y.Šeqal.* 3:3. According to *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 76a: "Everything that the Holy One will do, he has already anticipated by the hands of the righteous in this world, the resurrection of the dead by Elijah and Ezekiel (…). Translation taken from W. G. Braude – I. J. Kapstein, *Pěsiḳta dě-Raḇ Kahăna*, 175-176. According to *b.Sanh.* 113a and MdrPs 78:5 Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel received the key of resurrection, so they raised people from the dead. See also É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4* [DJD 25], 12.

[198] Cf. 1 Kgs 17:1; 18:1, 41; Sir 48:2-3. For the thorough studies of this concept cf. C. G. Bottini, *La preghiera di Elia in Giacomo 5,17-18*, *passim*.

[199] É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4* [DJD 37], 215, 217. Puech suggests that this line should make an allusion to the coming of the messenger/servant/Davidic messiah as he reconstructs this text as follows: …והא אנה[אשלח מלאכי עבדי משיחא. However, it seems that early Jewish sources do not represent Elijah as someone who precedes the Messiah. For the discussion cf. J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 129, n. 72.

[ ]ל לכן אשלח לאליה קד[מ/ם].[200] Puech suggests that קד[מ/ם could be what remains of קדמוהי and as such would be an allusion to Mal 3:23 (cf. Mal 3:1). Moreover, the following line preserves the word ברקא (lightning), which could be an allusion to the "Day of God," burning like a furnace (בער כתנור) in Mal 3:19 as well as to the messenger/Elijah, who is like a refiner's fire according to Mal 3:2 (כי הוא כאש מצרף).[201] Puech pointed out that these two ideas could be related to Sir 48:1, where the prophet Elijah is presented as a fire and his words burning like a furnace:
עד אשר קם נביא כאש ודבריו כתנור בוער (cf. similar vocabulary).[202] Thus, the representation of Elijah in 4Q558 frag. 51 is linked to Mal 3:1-2, 19, 23 and possibly to Sir 48:1. So it refers to the same text as all the Synoptics Gospels in the description of John the Baptist (Mal 3:1). Moreover, the Synoptics report his preaching as threatening the perverse generation with fire (cf. Mt 3:10-12; Lk 3:17). So in terms of similar words/preaching John the Baptist could be said as having "words like a blazing oven" (Sir 48:1) as was probably expected from a returning Elijah in the 1st century BC.

Also the second text of Qumran is very similar to that used in the Gospel of Luke to describe John the Baptist. 4Q521 frag. 2 iii reads as follows (line 2):
נכון באים אבות על בנים א[שרי](?) ("That's sure: 'The fathers come (back) to the sons." Happy (?)"). The name of Elijah is not mentioned here, but it is a clear reference or - as Puech claims – a citation of Mal 3:24 *ad sensum* where it is written that, before the day of the Lord, Elijah "will turn the hearts of

[200] É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4* [DJD 37], 215, 217.

[201] The subject הוא is unclear, but most probably it is the messenger (cf. the context of Mal 3:1-3).

[202] Text is taken from: P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 85. Elijah brought down fire three times (Sir 48:3) and was taken in a chariot with fiery horses (Sir 48:9).

the fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers."[203] The same idea is also present in Sir 48:10:

הכתוב נכון לעת להשבית אף לפנ[י(?)] להשיב לב אבות על בנים.[204]

Interestingly, 4Q521 frag. 2 iii and Sir 48:10 share the same word נכון, which in the former text introduces the citation, but in the latter could have the eschatological sense "prepared for the time - נכון לעת." Moreover, the form א]שרי could be a clear reference to Sir 40:11, which starts with אשר ראך.[205] So, the description of Elijah found in 4Q521 frag. 2 iii and Sir 48:10-11, based on Mal 3:23, is very similar to Lk 1:17, where is written that John the Baptist is someone who turns the hearts of the fathers to the children. The comparison of these texts shows that in the 1st century BC people referred to the coming of Elijah in similar terms to those of the 1st century AD, and, most importantly, John the Baptist, according to the Gospel of Luke, fulfills the expectations of the people, although it is not connected to the miracles as in the other text in Qumran, namely 4Q382 where is found the paraphrase of Elijah's and Elisha's mighty deeds.[206] This indicates that the matter of the miracles linked with the returning of Elijah was one of the concerns in the 1st century BC, but not the only one. The other characteristic was the preaching/words and, in this regard, John the Baptist is similar to Elijah.

It is worth mentioning here a similarity between these two figures in preaching to social and political leaders. All the Synoptics underline John the Baptist's criticism against Herod's general wickedness, as well as the specific case of having his brother's wife (cf. Mt 14:3-5; Mk 6:17-20; Lk 3:19-

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[203] É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4* [DJD 25], 20. Cf. Idem, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, 669-681. Author points out that Elijah is a precursor of the royal messiah.

[204] Text is taken from: P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 86. Reconstruction according to É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4* [DJD 25], 19.

[205] P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 86. See also É. Puech, "Ben Sira 48:11 et la résurrection," 87.

[206] H. Attridge et al. (ed.), *Qumaran Cave IV* [DJD 13], 363-416.

20). Similarly Elijah criticized Ahab and Jezebel, especially over Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21:17-29). Unlike Elijah, though, John the Baptist did not have the chance to escape the queen's revenge. Again, there is a tension in this case, because he preached like Elijah, but he did not perform miracles like him, which might have helped him not to end up in prison. Precisely, the tension between deeds and words like Elijah seems to be an important point of similarity and dissimilarity between these two figures.

Josephus mentiones the deeds of Elijah (*A.J.* 8:319-362, 9:18-28).[207] In contrast to the texts from Qumran, he does not mention that Elijah would come back, nor does he refer to the text from Mal 3:1, 23. Nevertheless, at the end of a description of Elijah, he states that Elijah disappeared from among men and, like Enoch, became invisible, but no one knows of their death (*A.J.* 9:28). In terms of other sources, it is worth mentioning that in Philo the prophet Elijah never appears.[208] and in general there are few references to his role in the Pseudepigrapha.[209] The Thesbite prophet is mentioned in *Sib. Or.* 2:187-189 as the one who will come and display three signs, without specifying their nature. Obviously, *Sib. Or.* incorporates Jewish material, but it is Christian in its present form. Likewise, the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* incorporates some Jewish sources, but it dates from the 3rd century AD and is a Christian composition. The Hebrew *Book of Elijah* is even later, so it cannot be a witness to Jewish expectations about Elijah at the turning of the era.

6.4. "I am" Answers

The Fourth Evangelist tries to describe the identity of John the Baptist at the very beginning of his Gospel. In Jn 1:20-28 the threefold

[207] O. Kaiser, "Der Prophet Elia in Flavius Josephus Ant. XVIII und XIX," 152-163.
[208] P. Borgen – K. Fuglseth – R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, 165.
[209] J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 130.

"I [am] not"[210]: I am not the Messiah, I am not Elijah, [I am] not a prophet (Jn 1:19-21, 25); is followed by the three-fold "I [am]": I [am] a Voice; I baptize in water and I am not worthy to untie his sandals. These "I [am]" titles are to a certain extent present in the Synoptics, but only here does John the Baptist declare that he is a voice. Furthermore, he feels the joy of the bridegroom's friend (Jn 3:28-29)[211] and he is called a lamp (Jn 5:35). All these titles define him and his role in relation to Jesus Christ.[212]

It seems, however, that contemporary scholarship overlooks and fails to adequately appreciate some statements regarding John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel, while concentrating mainly on Jn 1:20-21 in the "Elijah problem." This has led many scholars to consider John the Baptist as less important than Elijah, and, in this way, to resolve the problem of John's denial of being Elijah in this way.[213] K. Backhaus recently wrote: "So John keeps standing at the 'beginning of the gospel' – not as a mighty figure in its historical dawning but as a humble usher in its portal inviting people to find their seats with the best view of Jesus." It seems, though, a mistake to consider John the Baptist as "a humble usher" and a person less important than in the Synoptics, because he refuses to be called Elijah and he is unworthy to untie the thong of Jesus's sandals (Jn 1:27). It should be mentioned here that untying sandals is a slave's duty, but it does not imply that John the Baptist is shown in the FG as a slave. Jesus washed the apostle's feet (a slave's duty) but this does not diminish his identity as the

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[210] L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 133. The way in which John answers is very emphatic: καὶ ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο. The former word literally means "to say again the same thing," whereas the latter has the sense of "denying" or "refusing to confirm." So they were waiting for a particular answer and he refused to confirm it and again said the same thing, confessing who he is not. Cf. J. Calloud, "Quatrième évangile: le témoignage de Jean (I)," 35-37.

[211] Cf. M. L. Coloe, "Witness and Friend," 319-332.

[212] C. Bennema, "The Character of John in the Fourth Gospel," 278-279.

[213] Cf. J. E. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 223-234. She claims that John the Baptist in his own estimation was a lowly figure.

Messiah and the "Word." Moreover, F. Manns pointed out that the expression "I am not worthy to untie the thong of his sandals," has to be interpreted in a juridical sense as related to the law of levirate. This indicates that John the Baptist refuses to take the place of the one who comes after him, but who was before him, because he has the right of the spouse, since he is older.[214]

It must be stressed that, very often in current scholarship on John the Baptist, the expression ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ (Jn 1:7), crucial to understanding John the Baptist's role in this Gospel, is overlooked. The Fourth Evangelist presents him as an extremely important person, from the very beginning. John the Baptist is the first human person named in the Fourth Gospel and to him is attributed a role that will cause all to believe through him. The importance of this expression is appreciated in the bigger picture when it is recognized that the verb "to believe" occurs 217 times in the New Testament and 98 occurrences are found in the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, the evangelist creates an emphasis with the adjective "all - πάντες" so that all might believe in Jesus through John the Baptist. This seems to be a rhetorical figure of *exaggeratio per incrementum*, since we also see that people believed because of Jesus' teaching, his miracles or in other occurrences. Nevertheless, the claim that "all might believe" in Jesus through John the Baptist makes a strong impact on the entire Gospel and cannot be overlooked, the more so, because there is no other place in the New Testament which states that all might believe in Jesus Christ through a person.[215]

John the Baptist is presented in the FG as one highly regarded. The evangelist wanted even to avoid any misunderstanding that he was the

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[214] See F. Manns, "Jean-Baptiste," 103.

[215] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, II, 1127-1129.

Light, the title reserved for Jesus. The twice-repeated verse ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός (Jn 1:7-8) is quite conspicuous. Such a double clarification shows the importance of John the Baptist, even to the point that there is a danger of confusing him with Jesus. In fact, between these two statements comes probably the most important title regarding the identity of John the Baptist οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, because, in this context, being Light and Word is reserved to describe Jesus' identity as God (Jn 1:1-9). It appears to be even stronger than the question as to whether he is ὁ χριστός, Elijah or the prophet, because in none of these titles is there a comparison with the identity of God, as in Jn 1:1-9. There is no other person in the NT of whom it is written that he/she is not God, because it is obvious. The Fourth Evangelist, however, judges it necessary to make such a statement about the identity of John the Baptist. In turn, it leads one to think how highly regarded John the Baptist was, to the point that we find the declaration: "he is not the Light."

The importance of John the Baptist is also seen in the writings of Josephus, although the authenticity of *A.J.* 18:116-119 is still a matter of scholarly research.[216] The Jewish historian refers to opinions among the Jewish population, according to which, Herod Antipas suffered defeat in the war against the Nabatean King Aretas IV (circa AD 36), because God had taken vengeance for the unjust execution of the widely known and influential John the Baptist. According to Josephus, John the Baptist "was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives and practise justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing to join in baptism" (*A.J.* 18:116). The dual virtues, "justice" and "piety," ascribed to John the Baptist are reserved for the great kings of Israel (*A.J.* 7:338, 342,

[216] Cf. C. K. Rothschild, "'Echo of a Whisper,'" 255-290; É. Nodet, "Jésus et Jean-Baptiste selon Josèphe," 321-348.

356, 374; 9:236; cf. *A.J.* 7:384).[217] Even if this is a later addition, other texts still show that John the Baptist was not considered at all a secondary figure.

In summary, the Fourth Evangelist does not allude to or quote Mal 3:1 when speaking about John the Baptist, but refers only to Is 40:3. This difference can be understood in the light of Jn 1:21, where John the Baptist denies that he is either the Messiah, the prophet or Elijah. His denial of the first two titles is understandable, since in the Fourth Gospel they are reserved for Christ, but there is a discussion about why he refused to be called Elijah, which would seem to be in contrast to the Synoptics. This research underlined the tension in the representation of John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah. On one hand, he was not someone people supposed him to be in terms of mighty deeds. That is to say, he was not like Elijah, according to popular expectations. He did not raise the dead,[218] he was not associated with the resurrection,[219] he did not perform miracles, he did not "close or open heaven" praying for rain or lack of it.[220] On the other hand, his preaching can be compared to fire and his words to a torch.[221] Moreover, he was a prophet, who like Elijah was sent to turn the heart of the fathers to their children.[222] Further support for this argument comes from Jn 10:41, where there is a distinction between deeds and words: "John did no sign (σημεῖον), but everything John said about him [Jesus] was true." In fact, the deeds mark one of the differences between John the Baptist and Jesus, who says in the FG that his testimony is greater than that of John the Baptist, because he performs the works which the Father has given him to accomplish (Jn 5:36). Deeds and miracles mark the difference between these two personalities. Thus, the Fourth

[217] Cf. S. Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 213-215.
[218] Cf. 1 Kgs 17:17-24; 2 Kgs 13:20-21; Sir 48:5; Lk 4:24-26; cf. 2 Kgs 4:18-37.
[219] Cf. Sir 48:11; *m.Soṭah* 9:15.
[220] 1 Kgs 17:1; 18:1, 41; Sir 48:2-3; Lk 4:25; Jn 5:17-18; cf. Rev 11:6.
[221] Sir 48:1; 4Q558 frag. 51; Mt 3:10-12; Lk 3:17.
[222] Mal 3:1, 22-23; Sir 48:10-11; 4Q521 frag. 2 iii; Lk 1:17.

Evangelist did not label him with the title "Elijah," by quoting Mal 3:1, instead, he showed him as a key figure in the Fourth Gospel.

Therefore, in contrast to various scholars, who claim that John the Baptist is a secondary person in the Fourth Gospel it should be stressed that he gains various titles: a) sent by God (Jn 1:6); b) a witness to the Light (Jn 1:7-8); c) he is not the Light (Jn 1:8); d) a Voice (Jn 1:23; Is 40:3); e) someone who baptizes with water (Jn 1:26); f) unworthy to untie Jesus' sandals; g) one who feels the joy of the bridegroom's friend (Jn 3:28-29); h) a lamp (Jn 5:35). All these titles show that the Fourth Evangelist did not narrow the identity of John the Baptist just to Elijah *redivivus*. He is not simply a forerunner of Jesus, but someone much more important that that, to the point that the evangelist judged it necessary to clarify that "he is not the Light" and that "all might believe through him."

7. Conclusions

The Hebrew text of Is 40:3 is ambiguous in two main respects, which later become crucial points to understanding the NT use of this text. First, the subdivision of Is 40:3 is very problematic. Should this verse be understood as: "a voice calls in the desert: prepare the way (...)" or "a voice calls: in the desert prepare the way (...)."? The textual analysis from the point of view of parallelisms, cantillation marks, quotations and translations brings one to the conclusion that the text might be ambiguous by design. For the Qumran community it was a programmatic passage to go to the wilderness/desert to prepare the way. However, it seems that the Hellenistic Jewish community in Egypt preferred the translation "a voice is calling in the desert: prepare the way (…)" as part of their "Eisodos" theology. The missing word בערבה in the Septuagint translation could prove this point.

The second issue in the Hebrew text and in its Greek translation is the meaning of דרך יהוה. It is ambiguous because of its poetic setting. If Is 40:3

were a part of Hebrew prose, the meaning of this expression would be "the way of the Lord," but because it is part of Hebrew poetry, the translation "the way for the Lord" can be justified, as indicated and supported by the parallelism with מסלה לאלהינו. Interestingly, in LXX-Is the parallelism is kept, but the meaning of these two expressions differs: τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου // τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. The first one is no longer ambiguous and can be translated as "the way of the Lord." The latter one assumes a meaning that is not clearly evident in the Hebrew text: "the highway of our God," instead of "the highway for our God." The Septuagint Isaiah is not only a translation, but also an interpretation. This interpretation could reflect the understanding of the Hebrew text in the time and context of the translation, and also the theology and primary aims of the translator/his community. It seems that a "free translation" of Is 40:3 does not originate from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, but most probably is a conscious and deliberate choice.

It seems that Mal 3:1 clarifies and emphasizes the meaning of Is 40:3, because it stresses that the way has to be prepared before God, for God (cf. use of πρόσωπον, ἔμπροσθεν) and not just "the way of the Lord" has to be prepared, as one would think on the basaes of the LXX text of Is 40:3.[223] Indeed, it seems that the use of Mal 3:1 helped to overcome these two textual problems and shifted the attention from a desert as *a place* for preparation of the way (as it is in 1QS 8:14), to John the Baptist as *a person* who prepares the way. However, it seems that the Fourth Evangelist deliberately used Is 40:3 (and Synoptics Mal 3:1) which refer to the preparation of the way for the God of Israel in order to show Jesus' divinity by showing John the Baptist's identity.

In this regard, the Fourth Gospel differs from the Synoptics in the use of Is 40:3 in some points. Only in the FG John the Baptist declared himself as

[223] Cf. Mk 1:2-3; Mt 3:3 and Mt 11:10; Lk 3:4-6 and Lk 7:27.

the voice who calls in the wilderness (cf. use of the pronoun ἐγώ). In the Synoptics the narrator declared him to be the voice of which Is 40:3 prophesied. In substance, though, it does not break with the other Gospels, outside the fact that the text in Jn 1:23 is the shortest version of the citation. The main difference between the FG and the Synoptics is the question of the identification of John the Baptist with Elijah. The Fourth Evangelist does not quote Mal 3:1, which is related to Mal 3:23-24 and in this way does not identifiy Elijah as a prophet who prepares the way before the Lord. This difference might be understood in the light of Jn 1:21, where John the Baptist denies that he is the Messiah, the prophet and Elijah. His refusal of the first two titles is understandable, since in the Fourth Gospel they are reserved for Christ, but there is a discussion as to why he did not accept being called Elijah. This research argues that there is a tension in the representation of John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah. On one hand, in terms of mighty *deeds*, he was not like Elijah, according to popular expectations. He did not raise the dead, he was not associated with the resurrection, he did not perform miracles, he did not "close or open heaven" praying for rain or lack of it. On the other hand, his *preaching/words* can be compared to fire and to a torch. Moreover, he was a prophet who, like Elijah was sent to turn the heart of the fathers to their children. Thus, the Fourth Evangelist did not give him the title "Elijah," by quoting Mal 3:1. Instead, - in contrast to the Synoptics – in the FG not the narrator, but John the Baptist presents himself and – in agreement with the Synoptics – Is 40:3 is used to indicate the identity of him as a voice calling in the desert to prepare the way for the coming of the Lord/God.

II. TAUGHT OF GOD: IS 53:14 IN JN 6:45

Is 53:14 is the only Isaianic citation of the FG which was not quoted in the rest of the NT or in early Jewish sources (in contrast to Is 6:9-10; 40:3; 53:1). Therefore, in terms of length, it is the shortest chapter in this dissertation. However, it does not mean that this is the most straightforward one. There are many issues, which are faced here, starting with textual variation, whether the proper reading is בניך (your sons) or בוניכי (your builders), as it is found in one of the earliest textual witness (1QIsa[a]). Even more important is the question of the temporal axes in Is 54:13. Translations with a past participle, a present and a future of the same text show the complexity of the issue. The same problem also remains in the Greek translation and one has to ask why the same syntagm בניך is translated in the LXX once as "your sons" and the other time as "your children" even in the same verse? Furthermore, this text cited in Jn 6:45 has a verbal form ἔσονται which is already an interpretation of the whole verse. Most striking in the citation of Is 54:13, though, is the omission of בניך, crucial for the meaning of the text in a new context. The citation itself is introduced by the formula "it is written in the prophets." Does the plural form "prophets" signify that the citation refers to the second division of the Hebrew Bible? Finally, what is the new meaning and function of Is 54:13 in Jn 6 and in the FG?

1. The Hebrew Text of Is 54:13 within Is 54

The need for comfort in the post-exilic trauma is a prominent theme in Deutero-Isaiah,[1] as well as in the final part of the book, where God is described as comforting his people as a mother comforts her children (Is 66:13). Is 54 is a part of these consolation texts for the people of Israel who returned from exile to their Land.

1.1. Textual criticism

The Hebrew text of the citation וכל בניך למודי יהוה does not have particular textual problems in BHS. However, according to 1QIsa[a] בניך "your sons" should be read as בוניכי "your builders" because of the ו added.[2] Another problem is the final י ,and some editors have asked whether it was added later or not.[3] It is a matter of fact that 1QIsa[a] is a somewhat careless copy and contains a large number of corrections.[4] In the chapter of Is 54 alone, the letter ו was written five times above various words (Is 54:4, 8, 12, 13, 16).[5] Similar phenomena happened with the letters י, ה, א (Is 54:5, 10, 16) and even a word תיך being written above the line (Is 54:11).[6] In the other chapters of 1QIsa[a] the state of the text is not much different. Therefore, the variant of this scroll with בוניכי does not seem very convincing as a so called "original reading."[7]

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[1] Cf. J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 357-366. See Is 40:1; 49:13; 51:12; 52:9; 54:10-12.

[2] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/1], 90-91.

[3] D. W. Parry – E. Qimron (ed.), *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a])*, 90-91.

[4] E. Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," 502.

[5] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/1], 88-91.

[6] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/1], 90-91.

[7] *Pace* K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 454, n. 405. He is in favour of "your builders" as the preferred variant of the text.

In this case, though, it is worth mentioning the version of *b.Ber.* 64a: "Do not read בניך but בוניך."[8] 1QIsa[a] may or may not present a stream of an early understanding of this text, which is more evident a few centuries later as, for instance, in the Babylonian Talmud mentioned above. It may or it may not be a way of using *'al tiqre*, typical of rabbinic exegesis. In any case, the reading of 1QIsa[a] is not supported by any other important textual witnesses (cf. BHS), therefore "your sons" is seen in this research as the correct understanding of Is 54:13.

1.2. The Main Concepts of Is 54:13 within Is 54

Is 54:13 refers to three main ideas/concepts present in Is 54, which are: children, God (יהוה) and peace. The whole chapter starts with an invitation to "raise a glad cry," because of the multitude of offspring. The desolate places will be filled with the new population and Jerusalem, and new places will be built for them as well. The expression "your children" in Is 54:13 refers not only to the children/sons of Jerusalem, but also to the children/sons of Israel in general. One of the most important goals of post-exilic Judaism was the education of male children in the content of the Torah and other sacred writings. A very similar prophecy is found in Jr 31:34 (cf. Jl 3:1-2). In this context it becomes evident that the children of Israel receive something that goes beyond any expectation and beyond human possibilities. God himself is their teacher. It does not only mean that they receive the best and true teaching, but that the children of Israel are in constant contact with their God.

The name יהוה may be referring to the other names of God in the context of Is 54. This name underlines some characteristics of the God of Israel. In Is 54:5 there are various titles of God, of which יהוה צבאות reaches back to the

[8] Cf. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (I Q Isa[a])*, 225. See a similar exchange in Is 49:17.

ancient Israelite theology. It was the title used in the context of worship in early Israel centered around the ark of covenant.[9] It recalls the exodus from Egypt (cf. in Is 54 the exodus from Babylon), the wilderness journey, Joshua's conquest of Canaan and David's conquest of the larger areas of the Promised Land. Moreover, Is 54 twice describes God as "your redeemer" (גאלך) (Is 54:5, 8). This title appears in various contexts in the Bible, but very often in that of the exodus from Egypt and when God helps the people of Israel.[10] Another title, קדוש ישראל is a typical one used in Isaiah's visions that describes God as "the wholly other" who links Israel to Abraham by election.[11] Finally, אלהי כל הארץ repeats the idea that all the Land belongs to God, not only the Promised Land from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt.[12] In this context, the name of God יהוה as the teacher of the children of Israel gains particular weight and significance, because it links Is 54:13 with the history and theology of the nation.

The word שלום in Is 54:13 can be understood not only as peace, but as prosperity or wealth. This text may be read in light of Is 54:10, where ברית שלום is mentioned. An identical expression is used also in Ez 34:25; 37:26. Two occurrences (Is 54:10; Ez 37:26) have a single idea in common, namely the everlasting quality of the "covenant of peace." According to Isaiah, the mountains may move and the hills may be shaken, but this covenant of peace will not be shaken. Similarly, Ez 37:26 underlines that this covenant will be an everlasting one. Ez 34:25, in its turn, mentions a covenant of peace with David. Now, the question is whether the same everlasting quality can be found in Is 54:13, since there is no verbal form used in this text.

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[9] A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 440-448.

[10] A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 215-216.

[11] J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 798.

[12] *Pace* J.D.W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 798.

1.3. The Temporal Axes in Is 54:13

Is 54:13 varies in its translations, which reveals the difficulty of a proper understanding of this text. For instance, Watts translates it in the present and future tenses:

"Your children are being taught by YHWH,
and the prosperity of your children (will be) great."[13]

Blenkinsopp[14] and others[15] suggest use of the future tense:

"When all your children will be taught by Yahveh,
great will be the well-being of your children."

Baltzer translates it with the past participle and the future:

"And all your descendants [or: "builders"] have been taught by Yahweh,
and great will be the peace/salvation of your descendants [or: "builders"]."[16]

The most common translation is that with the future tense. Such a choice is based on the context where the future tense is used as well as on the milieu of the prophecy, which is a way of predicting the future. However, no verb is found in Is 54:13. It seems inappropriate to smooth the asperities of the temporal axis by translating everything in present, past or future, depending on the verbal forms in the immediate context as is a fairly common practice among the scholars.[17] Therefore, this study agrees with A. Niccacci's proposal that: "(…) different verbal forms need play different functions in BH [Biblical Hebrew] poetry as is the case in prose, and, second, that the functions of the verbal forms in poetry are basically the

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[13] J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 796.

[14] J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 358

[15] Cf. J. Mateos (transl.), "Isaías," 934; NRSV, 667; BiJer, 1354; BdiCEI, 1229.

[16] K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 448.

[17] For the discussion see: A. Niccacci, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Poetry,"247-268.

same as in prose, more precisely in direct speech. (…) The main difference is that direct speech, as prose in general, consists of pieces of information conveyed in a sequence, while poetry communicates segments of information in parallelism. The result is linear vs. segmental communication. As a consequence, poetry is able to switch from one temporal axis to another even more freely than direct speech."[18]

According to Niccacci, the difference between the temporal axes is as follows:[19]

Temporal Axes	Main Level of Communication (Foreground)	Secondary Level of Communication (Background)
Past	(x-) qatal → continuation wayyiqtol (Dt 1:6ff; 5:2ff)	→ x-qatal, nonverbal sentence, x-yiqtol, w^{e}qatal (background)
Present	Non-verbal sentence with / without participle (Gn 42:10-11)	Non-verbal sentence with/without participle
Future	Non-verbal sentence (esp. with participle) → continuation w^{e}qatal (Ex 7:17-18, 27-29) or initial x-yiqtol → continuation w^{e}qatal (in a chain)	x-yiqtol (background)
Future volitive	Imperative → w^{e}yiqtol (Nm 6:24-26) or (x-) yiqtol cohortative/jussive → w^{e}yiqtol	→ x-imperative → x-yiqtol
	NB: Imperative → w^{e}yiqtol = purpose (in order to) Imperative → w^{e}qatal = consequence (thus, therefore) (Ex 25:2 → 8)	

When these rules are applied to Is 54:13, one has to ask whether this text depends on the previous verse, in order to say whether ושׂמתי is so called a "double-duty modifier," which designates a grammatical element that is of service to two or more lines, although it does not appear in every case, but

[18] A. Niccacci, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Poetry," 247-248.

[19] A. Niccacci, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Poetry," 248.

only in the first one or in one of the subsequent lines of a poetic text (Ps 2:1-2; Jb 40:15-32).[20] If ושׂמתי is a "double-duty modifier," Is 54:13 can be translated with the future forms. It seems, though, that Is 54:12 and Is 54:13 are separated from each other by internal parallelisms:

Is 54:12: ושׂמתי כדכד שׂמשׂתיך ושׁעריך לאבני אקדח

וכל גבולך לאבני חפץ

Is 54:13: וכל בניך למודי יהוה ורב שׁלום בניך

First, there is a clear sonorous parallelism between שׂמשׂתיך ושׁעריך, which ties these two parts of the verse together. Secondly, the third part of the verse is linked to the previous part by the parallelism between **לאבני** and **לאבני**. Moreover, all three parts refer to "you" since they have the personal pronoun of the second person sing. It would seem that it is precisely this personal pronoun that links the two verses together, but there are other internal ties within Is 54:13. Namely, at the beginning and at the end of this verse the same syntagm **בניך** is found, so both the privilege of "being taught of God" and "great peace" refer to the same group of people, that is, to "your sons." The other difference is in the semantic field. The previous verse refers to the matters of building - such as gates, stones and walls - whereas Is 54:13 refers to a completely different topic, again, namely to "your sons." Moreover, one might see a wordplay or an antithesis between **אבן** and **בן**, a typical rhetorical device used also in Hebrew poetry. As far as the subsequent verse 14 is concerned, it is clear that Is 54:14 is separated from the previous verse, since it starts with a typical form of the future indicative: x-yiqtol.

Taking all these arguments into consideration, there are no good reasons to understand ושׂמתי as a "double-duty modifier," because the two verses are semantically and grammatically disconnected. It is also not the case that

[20] Cf. A. Niccacci, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Poetry," 258-261.

one can smooth the brusqueness of the temporal axis by translating Is 54:13 in the future. This text, therefore, has to be understood as an independent segment. As such, it fits well with Niccacci's theory of the present tense, which enables the translation:

"And all your sons (are) taught of God,
and great (is) the peace of your sons."

This conclusion has crucial consequences for the understanding of Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45. It states that the people of Israel are taught of God in a sense pertaining to general truth. This embraces the idea that "your sons" were/are/will be taught of God, which links this verse with the other occurrences where God spoke to the people of Israel: he is speaking and will be speaking. Similarly, the second part of this verse presents the idea of the great peace of "your sons" as being something timeless, which again does not exclude that they were/are/will be in great peace. This is in accordance with Is 54:10, where the "covenant of peace" is described as everlasting, as was mentioned above.

2. Septuagint Reading of Is 53:14

The LXX text of Is 54:13 is as follows: καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱούς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τέκνα σου. It seems that the translator of the book of Isaiah was less concerned about bringing the Hebrew text of Isaiah to its readers than bringing the book to them in good Greek.[21] This explains his "free translation" and changes in the vocabulary, as in the case of בניך being translated with two different words. However, the use of different words in this case does not necessarily change the general meaning of the phrase. The syntagm בניך means "your sons," but sometimes it might be used to indicate not only sons, but also children in general, which seems to be the case in Is 54:13. This is particularly valid when we take into consideration the literary context, where בן in Is 54:1 was rendered with

[21] Cf. R. L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 102-132.

τέκνον and not with υἱός. Such a translation is not only legitimate, but *ad sensum*. It would be oversimplified to suppose that the writer refers only to sons and not to children in general.

A similar approach seems to be applied in Is 54:13, although there is a sophisticated nuance, which seems to be more than just an attempt to avoid the repetition of the same syntagm "your sons." The Septuagint translator used the word "sons" in the context of being the disciples of God, probably because education was primarily and exclusively for male children. In the context of peace and prosperity, though, he preferred to use the word "children" which includes male and female offspring alike.

The problem of the temporal axes of the Hebrew text remains also in the Greek version, as can be seen, for instance, in the following translations:
"Und alle deine Söhne zu von Gott Belehrten,
und *in* großem Frieden (werde ich) deine Kinder (leben lassen) [editors italic]."[22]
or
"And I will make all your sons taught by God
and your children to be in great peace."[23]
One of the difficulties in the translation of the Greek text comes from the fact that it is a word for word translation, thus the text lacks verbal forms. The translators render this text in the future tense as depending on θήσω from the previous verse.[24] However, similarly, as in the Hebrew text, these two verses are semantically divided, since they describe two different realities: stones and sons. This wordplay is not so clearly seen as it is in the

[22] M. Karrer – W. Kraus et al., *Septuaginta Deutsch*. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung, 1277.

[23] A. Pietersma – B. G. Wright (ed.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 866.

[24] M. Karrer – W. Kraus et al., *Septuaginta Deutsch*, II: Psalmen bis Daniel, 2670.

Hebrew language, but is still there. Therefore, it seems that the faithful translation of Is 54:13 is in the present tense as well.

It is worth mentioning here, though, that the citation from Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45 has the future verbal form, which classifies it as a prophecy (ἔσονται). At the same time, the crucial syntagm for the context of Is 54, such as "your sons" is missing. Detailed analysis of Is 54:13 in a new context may shed further light on the way this text was understood in the 1st century AD.

3. The Fourth Gospel's Understanding of Is 54:13

Καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ θεοῦ is the first citation pronounced by Jesus in the FG (Jn 6:45), as a part of the bread of life discourse (Jn 6:22-59). The citation itself is preceded by the introductory formula "it is written in the prophets." Does the plural form "prophets" signify that the citation comes from two or more prophetic sources or does it refer to the second division of the Hebrew Bible **נביאים**? Another question concerns the source and *Vorlage* of this citation, since the exact form of this text is not found in the LXX nor in the literal translation of the HB. Consequently, there is scholarly debate as to whether πάντες underlines the universal profile of FG or if it refers exclusively to "πᾶς" – everyone who listens to Jesus' Father and learns from him (cf. Jn 6:45b) - or if there is another connotation? Most important is the meaning of this citation in the whole discourse (Jn 6:22-59) and in the Fourth Gospel.

3.1. "It is written in the prophets"

The introductory formula in Jn 6:45: Ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις has received various scholarly interpretations. The claim that the evangelist uses the plural form "prophets" because he was unsure of the exact source of the quotation or that he drew his quotation from two or more passages

has been commonly abandoned.[25] There were some attempts to find a parallel or similar introductory formula in the NT, but none of them fit the comparison. For instance, it is not possible to maintain any longer that the phrase ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται in Mt 2:23 is parallel to Jn 6:45,[26] because the exact source of this citation is still unknown and the two introductory formulae are very different, except in that they refer to the prophets in the plural. The version: Ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις in Mk 1:2, although the one most similar to Jn 6:45, is clearly a later attempt to "correct" the text where the introductory formula mentions Isaiah, because the text that immediately follows does not seem, at first, to come from this biblical book. Similarly, ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν in Mt 26:56 is different from Jn 6:45, because it does not introduce any citation and the FG's version does not mention the idea of fulfillment in the introductory formula until Jn 12:38. In Acts of the Apostles there are three introductory formulae with "prophets" in the plural, namely, Acts 7:42 (referred to Am 5:25-27); Acts 13:40 (referring to Hb 1:5); Acts 15:15 (referred to Am 9:11-12). All these formulae, however, introduce citations only from the Minor Prophets, which led some scholars to claim that these cases refer to the "Dodecapropheton," precisely because in Acts 7:42 is mentioned "the book of the prophets."[27] There are other introductory formulae in the NT that mention the prophets, but none of them have the main elements of the formula in Jn 6:45, such as the

[25] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St John*, 295-296; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 68-71; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 156-157; C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 685-686.

[26] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 17-18; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St* John, 295-296; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 39-42U; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 122-124. Luz claims that the plural form "prophets" betrays the author's ignorance of the exact source of citation; C. S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 114. He suggests that Matthew alludes to more than a single text referring to "the prophets".

[27] B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 48; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 156-158.

expression "it is written," and the noun "prophets" followed by a citation.[28] Therefore, it must be concluded that there is no other introductory formula in the NT exactly as in Jn 6:45.

In this case, it is important to survey the extra biblical sources. Josephus did not use biblical citations (cf. lack of introductory formulae), but just reported the message of the biblical texts in his writings. In contrast, Philo cited biblical texts quite often. Menken has surveyed the introductory formulae in Philo as well as in other extra biblical sources, which refer to the "prophets" and introduce a citation from one of the prophetic books.[29] In Philo's writings, namely in *Fug.* 197, it is written, "… the… Spring, which the All-Father declared by the mouth of prophets (διὰ προφητικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων). For he said in a certain place (…),"[30] followed by Jer 2:13. In *Mut.* 169 the formula "As indeed the orations of the prophets proclaim (καθάπερ καὶ ἐν προφητικαῖς ᾄδεται ῥήσεσι)" introduces the quotation from Is 48:22. Another example comes from the writings of Josephus, namely in *A.J.* 11:3-4, where he puts in Cyrus' mouth the words (although without an introductory formula): "He [God] foretold my name through the prophets (διὰ τῶν προφητῶν) and that I should build His temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judea" (*A.J.* 11:4). In the following text, Josephus explains that Cyrus, the king, knew this from reading the book of the prophet Isaiah (Is 44:28). From Christian sources, Menken indicates two examples in the *Dialogue with Trypho* of Justin Martyr. First, *Dial.* 89:3 presents a series of quotations from Is 53 with the introductory formula: "the prophets said beforehand (προεῖπον οἱ προφῆται)." Second, *Dial.* 119:3 introduces Zec 2:15 with the words: "as the prophets said (ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ προφῆται)." All these extra biblical examples, however, refer to what was

[28] In the FG cf. Jn 2:17; 6:31; 10:34; 12:14. See also Mt 1:22; 2:5, 15, 17; 3:3 and many others as found in K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, II, 1183-1184.

[29] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 70-71.

[30] All Menken's examples are presented here with his translation.

said/uttered by the prophets and not to what was written in the prophets, as it is in Jn 6:45. Moreover, the two texts from the writings of Philo do not refer to the noun "prophets," as in the FG, but to the adjective προφητικός. Some of Menken's examples, though, show that the plural form "prophets" may recall only one prophetic passage and not two or more passages. In any case, we can conclude again that there is no extra-biblical case of the introductory formula such as found in Jn 6:45 and the examples presented are not quite as similar as they are sometimes considered to be. This evokes the question regarding the meaning of this enigmatic formula.

Freed, Schuchard, Williams and others have suggested that it may refer to the second division of the Hebrew Bible - נביאים.[31] One of the reasons for such an assumption is based on the preface to the book of Ben Sira, where, in the introduction, are mentioned "The Law, the Prophets and the other writings (…)."[32] To such a claim is also added that in the later Jewish and early Christian sources certain passages might indicate a triple division of the Hebrew Bible (cf. 2 Mc 15:9; CD 7:17; Mt 5:17; 11:13; 22:40; Lk 16:16; 24:44; Jn 1:45; Acts 28:23; Rm 3:21). Richter mentions some rabbinic texts.[33] In *Mek. Ex* 17:14 (Amalek 2) the word "memorial" means "what is written in the prophets," but there is no citation following.[34] In *b.Sanh.* 90b the phrase "from the prophets, because it is written" refers to Is 26:19.[35] These

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[31] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 18; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 69; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 48-49; cf. A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 156-158; C. H. Williams, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 108.

[32] It is not so clear, though, whether the translator of the Ben Sira referred to the second division of the Hebrew Bible as we know it now, when he was writing about "the prophets." See M. Witte, "Der ‚Kanon' heiliger Schriften des antiken Judentums im Spiegel des Buches Ben Sira/Jesus Sirach,"229-255.

[33] G. Richter, *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, 247, n. 305.

[34] Cf. J. T. Lauterbach (ed.), *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, II, 149: זה זכרון מה שׁכתוב בנביאים. Lauterbach suggests that it refers to 1 Sam 15:8-12. Cf. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 69, n. 10.

[35] L. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Der babylonische Talmud*, VIII, 381.

examples, though, comes from sources much later than the FG and appear in the series of three, namely the reference to the Torah is followed by the citation from the prophets and the writings. Of the early Jewish and Christian sources mentioned above, it is uncertain that they refer to the second division of the Hebrew Bible, as at first they appear.

It is important to consider that the survey of the Qumran sources made by S. Talmon shows that there is no any "decisive new evidence pertaining to the crystallization of a closed canon of Hebrew Scriptures, worded in a fixed or essentially standardized text."[36] A similar conclusion is found in E. Schuller's recent study.[37] Also in the writings of Philo, there appears no introductory formula which would refer to the second division of the Hebrew Bible.[38] The flexibility of the canon of the Bible at the time of Philo is suggested in *Contempl.* 25, where he writes about "the laws and the sacred oracles of God enunciated by the holy prophets, and hymns, and psalms, and all kinds of other things by reason of which knowledge and piety are increased and brought to perfection." A survey of his introductory formulae shows that the reference to "prophet" does not necessarily mean the citation comes from the second division of the Bible. As indicated earlier, there is no exact case in Philo as in Jn 6:45; however, some examples are worthy of examination. And, thus, in *Plant.* 138 a citation from Hos 14:9 is preceded by the formula "this oracle delivered by one of the prophets is consistent." Similarly, in *Somn.* 2:172 we find the phrase: "And one of the ancient prophets bears his testimony in favour of my view of the matter, who speaking under divine inspiration has said: 'The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel'" (Is 5:7). Also *Praem.* 158 refers to Is 54:1 with the words "as the prophet says." However,

[36] S. Talmon, "The Crystallization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures'," 15.

[37] Cf. E. Schuller, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Canon and Canonization," 293-314.

[38] Cf. M. R. Niehoff, "Philons Beitrag zur Kanonisierung der griechischen Bibel," 329-343.

Philo also indicates a prophet as a source of the citation which is not part of the second division of the Bible. In *Agr.* 50 there is mentioned "a prophet, whom it is good to believe, he namely who wrote the Psalms; for he speaks thus, 'The Lord is my shepherd, and he shall cause me to lack nothing'" (Ps 23:1). Moreover, there are clear indications that Moses was considered a prophet. For instance, in *Somn.* 2:277 we find "For it is said to the prophet, 'Behold, he is going forth to the river, and thou shalt stand in the way to meet him, on the bank of the river'" (Ex 7:15). In *Gig.* 49, after the citation from Dt 5:31 is written: "For this is an oracle of God, which was given to the prophet," meaning Moses. There are additional passages, which refer to Moses as a prophet (cf. *Congr.* 170 (Dt 8:2); *Her.* 4 (Ex 4:10)) or Abraham (cf. *Her.* 258 (Gn 20:7)).

A few decades later the canon was still not crystallized, as evidenced in *C. Ap.* of Josephus, which was composed about the same time as the FG (c. AD 94). In *C. Ap.* 1:37-41 is mentioned the existence of 22 books (βιβλία) in Judaism in contrast to others that have an innumerable quantity of books (μυριάδες).[39] It must be asked, however, whether the number 22 is not just a symbolic reference to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Moreover, Josephus writes of 13 prophetic books written after the death of Moses, but it is not clear which books he meant.[40] 4 Ezra 14:37-50 (written around AD 100) does not agree with Josephus, when it indicates 24 books plus 70 others still hidden.[41] The writer, though, does not list them and there is no division for Law, Prophets and writings/other books.

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[39] Cf. O. Gussman, "Flavius Josephus und die Entstehung des Kanons Heiliger Schriften," 345-353.

[40] Josephus mentions some name of the prophets, such as: Isaiah (*C. Ap.* 10:35); Jeremiah (*C. Ap.* 10:78) Ezekiel (*C. Ap.* 10:79) and Daniel (*C. Ap.* 10:267-269). From *Dodekapropheton* he mentions Jonah (*C. Ap.* 9:208-214); Nahum (*C. Ap.* 9:239-242) as well as Micah, Haggai and Zechariah. Cf. O. Gussman, "Flavius Josephus und die Entstehung des Kanons Heiliger Schriften," 352-353.

[41] Cf. M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 437-442; G. C. Macholtz, "Die Entstehung des hebräischen Bibelkanons nach 4 Esra 14," 379-392.

Taking into consideration the above survey, one may conclude: a) it seems that the introductory formula "it is written in the prophets" in Jn 6:45 has no equivalent in biblical and extra-biblical sources and b) the assumption that "in the prophets" refers to the second division of the Hebrew Bible **נביאים** is over-simplified, because "the prophets" as a source of citation around 100 BC - AD 100 is proved to be much more flexible than some scholars claim.

3.2. Structure of Jn 6:43-46

There are more than 80 proposals for the structure of Jn 6.[42] It is not our aim to discuss them here, but it is important to consider the literary framework in which the citation is placed. Jesus cites Is 54:13 in response to the Jews, who murmured because he said that he was the bread that came down from heaven Jn 6:41-42 (ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), which is an allusion to the citation in Jn 6:31 about the manna (ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). M. Theobald suggested a structure to the direct speech of Jesus, which looks as follows:[43]

43b		Stop murmuring among yourselves.
44a	A	No one (οὐδείς) can come to me
44b	B	unless (ἐὰν μὴ) the Father who sent me draw him, and I will raise him on the last day.
45a	C	It is written in the prophets:
45b		'They shall all (πάντες) be taught by God.'
45c	B'	Everyone (πᾶς) who listens to the Father and learns from him
45d	A'	comes to me.

[42] See some proposals in M. Roberge, "La composition de Jean 6, 22-59 dans l'exégèse récente," 91-123.

[43] M. Theobald, "Schriftzitate im »Lebensbrot« - Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 358-359.

46a		Not that anyone (οὐχ…τις) has seen the Father
46b		Except (εἰ μή) the one who is from God;
46c		he has seen the Father.

The chiasm AB // B'A' is marked by similar expressions or vocabulary (as indicated in brackets or underlined). The citation is in the center of this chiasm. The adjective πάντες is specified in what was said in AB and in A'B'. The following verse, Jn 6:46 summarizes the direct speech with reference also to: "anyone," "Father," and "God." Moreover, the origin of Jesus is claimed as one who is "from God" and "has seen the Father." It means that Jesus must come from above (cf. ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανου). The reference to "all," "no one" "everyone," and "anyone," will be discussed below.

3.3. *Vorlage* of the Citation

There is no unanimity between the scholars regarding the source of the quotation in Jn 6:45. According to Burney, the text cited was originally taken from the Hebrew *Vorlage* and afterwards modified by a copyist under LXX influence.[44] G. Richter suggested that the evangelist did not quote directly from the OT, but incorporated a contemporaneous Jewish haggadah on the Hebrew text of Is 54:13.[45] C. S. Keener claims: "Like some rabbis, John may blend the Greek and Hebrew texts"[46], although he acknowledges the possibility of a free quotation from the LXX. In discussing the possible source of the citation, the following OT passages about God's teaching (possibly combined with Is 54:13) have been considered: esp. Is 11:9; 40:14; Jr 24:7; Jr 31:33-34/Jr 38:33-34 (LXX); Jl 2:27, 29; Hb 2:14; Ez 11:19, 36-26; Ps 71:17; 119:171; Prv 4:4, 11; CD 20:4 (למודי אל); *Pss. Sol.* 17:32.[47] Theobald aptly observed, though, that these

[44] C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 118.

[45] G. Richter, *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, 254-261.

[46] C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 685-686, n. 221.

[47] See the survey in G. Richter, *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, 254-262.

kind of citations might be associated with Jn 6:45 only on the basis of having the same motif of teaching, which itself is a wide biblical issue.[48] In fact, recent scholarship has narrowed the possible sources of citation to Is 54:13, because it is the text which best resembles Jn 6:45.

There is discussion as to whether the citation comes from the Hebrew or Greek *Vorlage*:

Is 54:13:	וכל בניך למודי יהוה
LXX-Is 54:13:	καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱούς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ
Jn 6:45:	καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ θεοῦ.

The argument raised in favour of the Hebrew *Vorlage* is the construction of the sentence, where πάντες and διδακτοί appear in the nominative and not the accusative as in the LXX.[49] Those who claim a LXX source of the citation underline: a) the presence of θεοῦ instead of κυρίου as a translation of יהוה[50]; b) use of διδακτός, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the FG and appears only twice in the LXX (Is 54:13; 1 Mc 4:7)[51]; c) εἰμί used also in other quotations from the LXX in making small changes; d) omission of "your sons," which could be understood in the light of Is 54:15, where the expression גור יגור is translated προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί and so the eschatological people of God would consist not only of the sons of Jerusalem, but also of proselytes (the idea of universal invitation and salvation).[52]

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[48] M. Theobald, "Schriftzitate im »Lebensbrot« - Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 329, n. 13.

[49] P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven,* 84, n. 1; G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, 17; E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 18; R. J. Humann, "The Function And Form Of The Explicit Old Testament Quotations In The Gospel Of Joh," 43, n. 41.

[50] Cf. E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 18; R. J. Humann, "The Function And Form Of The Explicit Old Testament Quotations In The Gospel Of John," 43, n. 41.

[51] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St John*, 296.

[52] Cf. E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 18-20; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 75-76; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 52-53; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 153-154; A. T. Hanson, "John's Technique in Using Scripture," 160-161.

In terms of the possibility of the Greek Vorlage, the reading of θεοῦ points to the LXX as the source of the citation, but in the LXX as well as in the revision of the Three it was not unusual to translate יהוה with θεός.[53] Moreover, G. Reim pointed out that the Fourth Evangelist does not refer to the God of Israel as κύριος, so the translation θεός would be his natural way of rendering the Tetragrammaton.[54] However, when the evangelist derives the material from the OT, twice God is referred to with the title κύριος, where twice it comes from Isaiah, namely Is 40:3 in Jn 1:23 and Ps 118:26 in Jn 12:13. It does not change the fact that θεός is a natural translation of יהוה and recourse to the LXX of Is 54:13 to explain this matter is not necessary.

In the case of the use of διδακτός in favour of the LXX *Vorlage* it should be mentioned that, although it is a *hapax legomenon* in the FG, the verb διδάσκω as well as the noun διδάσκαλος, being of the same root as this adjective, are very often used in the FG as well as in the NT.[55] The Fourth Evangelist might not have had another occasion to use this rare adjective.[56] In the entire Hebrew Bible למוד is used only six times,[57] and from which Is 8:16 was translated with διδακτός by Aquila and Theodotion.[58] Moreover, διδακτός was also used by the Three to translate the verb למד in the *Pual* (Is 29:13).[59] It is worth mentioning here that the evangelist often uses *adiectiva verbalia* in –τος (cf. Jn 9:30; 10:12-13; 18:15, 16; 19:13, 23; 20:27).[60] Moreover,

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[53] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 60-61; E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 630-648.

[54] G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, 16-17.

[55] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 244-245.

[56] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 73.

[57] A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 601; The occurrences are: Is 8:16; 50:4 (twice); 54:13; Jr 2:24; 13:23.

[58] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 316; J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 152-153,

[59] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 316; J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 224.

[60] Cf. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 73.

there are ten adjectives in the FG used only once in the entire NT and they are not part of the citations, but they come from the Fourth Evangelist.[61] In comparison, the adjective διδακτός occurs once in the FG, but is used three times in the NT in total.[62] If we count other adjectives, used up to three times in the NT and at least once in the FG (except the numbers), we would have to add another eight adjectives.[63] This shows that the *hapax legomenon* διδακτός in Jn 6:45 does not prove that it comes from the LXX *Vorlage*. The present form is simply conditioned by the presence of ἔσονται.

The other question is the use of the verb "to be" in the citation in Jn 6:45, which is present in neither the Hebrew nor the LXX text. First of all, the form of the OT citations in the FG shows that this evangelist is not simply a copyist, but a redactor of his citations.[64] Menken points out various examples from the NT and Philo where the verb "to be" is used in order to make some changes, these are Is 56:7 in Lk 19:46; Gn 40:11 in *Somn.* 2:200 and Gn 2:9 in *Leg.* 1:58 (cf. *Leg.* 1:56 and *Plant.* 44).[65] He concluded that this stylistic device occurs in particular when the citation is shortened and remains without a verb or the writer replaces the main verb with the verb "to be." In the case of Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45 both possibilities should be considered. The citation either in Greek or Hebrew (Is 54:13a being a nominal phrase) could be completed by the verb "to be." Nevertheless, it does not prove the use of either the Hebrew or Greek *Vorlage*, because the verb "to be" could be added either to the translation from Hebrew or to the

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[61] These adjectives are: ἀναμάρτητος Jn 8:7; ἄραφος 19:23; αὐτόφωρος 8:4; ἐπάρατος 7:49; θεοσεβής 9:31; λιθόστρωτος 19:13; προβατικός 5:2; τεταρταῖος 11:39; τετράμηνος 4:35; ὑφαντός 19:23.

[62] Jn 6:45; 2 Cor 2:13 (twice).

[63] These adjectives are: ἀκάνθινος Mk 15:17; Jn 19:5; ἀποσυνάγωγος Jn 9:22; 12:42; 16:2; κρίθινος Jn 6:9, 13; λίθινος Jn 2:6; 2 Cor 3:3; Rev 9:20; μισθωτός Mk 1:20; Jn 10:12, 13; ὀρφανός Jn 14:18; Jas 1:27; πιστικός Mk 14:3; Jn 12:3; πολύτιμος Mt 13:46; Jn 12:3; 1 Pt 1:7.

[64] It may be enough to mention the other citations from Isaiah, namely in Jn 12:38-40 (will be discussed later) or in Jn 1:23 where even the pronoun ἐγώ is added in order to give an interpretation of the cited text.

[65] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 73-74.

Greek text. The question is whether "to be" can be added in the present or future tenses? As it was studied earlier, the pronominal phrase is naturally rendered with present, but the Fourth Evangelist might have added the future form ἔσονται as being in accordance with the prophetic text-type, which looks back to what was predicted about the future.

Scholars such as Freed,[66] Schnackenburg,[67] Aletti[68] and others[69] have suggested that the omission of "your sons," (sons of Jerusalem) indicates the universalism of the FG, where salvation is not only for Israel, but also for the Gentiles. The context of this citation, however, is more exclusive than inclusive. The adjective πάντες refers in the first stage to πᾶς and μαθών (Jn 6:45b) – to everyone who listens to the Father and learns from him; such a person can come to Jesus. Moreover, the above mentioned adjectives refer also to οὐδείς (Jn 6:44) – no one can come to Jesus, unless the Father draws him.[70] The similar use of "all" is found also in Jn 1:7; 3:15-16; 5:23; 6:39; 10:4; 11:26; 12:32; 17:21; 18:37. Schuchard claimed that the absence of "your sons" in Jn 6:45 is dictated by the evangelist's desire to emphasize the necessity of heavenly rather than earthly origins: "(…) it is only the child of God (1.12-13), born from above (3.3) and taught of God (6.45), who may approach Jesus (cf. 11.51-52) and not die (6.49-50, 58)."[71] This claim, however, is against the meaning of the adjective πάντες, which in the context of the citation, as well as in the context of the FG refers to "all" who are drawn by the Father to Jesus, without the distinctions and qualities mentioned by Schuchard. It seems, though, that from this citation and other uses of "all," the universal character of salvation becomes clear, in the sense that the Father draws to Jesus people from Israel and the Gentiles (cf. esp.

[66] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 19-20.

[67] R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2, 77.

[68] J.-N. Aletti, "Le discours sur le pain de vie (Jn 6)", 190.

[69] For the additional bibliography see M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 75, n. 35.

[70] Cf. Similar idea in Jn 6:37, 39, 44, 65; 10:29; 13:3; 17:2, 6, 9, 24; 18:9.

[71] B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 56-57.

Jn 10:16; 11:51-52).[72] This idea could explain the omission of "your sons," but still it does not tell us whether the text was taken from the Hebrew or the Greek *Vorlage*.

Some scholars have suggested that the context of Is 54:13 (LXX) could indicate the Greek source of the citation. In Is 54:15 occurs the expression גור יגור, which comes from the root/verb גור, meaning "to dwell as a stranger" or in Hebrew and Aramaic "to become a proselyte,"[73] as, in fact, it was translated in LXX: ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονταί σοι δι' ἐμοῦ. This would be an explanation for the omission of "your sons," to show also that the Gentiles will come to Jerusalem and they will become the eschatological people of God.[74] Such an argument is quite plausible, since it shows the desire of the evangelist to make present in Jn 6:45 the LXX version of the text more open to those who are not yet the "sons of Jerusalem." Nevertheless, the translation from Hebrew with its omission of בניך would also make the citation open to the Gentiles.

In short, scholars usually are in favour of the Greek Vorlage of the citation, indicating the presence of θεοῦ, διδακτός as *hapax legomenon* in the FG, the presence of ἔσονται as a common literary device and the absence of "your sons," justified by the use of προσήλυτος in Is 54:15. Indeed, there are more arguments for the LXX as the source of the citation, but they do not exclude the possibility of rendering the Hebrew text. The citation itself is so short, that it is difficult to suggest any further consideration in full confidence.

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[72] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 76.

[73] HALOT, I, 184-185; cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim,* 226.

[74] Cf. B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 52-53; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 153-154; A. T. Hanson, "John's Technique in Using Scripture,"160.

3.4. The Meaning of the Citation

In contrast to the citation in Jn 6:31, which returns throughout the whole discourse (cf. Jn 6:22-59), the meaning of this citation is clarified only in Jn 6:44-46. At the beginning of the citation, it is stated that "all" will be taught of God, which is explained by the preceding and following adjectives in the sense that all who listen to and learn from the Father come to Jesus, and that no one can come to him unless he or she is drawn by the Father. As discussed above, this citation has the connotation of universal salvation open to the Gentiles.

Those people (Jews and Gentiles drawn by the Father) will be taught of God. Obviously, in the context of Is 54:13 it means that people of Israel will be taught of the God of Israel. The context of the FG brings some new considerations. The verb διδάσκω (of the same root as διδακτός) is used ten times in the FG, of which seven instances describe Jesus' teaching.[75] The other three refer to the teaching of the Father (Jn 8:28), the Holy Spirit (Jn 14:26) and to the healed man (9:34). Most importantly, the entire discourse of Jn 6:22-59 finishes with the conclusion that Jesus said these things while he was teaching. It is, thus, a clear link between the citation in Jn 6:45 and Jn 6:59, which shows the fulfillment of the prophecy in Jesus, and which is also present throughout the entire FG. Moreover, this idea occurs not only in this Gospel, but also in the Synoptics, where the verb διδάσκω is used almost exclusively for the teaching of Jesus,[76] sometimes with reference to Jesus' teaching in the temple.[77] There are only a few instances in the Gospels where this verb is not associated with Jesus.[78] This

[75] Jn 6:59; 7:14, 29, 35; 8:2, 20; 18:20.

[76] The survey shows the following cases: Mt 4:23; 5:2; 7:29; 9:35; 11:1; 13:54; 22:16; 28:15; Mk 1:21, 22; 2:13; 4:1, 2; 6:2, 6, 34; 7:7; 8:31; 9:31; 10:1; 12:14; Lk 4:15, 31; 5:3, 17; 6:6; 11:1 (one of two cases); 13:10, 22, 26; 20:21 (twice); 23:5.

[77] Mt 21:23; 26:55; Mk 11:17; 12:35; 14:49; Lk 19:47; 20:1; 21:37

[78] Mt 5:19 (twice); 15:9; 28:15; 28:20; Mk 6:30; 7:7; Lk 11:1 (one of two cases); 12:12.

evidence permits the claim that the words "they will be taught of God" in Jn 6:45 is an expression of the early Christian belief that this text is fulfilled in the teaching of Christ. It has crucial consequences for early Christianity, because it places in parallel the God of Israel and Jesus Christ.

The question may be posed as to whether the citation from Is 54:13 in its form in Jn 6:45 could be read in the light of Is 56:7 (the house of prayer for all nations), that is, in the light of the Fourth Evangelist putting forward the universal meaning of the citation with the omission of "your sons," so all will be taught of God, including Gentiles. One may ask, where will they be taught? According to Is 56:7, the temple will become the house of prayer for all the nations (לכל העמים, πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). Obviously, it refers to prayer and not to teaching, but one cannot exclude teaching from the activity of the temple, where Jesus taught daily. The idea of Is 56:7 was quite strong in early Christianity, since this text was cited by all the Synoptics.[79] Curiously, in the context of each of these three citations, it is written that Jesus taught in the temple. In the FG Is 56:7 is not cited, but five out of seven occurrences that indicate the teaching of Jesus refer to the temple.[80] Obviously, the temple is not the only place where "all will be taught of God,"[81] but the use of Is 54:13 and Is 56:7 might show the universal character of Jesus' teaching in the temple as well.

4. Conclusions

Although the scroll of 1QIsa[a], which is one of the oldest manuscripts of Is 54:13, has the reading בונכי (your builders), it seems that the proper

[79] Mt 21:13; Mk 11:17; Lk 19:46.

[80] Jn 7:14, 29; 8:2, 20; 18:20.

[81] Cf. Jesus' teaching in synagogues, villages etc. See use of the verb διδάσκω in: K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, I, 244-245.

reading of this verse should be בניך (your sons). Such a conclusion is supported by the fact that 1QIsa[a] is a careless copy and even in the same chapter of Is 54 the letter *waw* was written five times above various words. Moreover, the reading "your builders" is not supported by any other important textual witnesses.

The analysis of Is 54:13 reveals that three main concepts of the whole chapter of Is 54 such as children, God and peace are present in this one verse. It shows the internal connection of it within the context not only of the whole chapter, but also within the bible in general (cf. titles of God, "covenant of peace" etc.).

One of the most difficult issues in this Isaianic text are the temporal axes. Many scholars translate Is 54:13 in the future tense, because of the verbal forms in the immediate context. However, this does not seem to be a good solution. Instead, following Niccacci's theory of the verbal axes, the translation with the present tense is preferred in this research. This claim is strengthened by the fact that ושׂמתי is not a "double-duty modifier," and verses 12 and 13 are semantically disconnected, since the former verse refers to gates and stones, whereas the latter refers to sons/children.

The issue of the textual axes is present also in the LXX text, since it is a word for word translation. It is a rather a "free translation," because the same syntagm בניך is first rendered as "your sons" and in the following text as "your children." It is not a casual one, however. In the context of teaching, which was a domain of male children, it remains "sons," but in the other case the translation is *ad sensum*, and includes male and female offspring.

In terms of the citation of Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45, it is a complex issue, despite it being, or maybe because it is, so short. The introductory formula ("it is written in the prophets") has no equivalent either in early Jewish or Christian sources, such as the Qumran material, the writings of Philo and Josephus, or the NT. The assumption that "in the prophets" indicates the second division of the Hebrew Bible (i.e. נביאים) seems to be over-simplified, because the comparison with earlier and contemporary literature shows that the formation of the canon was still in process.

Furthermore, most scholars agree that the *Vorlage* of the citation is the LXX text. In fact, there are more arguments for such a claim, which are: the use of θεοῦ, διδακτός as *hapax legomenon* in the FG, presence of ἔσονται and the omission of "your sons" as a sign of universal salvation (cf. use of προσήλυτος in Is 54:15). These arguments, though, do not exclude the possibility of a rendering from Hebrew, so the *Vorlage* is not as certain as some scholars judge. What can be claimed, though, is that the source of citation was Is 54:13.

The meaning of the citation is seen more clearly within the literary framework of the citation. Jesus cites this text as a response to the doubts of the crowd about his identity as coming from heaven. The citation appears to be in the center of Jesus' answer, according to the structure of the chiasm (AB/C/B'A'). The reference to "all," to "no one", "everyone," and "anyone," underlines that no one can come to Jesus unless he or she is brought by the Father. At first it looks like an exclusive approach, but the omission in the citation of the syntagm "your sons," (so crucial in the Hebrew Bible and in the LXX) gives the text cited in Jn 6:45 the meaning of universal salvation, which includes not only the sons of Jerusalem, but "all - πάντες" who are drawn by the Father to Jesus, without distinction,

because the Father draws to Jesus people from Israel and the Gentiles alike (cf. esp. Jn 10:16; 11:51-52).

The statement that "all will be taught of God" is particularly significant, because it shows that in the context of the FG and of the Synoptic Gospels the verb "to teach" is almost exclusively used for the teaching of Jesus. In this way Jesus is paralleled to the God of Israel, thereby showing his identity and that what he taught had divine authority. This evidence permits the claim that the phrase "they will be taught of God" in Jn 6:45 is the expression of the early Christian belief in the fulfillment of this prophecy in the teaching of Jesus Christ.

III. WHO WILL HAVE BELIEVED IF HE HAS CLOSED THEIR EYES? IS 53:1 AND IS 6:9-10

Is 53:1 and Is 6:10 are combined in Jn 12:38-40 and these citations are introduced by the same introductory formula. Is 53:1 is also used in Rm 10:16 and in both citations it is quoted according the LXX *Vorlage*, which is in contrast to the Hebrew text.[1] Does it mean that there was another Hebrew *Vorlage*? This claim – according to E.R. Ekblad – seems to find support in the textual variant על מי in 1QIsa[a] in contrast to אל מי in the MT.[2] Furthermore, do these two citations of Is 53:1 have the same meaning in Jn 12:38 and in Rm 10:16?

In terms of the citation of Is 6:10 one of the main issues is the *Vorlage*. The text does not agree with the HB, the LXX, The Three, nor with any other quotations of it in the NT (Mt 13:15; Acts 28:27). What is the meaning of such a different *Vorlage*, and what is the meaning of Is 6:9-10 in other Synoptics and Acts that follow the LXX text? Morever, in contrast to the other citations of Is 6:9-10, the FG leaves out the syntagm τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου/(העם הזה) in Jn 12:40, which refers to the people of Israel. What, then, is the meaning of such an omission? Finally, in contrast to all the Synoptics, the Fourth Evangelist gives a comment to the citation of Is 6:9-10 saying "Isaiah saw his glory," which raises the question of whose glory it

[1] Cf. lack of the equivalent of κύριε in the HB.

[2] E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 196.

was that Isaiah saw, according to the FG? These and other questions are crucial to understand the early Christian use of Is 6:9-10 and they are discussed in the present research.

1. Hebrew Text of Is 53:1

This Isaianic text presents some problematic issues, particularly when the Hebrew text is compared with the Septuagint translation. Therefore, the Hebrew text should first be analysed in comparison to other sources, in particular with 1QIsa[a], which is one of the oldest textual witnesses to it.

1.1. Textual Criticism of Is 53:1

The main textual problem in this text regards a preposition, which in 1QIsa[a] appears as אל מי, whereas in the MT and in other textual witnesses it is על מי. E. R. Ekblad made a serious claim that the LXX translator who used τίνι in this place, might have had a different *Vorlage* in which it read על מי as it was in 1QIsa[a].[3] His argument, however, has to be re-evaluated on a textual basis, whether or not it is true. First of all, as E. Tov demonstrated, 1QIsa[a] is not a careful copy of the scroll of Isaiah,[4] and it frequently differs from the Leningrad and Aleppo codices, which are very similar to 1QIsa[b].[5] Secondly, the editors of 1QIsa[a] saw that, actually, the scribe wrote א over ע in Is 53:1, and therefore in the Qumran scroll it was not originally אל מי, but על מי.[6] This is not the only case of exchanges or of "writings over" of these two letters. A closer investigation of 1QIsa[a] shows that an identical instance occurs in Is 60:8[7] and there are a number of cases

[3] E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 196.

[4] E. Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," 502: "The copyist of 1QIsa[a] produced a carelessly and irregularly written copy which was full of errors. Many of these errors have been corrected, and, in fact, of all the Qumran texts, this text contains the relatively largest amount of corrections, viz. an average of one scribal intervention in every four lines of text."

[5] E. de Faria Francisco, "A ortografia de 1QIsA," 125-148.

[6] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 115. See E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/1], plate XLIV.

[7] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 116.

where, in various words, the scribe of 1QIsa[a] writes א over ע (Is 13:10[8]; 14:9[9]; 31:4[10]; 45:20[11]; 60:8[12]; 60:13; cf. 38:6[13]; 47:8[14] cf. 63:1[15]; 64:6[16]). Moreover, in Is 37:6, according to the editors of 1QIsa[a], "The *'aleps* [sic] may have been written over *'ayins*, or the ink has blurred."[17] Instead, in Is 37:33[18] scholars claim that, "The *'ayin* was written over *'alep* or the reverse (. . .) "[19] and in Is 7:11[20] and Is 34:14[21] there is no doubt that the scribe of 1QIsa[a] wrote *'ayin* over *'alep*. Thus, Ekblad's claim based on 1QIsa[a] that the Septuagint translator of Is 53:1 may have had different *Vorlage* is easily disproved by textual evidence.[22] On the contrary, according to scholars, the first hand of 1QIsa[a] has על מי as it is in the MT and other textual witnesses.

This consideration has crucial consequences for the reception of this text, because it shows that around the 1st century BC a scribe was aware of the reading, על מי and that this was the *Vorlage*. The syntagm על מי appears eight times in the Hebrew Bible, mostly in the book of Isaiah, but its LXX translation varies.[23] In fact, the straightforward translation from Hebrew would be "upon whom," but it can be also translated "on whom," "besides

[8] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 103.
[9] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 103.
[10] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 32, 107.
[11] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 113.
[12] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 116.
[13] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 109.
[14] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 113.
[15] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 117.
[16] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 117.
[17] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 109.
[18] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 109.
[19] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 109.
[20] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 100.
[21] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 108.
[22] R. E. Ekblad did not refer to 1QIsa[b] Is 53:1 where there is also אל like in 1QIsa[b], but the above mentioned examples shows how flexible אל and על are in these two scrolls. See E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 243; E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 196.
[23] 2 Kgs 18:20 (LXX τίνι); Is 10:3 (πρὸς τίνα); Is 36:5 (ἐπὶ τίνι); Is 53:1 (τίνι); Is 57:4 twice (ἐν τίνι, ἐπὶ τίνα); Jr 6:10 (πρὸς τίνα); Neh 3:19 (ἐπὶ τίνα).

whom," "in whom" or "to whom." It seems that the verb גלה qualifies the meaning of the preposition. For instance, with the verb of movement or speaking it has the meaning "to whom," (which is also the LXX translation, cf. Is 10:3, Jr 6:10), but with other verbs it varies. In the case of על מי with גלה used in Is 53:1 the meaning is ambiguous, which can be "upon whom" or even "to whom" the arm of the Lord was revealed.

1.2. Is 53:1 within the Immediate Context

Is 52:13-53:12 is described as The Fourth Song of the Suffering Servant and scholarly research focuses mainly on this aspect of the text.[24] Within this context Is 53:1 is a part of the so called "we section," which encompasses Is 53:1-6, where the message is spoken in the first person plural. It is still a matter of a scholarly discussion whether "we" means a chorus, several groups of speakers,[25] a member of the heavenly household and lawcourt,[26] or a prophet speaking as the representative of a believing community.[27] Due to the lack of sufficient evidence from the context it seems rather impossible to know for sure the identity of "we" in Is 53:1-6.[28] What can be said, however, is the fact that Is 53:1 is not a continuation of the divine speech, because it talks about the arm of God and not the servant, who does not speak at all throughout the whole text.

In any case, the switch of the person in Is 53:1 strengthens the claim that this text differs semantically from the context. Indeed, it does not describe the suffering of the servant, but concentrates on the reception of the message, on the matter of faith, and on the "arm of the Lord." These three

[24] Cf. W. Hüllstrung – G. Feine – D. P. Bailey, "A Classified Bibliography on Isaiah 53," in: B. Janowski – P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Suffering Servant*, 462-492.

[25] J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 782. The author identifies as the subject of "we" a group who already identify with the servant and who acknowledge that none of them believed the message that they had received about Yhwh's deliverance.

[26] K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 400-403.

[27] S.-L. Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 225-226.

[28] On the identification of the "we" group see D. J. A. Clines, *I, He, We & They*, 29-31.

concepts are not found anywhere else in The Fourth Song of the Suffering Servant (Is 52:13-53:12), but they are present outside of this text.

The holy arm of the Lord is mentioned in Is 52:10 as being manifested to all the nations (כל הגוים), as well as in Is 51:9 in the context of the miraculous exodus from Egypt. A few verses later in Is 52:7, as well as in Is 40:9, the messenger who announces the good news is described. There is a question as to whether or not it is the same messenger in all three occurrences.[29] In any case, the link between Is 52:7 and Is 53:1 is striking, which confirms the point that the latter text is semantically different from its immediate context.

Such a claim helps us to understand why Is 53:1 is used in Rm 10:16 in a context not related to the suffering servant at all. Similarly, this happens in Jn 12:38, where the text of Is 53:1 is connected to Is 6:10 without any reference to the passion of Christ, as one would expect when comparing use of the fourth song of the servant by the Synoptics. It is simply a characteristic of a citation that may or may not bring the original context to the new one. The use of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 and Rm 10:16 manifests the case where the message of the citation interested the writer, without reference to its context.

2. The Septuagint Reading of Is 53:1

The text of the LXX translation of Is 53:1 preserves the following text: κύριε τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη. The main difference is the word κύριε, which does not have an equivalent in the Hebrew text as it is preserved in the MT or 1QIsa[a]. It is worth mentioning that in 4QIsa[c] (4Q57) at the beginning of Is 53:1 there is a lacuna. However, it seems to be a space left to indicate the beginning of a new section (as in

[29] For the analysis of these texts and discussion about the identity of the messenger/s see K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 60-64, 376-383.

1QIsa[a]) rather than anything that corresponds to κύριε.[30] This invocation to God, therefore, is typical of the LXX *Vorlage* and it is a part of a so called "free translation" of the book of Isaiah.

Furthermore, the syntagm ἀκοή is not as obvious as it first seems. The German Septuagint translation (*Septuaginta Deutsch*) rightly acknowledges two possible renderings. The commonly accepted meaning is "our report" – "Herr, wer glaubte unserer Botschaft?" but there is also a possibility of "Herr, wer glaubte der uns zugekommenen Botschaft?"[31] One of the main meanings of ἀκοή is "that which is heard," as well as "that which is publicly announced, proclaimed" or "a report."[32] The emphasis falls on the one who hears the proclamation.[33] A good example of such use in the NT is ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς (Rm 10:17).[34] This should not be surprising, because ἀκοή is usually used in the translation of the syntagms with the root שׁמע.[35] This root also occurs in Is 52:7, where it is understood as a proclamation of good news of peace and salvation. Interestingly, though, there is a link between these two verses—Is 53:1 and Is 52:7—in the matter of the proclamation of the good message. Nevertheless, one has to be aware of the possibility of understanding LXX Is 53:1 as, "Who has believed in what we have heard?"

3. The Hebrew Text of Is 6:9-10

In terms of the second citation, Is 6:9-10 is a part of Isaiah's vision of the Lord in the temple (Is 6), which is one of the best known passages in this biblical book. Isaiah (according to the Hebrew text) is commissioned to tell the people of Israel to "hear, but do not understand, to see and not

[30] E. Ulrich et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4,* X: The Prophets, 68.

[31] M. Karrer – W. Kraus et al., *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 1276.

[32] Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 21.

[33] G. Kittel, "ἀκούω, ἀκοή et al." in: TDNT, I, 221-222.

[34] This is in the context of the citation of Is 53:1 in Rm 10:16 (a subject which will be discussed later).

[35] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 6.

perceive" and to make the heart of the people of Israel fat. This message may leave the reader perplexed. The text itself, however, does not have any significant textual variants that would change the meaning. 1QIsa[a] reads על instead of אל in Is 6:9 (twice), but this is a scribal error, as also appears in the case of Is 53:1 discussed above.[36] The mistake is even more evident because אל is not simply a particle, which might be confused on the basis of similar sound, but it comes as a negation for the verbs. Similarly, the omission of the final *nun* in השמ (1QIsa[a]) in contrast to השמן (MT) is another example of a carelessly produced copy and not – as in the past various scholars have claimed – an example of another Hebrew *Vorlage*.[37] Finally, the difference in Is 6:10 between ולבבו (MT) and בלבבו (1QIsa[a]) can be explained as Qumran scribes' attempt to make it similar to preceding ובאזניו. Therefore, any attempt to soften the harsh meaning of the Hebrew text does not find textual justification. The text reads as follows:

Isa 6:9-10	Translation[38]
ויאמר לך ואמרת לעם הזה	And he said: "Go and say to this people:
שמעו שמוע ואל תבינו	'Keep listening, but do not comprehend;
וראו ראו ואל תדעו	keep looking, but do not understand.'
השמן לב העם הזה	Make the mind of this people dull,
ואזניו הכבד	and stop their ears,
ועיניו השע	and shut their eyes,
פן יראה בעיניו	so that they may not look with their eyes,
ובאזניו ישמע	and listen with their ears,
ולבבו יבין	and comprehend with their minds,
ושב	and turn
ורפא לו	and be healed."

[36] E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/1], 90-91.

[37] See the discussion in C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 53-56.

[38] NRSV, 621.

The harshness of the text for the people of Israel is underlined even more by the use of לעם הזה and העם הזה. It would seem, at first, like a neutral use of vocabulary. However, a closer analysis of it in the literary context shows that עם in Is 6 refers to "unclean people - עם טמא." Moreover, if we accept the connection between Is 6 and Is 1, as Beuken argued,[39] the people of Israel are again presented as those who do not know God, as those who do not understand (Is 1:3)[40], or as people "laden with iniquity," (Is 1:4) even being compared to the people of Sodom and Gomorrah (Is 1:10). Such a severe treatment and negative description of the people of Israel by the prophet of this same nation also appears in other occurrences in the context of Is 6 (cf. Is 2:6; 3:12; 5:13; 8:11-12 etc.). However, the mention of "this people" in Is 6:9 (and even "my people - עמי" in Is 1:3) is in contrast to "my people - עמי" in Is 40:1, where the people of Israel are pictured in a positive light, but, again, this is still not the meaning of Is 6.[41]

The text of Is 6:9 presents imperatives combined with their respective infinitives (of the same root), which gives further emphasis to the meaning of the verb, even more so, when it is followed by *wᵉ-יl-yiqtol* form. It has been suggested that the text is descriptive rather than imperatival,[42] but such an explanation seems to be another way of softening the harsh meaning of the Hebrew text. In the following verse of Is 6:10 three verbs are imperatives: "make fat," "make heavy," and "smear over [shut the eyes]." They are all in *Hiphil*, which makes evident the causative force of these verbs. The subsequent פן has purposive meaning (as will be discussed later in the research) and refers to what follows apart from the last syntagm ורפא לו. The problematic personal pronoun in the syntagm לו refers not to

[39] W. A. M. Beuken, "The Manifestation of Yahweh," 72-87.

[40] Cf. use of בין and ידע like in Is 6:9.

[41] O. Kaiser observed that the solemn names, such as "Israel" or "House of Jacob" are not used in this text. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 82.

[42] For the discussion cf. C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 18.

God, but to the people (העם הזה). This presents a figure of *inclusio*, both with the beginning of God's speech (v. 9) and the first imperative *Hiphil* (v. 10), which shows the mastery of the writer of Is 6. Therefore, a proper translation and understanding of the ending of this verse should be: "and they [literally 'it'] be healed."

It should be mentioned that the idea of the obduracy of the people of Israel (i.e., deafness and blindness) continues throughout Isaiah[43] and throughout the Scripture as far back as the Pentateuch,[44] being particularly important in Deuteronomy.[45] Moreover, the outcome of the biblical motive of hardening of heart(s) of the people is that they will not understand (בין) nor perceive/know (ידע) similarly as it is in Is 6:9. However, - as Williamson argued - its collocation with the ideas of seeing and hearing is distinctively Isaianic (cf. Is 44:18-19; 40:21; 52:15).[46]

4. Septuagint Reading of Isaiah 6:9-10

It is widely recognized that a translation is already an interpretation. This is particularly evident in the case of the Septuagint translation of Is 6:9-10, which reads as follows:

LXX Is 6:9-10	Translation[47]
[καὶ εἶπεν] πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ	"Go, and say to this people
ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε	'You will listen by listening, but you will not understand,
καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε	and looking you will look, but you will not perceive.'
ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου	For this people's heart has grown fat,
καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν	and with their ears they have heard heavily,

[43] Cf. Is 29:9-10; 42:18-20; 43:8; 63:17.

[44] Cf. Ex 4:11, 16; 32:9; 33:3-5; Nm 21:4-9; 1 Sm 15:23; 2 Kgs 17:14, Neh 9:16-29; Ps 78; Jr 5:21-23; Ez 12:2-3; Zec 7:11-12.

[45] Dt 9:6-27; 28:28; 29:1-4; 31:27.

[46] H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 48-51.

[47] A. Pietersma – B. G. Wright (ed.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 830.

καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν	and they have shut their eyes
μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς	so that they might not see with their eyes
καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν	and hear with their ears
καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν	and understand with their heart
καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν	and turn
καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς	—and I would heal them."

The LXX translation not only interprets this text, but also softens its harsh meaning in various ways. First of all, the Hebrew imperatives in Is 6:9 "Hear!" and "See!" suddenly became "you will hear" and "you will see." This future form removed much of the judicial tone and showed the prophet not as *enjoining* the people to become obdurate, but as *predicting* that they will remain obdurate.[48] Secondly, the causative meaning of the Hebrew, "make the heart of this people's fat" was changed into the passive form "for the heart this people has grown dull," so the heart of the people of Israel switches from being the object to being the subject. Again, it is no longer that the prophet is commissioned to "make the heart fat," but that the prophet's commission was given because (γάρ) the heart is already fat. Thirdly, in the following text the subject of the verbs "to hear" and "to close" transfers the responsibility from the prophet to the people because, "they have closed their eyes and their ears became heavy." Fourthly, the context of "lest" in the LXX differs from the MT because of the change of the subject of the verbs. Thus, here, "lest" expresses the purpose of the people and not of the Lord speaking through the prophet Isaiah. As Evans wrote: "The people hear with difficulty and have shut their eyes *so that they* do not have to perceive with their eyes, hear with their ears, discern in their heart, and repent."[49] Finally, the change of the mode from subjunctive to indicative "lest (…) I will heal them" shows the certainty of God's plan. The subjunctive would leave room for some questions or divagation.[50]

[48] Cf. C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 61-64.

[49] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 63.

[50] J. J. Kilgallen, ""... and I will Heal Them," 94.

It is striking how the Septuagint translation changed the whole meaning of Is 6:9-10. It is even more so, taking into consideration that the LXX *Vorlage* was very important (or preferred) for all the evangelists, when they referred – in one way or the other - to Is 6:9-10. However, the Fourth Evangelist differs from the other NT writers in a significant way, as will be seen below.

5. The Structure of the Citations in Jn 12:38-40

The citations from Is 53:1 and Is 6:10 in Jn 12:38-40 are part of the summary of the public ministry of Jesus (Jn 12:37-50) and their importance for the NT can hardly be exaggerated. In current scholarship, however, it is unusual to analyse these two citations together.[51] In contrast, this present research studies them not as separate entities but as citations related to each other. A grammatical and literary analysis of these citations dictates this approach. First, the introductory formula ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν followed by πάλιν refers to the two citations as being the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah. Second, the expression διὰ τοῦτο links the first citation with the second, which explains the motive of the lack of faith signalled in the first citation. Third, it is not without relevance that both citations are from the same book of Isaiah. The following analysis shows other marks of interdependence between these two citations.

The text of Is 53:1 shows an inner unity in the form of a chiasm. In the first phrase, the interrogative pronoun comes with a verb (A) and is followed by a noun in the construct state (B). The second phrase is the opposite; the noun in the construct state (B) is followed by the interrogative pronoun

[51] Cf. C. A. Evans, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John," 124-138; Idem, *To See and not Perceive*, 129-135; Idem, "Isaiah 53 in the Letters of Peter, Paul, Hebrews, and John," 145-170; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 99-122; Idem, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 367-393; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 218-255; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 85-106.

alongside the verb (A). The same sequence occurs in the LXX and in Jn 12:40:

	κύριε,	
מי האמין לשׁמעתנו	τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;	A B
וזרוע יהוה על מי נגלתה	καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;	B A

This text is part of the so-called Fourth Song of the Suffering Servant (Is 52:13-53:12), but it differs from its surrounding context because it does not refer directly to the Servant of God, as it does in the previous and succeeding verses. Instead, it raises the question of faith, central to the FG, and this might be the reason why the evangelist has chosen this text and reported it as it stands, in perfect unity.

The structure of the second citation of Is 6:10 and its *Vorlage* are more sophisticated than the text of Is 53:1:

	HB Is 6:10	LXX Is 6:10
A	השׁמן לב העם הזה	ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ **καρδία** τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου
B	ואזניו הכבד	καὶ τοῖς **ὠσὶν** αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν
C	ועיניו השׁע	καὶ τοὺς **ὀφθαλμοὺς** αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν
C′	פן־יראה בעיניו	μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς **ὀφθαλμοῖς**
B′	ובאזניו ישׁמע	καὶ τοῖς **ὠσὶν** ἀκούσωσιν
A′	ולבבו יבין	καὶ τῇ **καρδίᾳ** συνῶσιν
	ושׁב	καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν
	ורפא לו	καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς

It is commonly recognized that Is 6:10 has a concentric structure (apart from the ending phrases), in which eyes are in the center (C, C′), preceded and followed by ears (B, B′) and heart (A, A′).[52] The latter element also has the function of an *inclusio,* but it does not separate the text from last two

[52] Cf. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 105-108; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 92-93; C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 112-115.

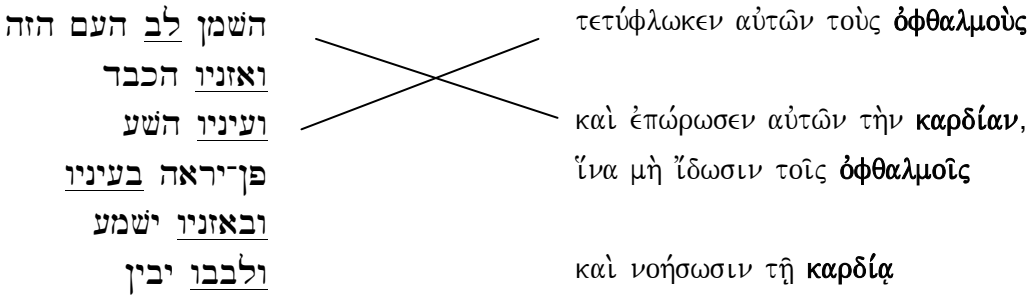
phrases, which are connected to פֶּן. In an interesting manner, the LXX text has the same structure, but the meaning of A B C is completely different, because, in the HB, the subject of the imperatives is the prophet, whereas in the LXX the subject of the indicatives are the people and heart, which will be discussed below.

In contrast to the HB and to the LXX, the structure of Is 6:10 in the FG is completely different:

A	τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς **ὀφθαλμοὺς**	a (verb) + b (pronoun) + c (article) + d (noun)
B	καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν **καρδίαν**,	καί + a (verb) + b (pronoun) + c (article) + d (noun)
A′	ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς **ὀφθαλμοῖς**	ἵνα μὴ + a (verb) + c (article) + d (noun)
B′	καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ **καρδίᾳ**	καί + a (verb) + c (article) + d (noun)
	καὶ στραφῶσιν,	
	καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.	

The evangelist starts from the eyes, which are at the centre of the HB/LXX structure and makes it parallel to the heart, from the beginning and the end of the previous structure. The last two phrases are in the same order. The parallelism is not only between the phrases A and A′, but also between A and B, as well as A′ and B′ where the word order is identical (a + [b] + c + d). In both cases, καί links them together. This shows the redaction of the citation, which is repetitive and ties the elements together. The inevitable question arises: why has the evangelist omitted the text that refers to the ears in this citation?

A reason for such an omission could be the evangelist's preference for short quotations, since it is already the longest quotation in the FG. Another reason might be to avoid repeating a similar idea found in the previous citation of Is 53:1 (cf. use of ἀκοή). Moreover, it can be argued that the text of Isaiah 6:10 is related to Jn 12:40 in the form of a chiasm:



The eyes, which are mentioned last in the HB (and LXX), are referred to as the first ones in Jn 12:40. Similarly, the heart, which is first in the HB, occupies the last place in the Fourth Gospel. Chiasm does not occur in the second part of the structure, but the sequence of the parts of the body follows the HB/LXX. In both parts of the citation, however, the ears are omitted.

4. *Vorlage* of the Citations in Jn 12:38-40

Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 is one of three citations in the FG that are identical to the text of the Septuagint.[53] Therefore, it is commonly agreed that they come from that source. In the case of Is 53:1 it is even more evident because the LXX is in contrast to the HB with the addition of κύριε, a word that has no equivalent in the Hebrew text.[54] It seems that the LXX version of Is 53:1 was a privileged one in early Christianity, since it is also cited in Rm 10:16 (with the vocative κύριε) as well as in other early Christian sources.[55] Moreover, the evangelist uses the verb ἀποκαλύπτω in Jn 12:38,[56]

[53] The other citations are: Ps 82:6 in Jn 10:34 and Ps 22:19 in Jn 19:24.

[54] Cf. B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 87, n. 9. The author provides an overview of scholars who refer to κύριε as a sign of LXX dependence.

[55] Cf. *1 Clem.* 16:3 (citation of Is 53:1-12); Justin the Martyr: *Apol.* 1: 50 (citation of 53:1-8); *Dial.* 13 (citation of Is 53:1-12); 42 (citation of Is 53:1-2); 114 (citation of Is 53:1); 118 (citation of 53:1).

[56] M. J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 369; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Priority of John*, 327; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 88; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 218; U. C. von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, III, 309.

which is a *hapax legomenon* in the FG, since he prefers φανερόω.[57] The nouns ἀκοή and βραχίων, although present several times in the LXX, are also *hapax legomena* in the Johannine corpus. In addition, the form, τίνι as an equivalent of על מי, agrees with the LXX, but the more appropriate translation in this case is ἐπὶ τίνα (without leaving על untranslated) as did Theodotion (according to Ms 86).[58] This argument is strengthened by the fact that על מי appears five times in Isaiah, and the Hebrew preposition and pronoun were always translated with a Greek preposition and pronoun, except in Is 53:1 (cf. Is 10:3; 36:5: 57:4 [twice]). The evangelist, however, remained faithful to the Greek version of the cited text, which is another argument for the LXX as being the *Vorlage* of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38.

The *Vorlage* of the citation in Jn 12:40 is much more complicated. The text does not agree with the HB, the LXX, The Three, nor with any other quotations of, or allusions to it in the NT (Mt 13:15; Mk 4:12; Acts 28:27). There is only a consensus that we are dealing with a citation from Is 6:10, but there is still a matter of debate as to whether the *Vorlage* is: a) a free translation of a Hebrew text;[59] b) an adaptation from the LXX;[60] c) both – HB and LXX;[61] d) not known – HB or LXX;[62] e) an early Christian

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[57] Cf. Jn 1:31; 2:11; 3:21; 7:4; 9:3; 17:6; 21:1 (twice), 14. The verb ἀποκαλύπτω is also lacking in the Johannine corpus, whereas φανερόω is used in 1 Jn 1:2 (twice); 2:19, 28; 3:5, 8; 4:9; Rev 3:18; 15:14. However, the verb ἀποκαλύπτω is widely used in the LXX and in the writings of the Three (Aq., Symm., Theod.), which means that the writer of the FG could be familiar with it. Moreover, the noun ἀποκάλυψις is the opening word of the book of Revelation, so this root is present in the Johannine corpus. Cf. E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 131-132.

[58] J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 320.

[59] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 29, 431; A. J. Köstenberger, *John*, 391.

[60] Cf. Ch. Goodwin, "How did John Treat his Sources?" 71; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 106.

[61] R. Kysar, *John,* 202; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 120-122; Idem, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 367, n. 3.

testimony book;[63] f) whether it is the text that shows the influence of other OT passages.[64] In order to enter into this discussion and to contribute to the current scholarship, each word of the citation will be examined and some new hypotheses regarding the reasons of a particular word choice will be presented.

The Hebrew imperatives referring to the prophet (השׁמן, השׁע) were rendered as indicatives in the LXX, with the heart of the people as the subject (ἐπαχύνθη, ἐκάμμυσαν).[65] Instead, in Jn 12:40, they were translated as indicatives, with God as the subject, which is different from the HB and the LXX. Some scholars suggested that a change of translation into the indicative form in Jn 12:40 can be explained on the basis of the unvocalized text, which means that the Hebrew verbal forms were treated as the absolute infinitives (used with a sense of the perfect) or as *Hiphil* perfects: הִשְׁמִן and הֵשַׁע (the former case in *scriptio defectiva*).[66] Such a claim was strengthened by the argument that Symmachus took the imperatives הַכְבֵּד, הָשַׁע as perfects הִכְבִּד, הֵשַׁע (ἐβάρυνε, ἔμυσε).[67] At first, this argument seems quite persuasive, but one has to bear in mind that Is 6:9-10, as a part of the account of the vocation of Isaiah, was widely known in Jewish circles. This is one of the most cited and alluded texts in

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[62] E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 85, 88; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 235-236; M. Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 827.

[63] Cf. G. S. Sloyan, *John*, 161-162.

[64] Cf. J. M. Lieu (ed.), "Blindness in the Johannine Tradition," 88, n. 40; C. A. Evans, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John," 124-138; Idem; *To See and not Perceive, 129*-135.

[65] Similarly Symmachus, although partially, with different words.

[66] C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 121; E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 87; G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, 38; R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung,* 127-130; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 110-111.

[67] C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 121; J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 144. The subject of the verbs, however, remained the people and not God.

the NT,[68] Pseudepigrapha,[69] and later Jewish sources.[70] It seems rather improbable that the writer of the FG did not know the reading of these verbs as imperatives. The change of the verbal form, however, might have other causes. First, the evangelist has chosen God as the subject of these verbs, so naturally the imperatives were excluded since God can give orders to Isaiah but cannot be subjected to them by Isaiah. Second, this citation proves the fulfilment of the Scripture. That which was ordered to the prophet in Is 6:10 was fulfilled: God has blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts. In this sense, Jn 12:40 is closer to the HB than to the LXX because, in the Fourth Gospel, God is declared as someone who causes the blindness and hardness of heart. Similarly in the HB, where God orders the prophet to do this task, he is only an agent acting in God's name. Third, the use of the perfect tense describes an action that happened in the past and has its consequences in the present, which is the appropriate way to describe the fulfilment of the Scripture. The following aorist verbal form is obviously not the expected one, but the interchange of an aorist and perfect appears to be a fairly common practice in the FG, as can be seen in Jn 3:32; 6:31-32; 8:38, 42; 12:46-47; 14:23-25; 17:2; 18:20-21.[71] Thus, the change of the mode from imperative to indicative can be ascribed to the FG writer's independent redaction, which is close to the HB and contrary to the LXX. This is in agreement with the main thought of this citation, which expresses God's responsibility for the unbelief of the people of Israel in contrast to the LXX, where they are subjects of the verbs, and are consequently made to bear responsibility for their actions.

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[68] NA[28], 857.

[69] S. Delamarter, *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 26-27.

[70] J. J. Slotki, *Index Volume to the Soncino Talmud*, 569.

[71] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 110. Cf. BDR, § 343; J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, I: Prolegomena, 140-148; Idem - N. Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, III: *Syntax*, 68-74.

In terms of the independence of Jn 12:40 from the LXX, it should be stressed that the evangelist employs the verbs τυφλόω and πωρόω, which are very rarely used in the LXX and were never applied there to translate שׁעע and שׁמן, respectively.[72] The verb שׁעע in *Hiphil* occurs only once and was rendered with καμμύω.[73] The *Pilpel* and *Hitpael* forms of שׁעע, which possess a very different meaning, were translated with ἀγαπάω,[74] εὐφραίνω,[75] μελετάω,[76] and παρακαλέω,[77] depending on the context.[78] In the case of שׁמן, the forms *Qal* and *Hiphil* were translated with λιπαίνω[79] or παχύνω,[80] as in Is 6:10, but never with πωρόω.[81] Also, none of the Three (Aq., Symm., Theod.) used the verb τυφλόω as an equivalent of שׁעע or πωρόω to express the meaning of שׁמן, as did the writer of the FG.[82] This is another argument for independence from the LXX in rendering Is 6:10 in the FG, but the question still remains: why did the evangelist prefer such a choice of rare vocabulary, given that his preference for simple verbs is so widely recognized?

It should be observed that the evangelist differs from the HB and the LXX in the sense that, in this part of the citation, he does not use a figurative way of speaking, but rather he translates the verbs according to their meaning. The verb שׁעע in *Hiphil* means "to paste over" the eyes of the people, which is a figurative way of saying "to blind" or "to be blinded"

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[72] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1246, 1379.
[73] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 718.
[74] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 5-6.
[75] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 581-582.
[76] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 908.
[77] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1060.
[78] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 154.
[79] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 879.
[80] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1112.
[81] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 152.
[82] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1379, 1246.

(cf. Is 29:9).[83] The evangelist rendered the literal sense of the Hebrew text, translating that God "has blinded their eyes." This is in contrast to the LXX, which follows neither the figurative nor the literal sense, but offers its own version of the text, saying that the people closed their eyes (καμμύω). The verbal form השמן with לב does not simply mean "to make fat," but is a figurative way of denoting the idea of the insensibility of a person,[84] and as such was also rendered in a figurative way by the LXX with the verb παχύνω: "to make mentally dull."[85] However, the evangelist, once again, translated this verb in a literal sense as a hardening of heart, which in the NT context has a particular meaning, as is shown below. In addition, M. J. J. Menken has observed that these Greek verbs in the FG denote a certain intensification, because "to harden the heart" (in the NT context) and in particular, "to blind," imply a permanent and incurable inability of the senses in question,[86] which is in clear contrast, for instance, to the LXX "to close the eyes."

Another question regarding the evangelist's verb choice, different from the LXX, is whether he wanted to use the verbs that were more familiar to his audience (τυφλόω, πωρόω) or whether there is another reason behind the choice. The verbs from LXX Is 6:10 καμμύω and παχύνω are very rarely used in the LXX[87] or in Greek literature[88], and both are unknown in the NT except for the citations in Mt 13:15 and Acts 28:27. Instead, the evangelist's chosen verb τυφλόω appears another two times in the NT (2 Cor 4:4; 1 Jn 2:11), and the adjective τυφλός is quite frequent both in the

[83] *HALAT*, IV, 1489-1490.

[84] *HALAT*, IV, 1449.

[85] It is worth noting here that the mind in the HB was identified with heart, which makes this a good Greek translation.

[86] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 111.

[87] The verb καμμύω was used in Is 6:10; 29:10; 33:15; Lam 3:45 and παχύνω appears in Dt 32:15; 2 Sm 22:12; Eccl 12:15; Is 6:10; 34:6 (see also *Odes Sol.* 2:15).

[88] Cf. H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 872, 1351-1352. According to TLG the verbs καμμύω and παχύνω are used mainly after 1st century AD.

LXX and in the NT where, for instance, in the FG it appears 18 times (15 times in Jn 9).[89] In terms of the wider Greek-Jewish background, this verb and the adjective of the same root are used in the writings of Josephus,[90] whereas the verb καμμύω was never mentioned in his extensive works.[91] Similarly, τυφλόω and τυφλός appear quite often in the writings of Philo,[92] in contrast to καμμύω, which was mentioned only twice and each time, in this context it was τυφλόω (*QE* 1:31) or τυφλός (*Somn.* 1:164). However, in regard to the second verb used by the evangelist (πωρόω), the case seems to be the opposite. This verb does not appear in the writings of Philo[93] nor in Josephus,[94] whereas παχύνω and παχύς are used by Philo[95], and πάχος and παχύς in Josephus.[96] This evidence shows that the evangelist may have preferred to use a verb that was more familiar to his audience—as in the example of τυφλόω against καμμύω—but this is not always the rule, for the use of πωρόω proves the opposite. Therefore, the reason for using each verb must first be analysed separately and then in the context of the NT.

The first verb τυφλόω is present another time in the Johannine corpus in 1 Jn 2:11 and also occurs in 2 Cor 4:4, where it is used in a similar context as in Jn 12:40, namely, referring to unbelievers whose minds have been blinded by the god of this world.[97] Unbelievers are understood as people in general, although in the context of this letter Paul refers to the veil on the faces of the people of Israel and to their minds being hardened. The latter idea of hardening is also expressed in 2 Cor 3:14 with the same verb

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[89] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 1270-1271.

[90] K. H. Rengstorf et al. (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, IV, 223.

[91] K. H. Rengstorf et al. (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, II, 427.

[92] P. Borgen – K. Fuglseth – R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, 340.

[93] P. Borgen – K. Fuglseth – R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, 305.

[94] P. Borgen – K. Fuglseth – R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, 305; K. H. Rengstorf et al. (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, III, 598.

[95] P. Borgen – K. Fuglseth – R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, 276.

[96] K. H. Rengstorf et al. (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, III, 223.

[97] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 1271.

as in Jn 12:40 (πωρόω). Thus, there is a certain link between the verbs τυφλόω and πωρόω, when expressing the similar idea of unbelief (the people of Israel), not only in Jn 12:40, but also in 2 Cor 3:14 and 2 Cor 4:4.

From the textual point of view, the main problem in this citation is the verbal form ἐπώρωσεν or ἐπήρωσεν (the form πεπώρωκεν is an assimilation of the preceding perfect τετύφλωκεν). According to B. M. Metzger, the majority of scholars responsible for UBS[3] considered ἐπήρωσεν as "an attempt to supply a somewhat more suitable verb with τὴν καρδίαν than ἐπώρωσεν or πεπώποκεν."[98] Menken argues the contrary: that πηρόω (to maim, to injure) should be considered the original reading.[99] B. G. Schuchard does not embrace the choice of ἐπήρωσεν, but leaves this as a possibility.[100] In the present research, πωρόω is also preferred because it seems to be almost a technical term which expresses the hardening of the people of Israel, as will be shown below. Interestingly, the only occurrence of this verb in the LXX—which is in Jb 17:7 (πεπώρωνται)—has a textual variant πεπήρωνται, which shows that both verbs were used in relation to seeing.[101]

In the case of the verb שׁעע there is a reason for the translation with πωρόω instead of καμμύω (LXX-Is 6:10) in Jn 12:40. The verb שׁעע appears nine times in the Bible (only in the Psalms and Isaiah) and is translated with

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[98] B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 238. Similarly C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 432; E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 87, n. 4; B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 439.

[99] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 101-108.

[100] B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 93-94, n. 11.

[101] Cf. J. Ziegler (ed.), *Iob*, 286. According to codex A verb πωρόω is also in Prv 10:20, but it seems to be a secondary variant. See H. B. Swete (ed.), *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, II, 435. Cf. H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1401-1402, 1561 with the examples from Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* – πεπήρωται τοὺς ὀφθαλμός or Plutarch - πήρωσις τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν as well as LXX-Jb 17:7 - πεπώρωνται γὰρ ἀπὸ ὀργῆς οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου.

five different verbs, of which only one is καμμύω (Is 6:10).[102] The verb καμμύω itself is very rare in the LXX;[103] and does not appear in the NT except in the citations of Is 6:10 in Mt 13:15 and Acts 28:27. If the writer of the FG had used καμμύω in Jn 12:40, it would indicate his dependence on LXX 6:10, but he did not. The verb πωρόω, preferred in Jn 12:40—although it is a *hapax legomenon* in the Johannine corpus—was used in Rm 11:7 and again in 2 Cor 3:14 in a very similar *milieu* to that of the FG. In the former case, this verb appears in a context of the unbelief of the Jewish people, where it is written that only chosen Jews were privileged, "but the rest were hardened (ἐπωρώθησαν)." This statement serves as a comment on the citations, which put forward ideas quite similar to those expressed in Is 6:9-10, namely: "(…) until today they have no eyes to see and no ears to hear," (cf. Dt 29:3; Is 29:10) and "let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see" (Ps 69:24 in Rm 11:8-10). Likewise in 2 Cor 3:14 it is written: "But their minds were hardened (ἐπωρώθη); for until this very day at the reading of the old covenant the same veil remains unlifted, because it is removed in Christ." Similarly, in the Gospel of Mark this verb is used to express that the apostles did not understand miracles because their hearts were hardened (Mk 6:52; 8:17) [cf. use of sg. "heart"].[104] In all four cases, the verb πωρόω is used in the passive form in order to show that the people of Israel/apostles did not act themselves, but rather they were submitted to this "hardening." What is important is that this verb only appears once in an active form: in Jn 12:40, where God is the subject of the verb and He hardens the heart. It can be suggested, thus, that the verb πωρόω in the NT is a *terminus technicus* that is used for the purpose of explaining and justifying the unbelief of the people (in particular the

[102] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 154.

[103] It only appears in Is 6:10; 29:10; 33:15 (each time refers to the noun ὀφθαλμός) and in Lam 3:45.

[104] Similarly as in Jn 12:40 heart is in sg.

people of Israel), as something not caused by them.[105] Jn 12:40 not only fits well with this NT picture, but the active form explains who caused this unbelief. Thus, the writer of the FG, although free in the translation and redaction of the citation, chose his vocabulary not in a random way, but in agreement with other NT writers in order to express a similar idea.

As far as other words of the citation are concerned, such as ὀφθαλμός, καρδία or αὐτός, they are common equivalents of עין, לב and a pronoun, respectively. However, the Fourth Evangelist omitted העם הזה in the translation, but this is expressed instead with the pronoun, although he changed the demonstrative pronoun into a possessive one. All these considerations show a large dose of freedom on the part of the evangelist in the choice of translation and redaction of the citation. This is even more evident when we consider the placement of the personal pronoun αὐτός before the substantives. Scholars observed his comparatively stronger tendency to put a genitive of a personal pronoun when it is used attributively with a substantive (in particular, of the parts of the body) or with a substantivized adjective before them and with an article, as is precisely the case in Jn 12:40.[106] Menken offers a survey, which shows that in each of the Synoptic Gospels the genitive of a personal pronoun is used about 7% of the time before the substantives, whereas in the FG it amounts to 18%.[107] He also shows that this tendency is even stronger in the case of ὀφθαλμός and καρδία:[108]

[105] It is worth adding that the noun πώρωσις, which comes from the same root as πωρόω appears three times in the NT. One time it refers to the hardness of heart of the Pharisees (Mk 3:5), another time to the hardness of the people of Israel (Rm 11:25) and only once to the hardness of heart of the pagans, who have yet to join Christian community.

[106] E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, § 2558-2569.

[107] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 113.

[108] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 114.

	before ὀφθαλμός	after ὀφθαλμός	before καρδία	after καρδία
Matthew	3	13	-	8
Mark	1	3	2	7
Luke	1	10	1	14
John	10	2	5	-

Usually, the choice to place the genitive of a personal pronoun before a substantive has a precise function, that is, as E. A. Abbott has described it, "not only unemphatic, but, so to speak, *under-emphasised*, *in order to emphasize the context*" [his italics][109] and he adds that this use "is characteristic of Aristophanes, Paul, Epictetus, and, generally, of what may be described as "spoken Greek" (…) it adds greatly to the force of the Fourth Gospel, and John's abundant use of it as well as of the ordinary genitive should protect us from the danger of imagining that he uses the two promiscuously."[110] Use of αὐτῶν confirms again the redactional character of this part of the citation, which is typical for the Fourth Evangelist.[111]

In terms of the *Vorlage* of the following part of the quotation (except for the three last words), it seems to be not only independent from the LXX, but even contrary to it; although sometimes the wording is very similar. There are good arguments for such a claim, as can be seen from a word-for-word analysis. The conjunction פֶּן was translated in the LXX with ἵνα μή, μή, μήποτε and οὐ μή[112], but in the LXX-Is it was rendered with μή (Is 28:22; Is 36:18; 48:5, 7) or with μήποτε (Is 6:10).[113] The conjunctions פֶּן,

[109] E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, § 2776.

[110] E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, § 2784.

[111] So also R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung*, 129; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 104; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 114.

[112] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 119.

[113] Nevertheless, μήποτε appears only twice in the LXX-Is. The other time it appears is in Is 8:12 as a translation of a negative phrase and is parallel to the repeated οὐ μή (once פֶּן was not translated - Is 27:3). So, evidently, it is not one of his favoured words.

ἵνα μή, μήποτε might be used as an expression of concern or with a sense of finality[114] and sometimes the two usages are difficult to distinguish.[115] In addition, μήποτε has, among others, the sense of the adverb "perhaps" and of an interrogative particle "whether, maybe." The use of ἵνα μή in the FG (instead of LXX μήποτε) could be understood as an emphasis made for a purpose by the Evangelist to underline that there are no doubts, no "maybe" in a sense: "*maybe they might not* [μήποτε] see with the eyes…"(LXX).[116] It is rather a stronger statement: "(. . .) *in order that they might not* [ἵνα μή] see with the eyes…." (FG). The use of the final form fits very well into the style of the FG.[117] Its writer used μήποτε only once (as an interrogative particle – Jn 7:26) against 8x in Matthew, 2x in Mark, and 7x in Luke.[118] Instead, ἵνα μή appears 18 times in the FG, again, in contrast to 8x in Matthew, 6x in Mark and 9x in Luke.[119] This is another argument for the Fourth Evangelist's own redaction of the citation and his independence from the LXX.

The identical wording of Jn 12:40 and Is 6:10 (ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς) is conspicuous. One is inclined to argue for the LXX provenance of this text, since ten or eleven out of twelve or fourteen last words of the quotation are the same as in the LXX.[120] Menken claims that this argument has value only for the last three words of the citation, which are not a correct translation of the Hebrew text. On one hand, ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς is identical with the LXX, on the other, however, it is just a natural

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[114] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 116. He gives examples of such use in Gn 3:3, 22; 19:15, 17, 19; 26:7; 31:31; 45:11 (HB and LXX) as well as in the NT Lk 21:34; Acts 5:39; 2 Pt 3:17.

[115] In regards to פֶּן cf. *HALAT*, III, 884; P. Joüon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 168g.

[116] Cf. R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung*, 130; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 116.

[117] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 116, n. 67.

[118] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 794.

[119] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 559-560.

[120] Cf. B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 88.

translation of יראה בעיניו.[121] The absence of the possessive pronoun with "eyes" and "heart," which is in the HB but is lacking in the LXX and Jn 12:40, does not necessarily mean that the latter two texts agree with HB. The possessive pronoun was used with "eyes" and "heart" in the first part of the citation, and it can be omitted when the subject referred to by the pronoun is the same as the subject of the phrase.[122] Such a usage occurs frequently in the FG.[123] Nevertheless, this would not necessary entail that the evangelist was responsible for the translation of this part of the citation. He may have taken it from the LXX with the change of μήποτε to ἵνα μή.

The next verb in the citation νοέω is in contrast to the LXX συνίημι, but these two verbs are used to translate בין.[124] Some scholars claim that this verb can be understood in light of Is 44:18: οὐκ ἔγνωσαν φρονῆσαι ὅτι ἀπημαυρώθησαν τοῦ βλέπειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ νοῆσαι τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν. They emphasise that Is 6:10, and Is 44:18 have in common בין, ראה, עין, לב; both times the statement is made in regard to eyes and hearts as in Jn 12:40 where ears are not mentioned; and there is an analogous content and similar wording with the Gospel's καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ. However, there are some differences between Is 44:18 and Is 6:10 in comparison to Jn 12:40: νοέω is not a translation of בין, but שׂכל; לב is in the plural in Is 44:18 and not in the singular; similar wording can be misleading, because the meaning of καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ is quite different since it refers to the preceding ἵνα μή; the question as to whether God is the

[121] For the verb ראה cf. E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1005-1007; T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 133-134.

[122] Cf. BDR, § 278.

[123] Cf. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 115. He gives the examples of Jn 6:5; 7:30, 44; 11:41, 44; 13:10; 19:30; 20:20.

[124] T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 26.

subject of the action of shutting the eyes is disputed.[125] Finally there are other passages of Isiah,[126] Jeremiah[127] and Ezekiel,[128] which refer to closing or opening eyes/ears or the hardening of heart which – according to the same logic - might have influenced the wording of Jn 12:40, and not only Is 44:18. Therefore, the influence of Is 44:18 in the rendering of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40 is still difficult to assert. However, there could be a relation between these texts as well.

Now, in order to search for a reason behind the choice of νοέω in Jn 12:40, one might consider how συνίημι and νοέω are used, as well as their function, in the NT. First of all, the verb συνίημι appears in the NT in the citation of Is 6:10, either as an allusion to it or in its interpretation (Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Acts 28:26-27). It is also used in reference to the understanding of the parable of the sower (Mt 13:19, 23; [cf. Lk 8:10]); parables in general (Mt 13:51); in the matter of being clean and unclean (Mt 15:10; Mk 7:14); in the understanding of the miracle of the bread and with regard to the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt 16:12; Mk 6:52; 8:17; 8:21). It is also used one time in such occurrences as: Mt 17:13 concerning John the Baptist; Lk 2:50, when Jesus answers his mother in the Temple; Lk 18:43, in the prophecy of the passion; and in Lk 24:45, regarding Emmaus. Interestingly, the verb νοέω appears in the Gospels in exactly the same context as συνίημι, namely, with regard to the matter of being clean or unclean (Mt 15:17; Mk 7:18); to the question of understanding the miracle of the bread, and regarding the yeast of the

[125] Cf. J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 138; U. Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 351-352. God is the subject of hardening the heart in Is 63:17, although it is described with different vocabulary from that of Is 6:10.

[126] Is 29:9-10, 18; 32:3; 35:5; 40:21 42:16, 18-19; 43:8, 52:15.

[127] Jr 5:21.

[128] Ez 12:2.

Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt 16:9, 11; Mk 8:17).[129] It shows that both verbs were used in the Gospels to express a similar idea. A prime example of this is found in Mk 8:17 where one verb follows the other and—most importantly in this case—both refer to the hardening of heart expressed exactly as in Jn 12:40: οὔπω νοεῖτε οὐδὲ συνίετε; πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν;. Therefore, it seems that these verbs are used as words that are similar in meaning and interchangeable. However, the question remains: why does the Fourth Evangelist prefer νοέω?

The verb συνίημι is absent in the FG, but none of the main contexts mentioned above where it appears—except the citation from Is 6:10—are found in this Gospel. Instead, νοέω is present only once in the FG and it is in this very citation. At this point, two remarks that are based on the NT writings outside the Gospels can be made—remarks which also present the early Christian understanding of these verbs. First, the affinity of the verb νοέω can be understood in light of Paul's letters and the letter to the Hebrews, which show its early Christian understanding. In 1 Tm 1:7, it is used by the people who are trying to be the teachers of the Law, that they neither understand (μὴ νοοῦντες) what they are saying nor the matters about which they make confident assertions. Teachers of the Law (νομοδιδάσκαλοι) are to be identified as those who teach the Jewish People, who do not understand. Thus, they are the same subject as in Jn 12:40.[130] Such a clear identification with the people of Israel by a NT writer does not occur when the verb συνίημι is used.[131] The verb συνίημι, however, appears in the context of the question regarding the lack of understanding or belief, always as part of citations (cf. Is 6:9-10 in Acts 28:26-27; Is 52:15 in Rm 15:21; Ps 14:1-3 in Rm 3:11), but never as part of the narrative

[129] This verb is also used in the similar expression, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω in Mt 24:15 and Mk 13:14, but in both cases the reading is not sure from the textual point of view.

[130] Cf. the use of νόμος in Jn 12:34.

[131] Cf. K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 1234.

coming from the NT writer, as is the case in 1 Tm 1:7. However, it must be remembered that because 1 Tm 1:7 is the only example of such usage, it is difficult to discern whether it represents the prominent early Christian understanding of this word. The second remark is that the evangelist used an interchangeable verb with a similar meaning, but different from the LXX, because he wanted to avoid any misunderstanding that he was referring to the LXX version of Is 6:10, according to which people are responsible for the hardening of their heart and the closing of their eyes. The main point of the evangelist's message is the justification of the people of Israel and an explanation of their unbelief by stating that it is God who has hardened their heart and blinded their eyes. In other words, the evangelist intended to excuse their unbelief. Any similarities with the LXX would work against this assumption. A proof for such a claim may be the wording of the whole citation. When the subject is the people of Israel or the parts of their body, the wording is different from the LXX, but when they are no longer the subject, the wording is exactly the same as in the LXX (except ἴδωσιν).

The change of ἐπιστρέψωσιν (LXX) to στραφῶσιν (Jn 12:40), being an equivalent of שׁוּב, is usually understood by scholars as being part of the Fourth Evangelist's preference for *verba simplicia* (without a prefix).[132] There is no doubt that the FG in general prefers a simple vocabulary and *verba simplicia* are usually an aspect of this. However, some observations against the common explanation regarding this case should be made. First of all, the verb στρέφω (without a prefix) does not mean that it is simpler or less sophisticated than the one with the prefix. This case is actually a prime example of it, because ἐπιστρέφω is used around 585 times in the LXX and in the NT, which is much more often than στρέφω used in the

[132] Cf. R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung*, 130, 194; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 118; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 105.

same sources: only around 64 times. The compound ἐπιστρέφω is part of a commonly used and simpler vocabulary than στρέφω.[133] This becomes even more evident when we realize that in the LXX ἐπιστρέφω is used about 400 times as a translation of שׁוב,[134] whereas στρέφω is used only four times to render שׁוב and always as a variant reading (Zep 3:20;[135] Is 38:8;[136] Jr 34:15 [LXX-Jr 41:15];[137] Ez 47:6[138]). Moreover, Jn 12:40 is the only time in the FG where στρέφω is used in a figurative sense, namely "to experience an inward change - to convert."[139] The other times it means "to turn around, turn towards by changing the position of the body," (Jn 1:38; 20:14, 16). Interestingly, this verb occurs 21 times in the NT, but a similar meaning to that in Jn 12:40 is found only in Mt 18:3, which shows that στρέφω most frequently was used to mean "to turn around/towards." So the use in the sense of conversion is an exception in the NT and Jn 12:40 is part of it. What is the reason for such an exception? It seems that the Fourth Evangelist wanted to depart from the LXX text (where people are responsible for the lack of faith) and he marked his *votum separatum* in this way even to the point of using a very rare verb, which is contrary to his preference for *simple vocabulary*.

The last three words of the citation καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς are identical with the LXX, which is in contrast to the HB ורפא לו. The Hebrew text uses the same

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[133] The verb ἐπιστρέφω was used 36 times in the NT, in which it is found three times in the Johannine corpus (Jn 21:20; Rev 1:12 [twice]), so it was a verb known to the Fourth Evangelist.

[134] E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 531-534.

[135] This verb was chosen in H. B. Swete (ed.), *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, III, 69, in contrast to J. Ziegler (ed.), *Duodecim prophetae*, 284, where this verb is not mentioned even in the *apparatus*.

[136] J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 261. Here also Theod. uses the verb στρέφω.

[137] J. Ziegler (ed.), *Jeremias*, 384.

[138] This case is not mentioned in E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 1296, but is evidenced in J. Ziegler (ed.), *Ezechiel*, 320-321. Here also Theod. uses the verb στρέφω.

[139] F. W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 948-949.

subject for two verbs in *w*^{e}*qatal* וְשׁב וְרפא לו. It seems that the syntagm לו can be understood as having the role of a reflexive pronoun "lest (…) they can be healed by themselves" or "damit es nicht (…) Heilung finde für sich."[140] This is not the translation of the LXX, wherein the subject is not the same as וְשׁב/ἐπιστρέψωσιν. The change of the subject causes the meaning of this phrase to be changed to, "lest (…) I might heal them." The question of who is the subject will be discussed below, but it must first be noted that with the change of the subject in LXX Is 6:10 comes the change of the form of the citation in Jn 12:40. As mentioned above, when the people or the parts of their body are no longer the subject, the evangelist follows the LXX. Why is there such a change in the form of the quotation? It seems that the LXX text fits better with the main argument of Jn 12:38-40, where the evangelist tries to justify and to explain the unbelief of the people, as caused by God and not by them. At the end he makes clear that they cannot be healed by somebody else (subject of ἰάσομαι), which is in contrast to the HB version which says they cannot heal themselves. Such a meaning of this part of the citation is even strengthened by the fact that καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς is not a separate main clause, but it depends—like the previous clauses—on ἵνα μή.[141] Indeed, as is seen throughout the entire citation, the people are unable to do something against their fate, because the agent who causes the whole situation is God, therefore — according to Jn 12:38-40 — the unbelief of the people of Israel can be justified and excused because this is understood as the fulfillment of prophecy.

5. The Meaning of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38

The meaning of Is 53:1 combined with Is 6:10 in Jn 12:38-40 is both fascinating and problematic. Consequently, many questions arise, such as:

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[140] W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 161-162.

[141] Cf. BDR, § 369, 2; R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung,* 1903; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 120; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 97, n. 24.

Who is the speaker of κύριε in Jn 12:38? To whom does the evangelist refer when speaking about "our report"? What is the meaning of the expression "the arm of the Lord"? Does it imply the embodiment of God in the person of Jesus Christ, as C. H. Williams claimed, or has it another meaning?

The vocative κύριε in this citation is particularly important. It does not have an equivalent in the HB; it is used only in the LXX, where it refers to the God of Israel. Now, what is the new meaning of κύριε, namely, who is the addressee of this vocative in Jn 12:38? Menken claims that Jesus refers to his Father with this vocative.[142] He argues that it is in line with other passages in the FG, where Jesus directly addresses his Father, as seen in Jn 11:41-42; 12:27-28; 17:1-26. However, in all these passages Jesus refers to his Father with the vocative πατήρ. Moreover, he never addresses his Father with the plain vocative κύριε in all the Gospels.[143] The usual way of addressing Jesus in the Synoptics as well as in the FG is precisely κύριε.[144] Therefore, the addressee of κύριε in Is 53:1 is the God of Israel and in Jn 12:38 this is Jesus Christ.[145] It seems to be a deliberate rhetorical device to address two persons with the same vocative, which is particularly relevant in this citation, where the following form κυρίου is a translation of יהוה. This

[142] M. J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 383-384; C. H. Williams suggested that the speaker of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 could also be Jesus or the prophet Isaiah. Idem, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 109-109. However, in the other article she excluded the possibility of Jesus as the speaker. Idem, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology, 114.

[143] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 707-714. Twice in the Gospels, Jesus addresses his Father with πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, but it is not just the vocative κύριε, since it is the part of the expression that shows that God is the Lord of heaven and earth (spatial merism) and is preceded with the vocative πάτερ, the usual way of addressing God by Jesus.

[144] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 707-714.

[145] For a similar conclusion cf. A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 224-225.

agrees with Jn 1:1 and other passages[146] that demonstrate the unity between the God of Israel and Jesus Christ: the Father and the Son (cf. Jn 10:30).

Such a choice has crucial consequences for the whole text, because it influenced the interpretation of τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν as well as ὁ βραχίων κυρίου. The Hebrew form שמועה means "that what was heard from us"[147] which is translated literally as ἀκοή "thing heard, tidings."[148] It helps to identify the speaker presented as ἡμῶν. As a result of Menken's previous choice, he claims "a subjective genitive can be equally well read as an objective genitive, resulting in the translation 'the report about us' or something similar."[149] For him, the pronoun "us" means Jesus Christ. This can be justified by other occurrences where there is a singular referent of ἡμῶν (cf. Jn 3:11) or by *plurale maiestatis*. However, it seems instead to be an attempt to force the text in order to maintain the thesis that Jesus is speaking to the God of Israel and addressing him with the vocative κύριε, which – as was mentioned – never occurs in the Gospels. If Menken had accepted the subjective genitive, "our report," it would imply what Jesus has heard from the Father and has reported to his audience, but Menken judges this possibility as hardly compatible with the context of the citation.[150] Moreover, Menken understands "the report about us" as a report about the signs of Jesus, which he bases on Jn 5:10ff; 9:13ff; 11:46-53; 12:18 as well as on Fortna's claim that τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν "must be a pre-Johannine account of Jesus' signs."[151] There is no doubt that Jesus performed signs and people heard about them, but it is difficult to accept that this expression is limited only to Jesus' signs. Instead the biblical *terminus technicus* for the signs is ὁ βραχίων κυρίου, which will be discussed hereafter.

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[146] Cf. Jn 10:30; 16:32; 17:11; 17:21-22.

[147] Cf. *HALAT*, IV, 1439+1440.

[148] Cf. H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 51.

[149] M. J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 385.

[150] M. J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 384.

[151] R. T. Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor*, 138.

To answer the question of who is the referent of "us", it seems appropriate to study the meaning of the same citation in Rm 10:16. First of all, the noun, ἀκοή is correlated to ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ not only as regards the wordplay, but also in pointing out that the things heard are the Gospel.[152] In this way, the citation assumes a fundamental correspondence between Paul's apostolic proclamation and Isaiah's message.[153] The following verse interprets this citation in stating that faith comes from what is heard (ἀκοή)[154], and it is the word of Christ. R. Jewett argues that the expression ῥήματος Χριστοῦ compared with "word of Christ," "word of the Lord," or "word of God," (where λόγος is an equivalent of ῥῆμα) in the Pauline letters and in early Christian literature, can be understood as a "word that proclaims Christ."[155] It is also relevant that in Rm 10:18 ῥῆμα is used in the context of κηρύσσω, which literally means "preaching" or "proclaiming."[156] In fact, the general meaning of the word ἀκοή approximates closely to ἀγγελία and κήρυγμα and, thus, can be understood as a *terminus technicus* for "proclamation" or "preaching."[157] In this light, ἡμῶν in Jn 12:38 can mean somebody who has heard and preached the Gospel. Obermann argues for John the Baptist, Moses, Isaiah and the evangelist himself, as referents of ἡμῶν.[158] However, it seems more plausible to indicate the Fourth Evangelist (like Paul in Rm 10:16)[159] and other people in general who have heard and

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[152] Cf. Paul's preaching of the Gospel described, for instance, in Rm 1:1, 9, 16; 2:16; 11:28; 15:16, 19; 16:25. Cf. the link between Is 53:1 and Is 40:9; 52:7 where in both occurrences the verb εὐαγγελίζω is used.

[153] J. R. Wagner, "The Heralds of Isaiah and the Mission of Paul," 208-211.

[154] R. Jewett states that ἀκοή in Rm 10:16 appears with reference to what was heard, whereas in Rm 10:17 indicates the act of hearing. Idem, *Romans*, 642, n. 72.

[155] R. Jewett, *Romans*, 629, 642.

[156] The other occurrences of ῥῆμα in the letter to the Romans are only in the context of the explanation of this citation (Rm 10:17-18).

[157] *TDNT*, I, 221-222.

[158] A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 227-230.

[159] The mastery of the FG writer reveals itself when he is able to describe his own situation with the OT citation. Cf. A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 234.

proclaimed the Gospel as being the referent of ἡμῶν. Any further specification could be too exclusive regarding the person, who might also be considered as "us."

There is no doubt that the main point of this quotation is the matter of faith. On the one hand, the evangelist asks this rhetorical question as a complaint, just as it is used in Isaiah. On the other hand, Is 53:1 gains a new meaning, which is the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah. The use of the verb πιστεύω is quite relevant, because it brings the citation to the main concerns of the evangelist. The answer to the question "Who has believed our report?" is given in Jn 12:42, where it is clarified that many Jews believed, but were afraid of the Pharisees. However, the citation serves not only as an explanation, but as a justification of those who did not believe, as is repeated in Jn 12:39. People did not only disbelieve the proclamation of the Gospel as it was presented by the evangelist and by the others, but they did not believe the proclamation despite the miracles of the Lord, as is underlined in the second rhetorical question.

In the question "And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" (καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη), the Hebrew syntagm **מי על** was rendered with τίνι. This is highly significant, because in all eleven occurrences of τίνι in Isaiah, not one of them matches **מי על**.[160] The Greek translator might have understood **מי על** as **מי אל**, which matches τίνι in LXX Isaiah.[161] Ekblad's suggestion that the LXX translator might have a different *Vorlage* because 1QIsa[a] of Is 53:1 has **מי אל**[162] is disproved on a textual basis, as was shown earlier.[163] In the matter of clarification of the

[160] Is 23:2; 28:9 (twice); 36:5; 40:18 (twice); 40:25; 46:5; 50:1; 53:1; 57:4.

[161] Is 40:18, 25.

[162] E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 196.

[163] E. R. Ekblad did not refer to 1QIsa[b] Is 53:1 where there is also **אל** like in 1QIsa[b], but the aforementioned discussion shows how flexible **אל** and **על** are in these two scrolls. See

meaning of על מי the question as to what is the "arm of the Lord" is of further relevance. Ekblad claims that: "In both the MT and the LXX of Is 52:10-53:1 the arm of the Lord appears to be identified as the servant himself." According to him, the description of the Lord's arm in the LXX of Isaiah is similar to the description of the servant of God.[164] For instance, the exaltation of the Lord's arm and of the servant (Is 52:13) is not evident to the people (Is 26:11); the Lord gathers his lambs with his arm (Is 40:11) much as he gathers his people through his servant (Is 49:5). God defends and saves his people where there is no human person to help them (Is 59:16; 63:5); similar to the occasion when God sends his servant at a time when there is no one to bring the announcement (Is 41:28; 50:2). The Lord's revelation to the nations is done through his arm (Is 51:5), which is reminiscent of the servant of God (cf. Is 42:4, 7; 49:6). C. Williams argues for the identification of the Servant of God as the embodiment of the arm of the Lord and, for her, "the Lord's arm is virtually personified."[165] She bases her argument on the common vocabulary ("Lord's arm" and "the nations" reveal the same verbal form ὄψονται) in Is 52:10 and 52:13-53:1, which would permit these two texts to be interpreted with reference to each other, understanding that "the holy arm of the Lord to be revealed to the nations can be identified with the Servant who will be exalted and glorified."[166] It seems, however, that there is insufficient textual evidence to identify the arm of the Lord with the Servant of God. Both scholars base their arguments mainly on the LXX and do not recognize differences in the HB. For instance, although the same verb ἀποκαλύπτω is found in Is 52:10 and Is

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E. Ulrich – P. W. Flint – M. G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1* [DJD 32/2], 243; E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 196.

[164] E. R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint*, 197-198.

[165] C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 121-122.

[166] C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 121. This conclusion has, for her, important Christological implications as he was also exalted on the cross and glorified. The question of the identification of the Servant of God with Jesus Christ is particularly important for the Synoptics, which is not so clearly emphasised in the FG, where there is no explicit reference to the Servant of God.

53:1, they have two different Hebrew equivalents (חשׂף for the former and גלה for the latter). As regards the similarities mentioned by Ekblad, one must be mindful of differences. The noun "arm - זרוע" appears 18 times in the book of Isaiah and not even once is it described as being involved in the trial and sufferings of the Servant of God. Furthermore, both authors narrowed their research to a few passages where the expression "arm of the Lord" occurs, without extending their analysis to the other occurrences in the Bible. If they had done so, it would emerge that the noun "arm" is most often used as a synonym for power, and frequently for God's power and his miracles,[167] which is explicit in the syntagm זרוע יהוה. Therefore, it seems that the proper understanding of this expression is instead presented by Obermann, when he claims: "Die Wendung ὁ βραχίων κυρίου verweist in einer Übertragung seiner alttestamentichen Bedeutung als terminus technicus für die Machttaten Jahwes im Joh auf die zuvor in den Kapiteln 1-12 geschilderten Zeichen Jesu. (. . .) Die Zeichen Jesu sind somit Erscheinungen des wunderbaren 'Armes Gottes' inmitten des Schwachheit der Welt."[168] This is further strengthened by the fact that miracles of Jesus are mentioned in Jn 12:37.

Having stated this, it looks as though the citation καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη is a rhetorical question that plays an important role in the FG. The LXX version of Is 53:1 asks, "to whom has the miraculous power of the Lord (God of Israel) been revealed" and it is likewise cited by the Fourth Evangelist, but for him the reference to κυρίου means the reference to Jesus Christ. Thus, the miraculous power of the Lord means the wonders of Christ. This meaning is strengthened by the fact that the vocative κύριε at

[167] Cf. E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 230.

[168] A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 230. See also *Ibidem*, 233, n. 99 where he mentions scholars who do not embrace the idea of the identification of the arm of the Lord with the Servant of the Lord. Similarly B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 88, n. 15.

the beginning of the citation, as well as the genitive κυρίου, indicates the same person – Jesus; and in Jn 12:37 his signs are mentioned, which, in the biblical language, means miracles.

6. The Meaning of Is 53:1 within Rm 10:16

After the introductory formula Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει there follows the text citation κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;. In contrast to the Fourth Evangelist Paul did not quote the second part of the citation: "To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" The reason for this is the fact that he was mainly interested not in the issue of the miracles/signs like the Fourth Evangelist,[169] but rather in the matter of faith and its proclamation, as is evident from the literary context.

Rm 10:14-21 itself is a separate pericope, which can be subdivided into two parts: vv. 14-17 and vv. 18-21. The first part begins with an elegant rhetorical "climax" in which each succeeding line takes up the motive from the preceding one (Rm 10:14-15a):[170]

πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσωνται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν;
πῶς δὲ πιστεύσωσιν οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν;
πῶς δὲ ἀκούσωσιν χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος;
πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν;

Thus, being able to call upon Him comes from an act of faith, faith from hearing, hearing from proclaiming the good news, and the proclamation of the good news from being sent. The following verses, 15b-16, offer the answers to these questions, but in the reversed order and by applying two citations from Isaiah. The idea of being sent and the proclamation of the good news correspond to Is 52:7. The matter of listening and believing is

[169] The idiom "arm of the Lord" indicates the powerful and marvelous deeds of God, as will be discussed later.

[170] R. Jewett, *Romans*, 635-637.

seen in the light of Is 53:1. The text of Rm 10:17 is a summary verse, which recapitulates the previous verses (Rm 10:14-16).

In terms of the second unit of this pericope, Rm 10:18-21 provide the framework for three additional rhetorical questions, producing a satisfying series of seven, to which correspond four OT citations.[171] The first citation from this group serves as a bridge with the first unit, because it also refers to the proclamation of the good news, like the two previous texts from Isaiah. The other three citations, however, refer to the responses of the Jews and Gentiles. Thus, Rm 10:14-21 is a literary masterpiece.

Ross Wagner aptly described the context of the citation from Is 53:1 in Rm 10: "Despite the fact that Christ is the τέλος of the Law for righteousness to *all* (πάντες) who believe (10:4), and that he is the one Lord over *all* (πάντες), Jew and Gentile alike, who offers salvation to *all* (πάντες) who believe/call on him (10:11-13), '*Not all* (οὐ πάντες) have obeyed the gospel' (10:16) [his italics]."[172] In Rm 9-11, Paul is indeed primarily concerned with Israel's resistance to the good news, despite the fact that it is offered to all—Jew and Gentile—without distinction.[173] His point is very clear. Paul accuses the people of Israel of stubbornness and wilful disobedience. In order to express this idea, he employs his favoured diatribe style:[174] first, he affirms that messengers were indeed sent to bring the good news to the

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[171] Rm 10: verses: 15 (Is 52:7), v. 16 (Is 53:1), v. 18 (Ps 19:4), v. 19 (Dt 32:21), v. 20 (Is 65:1), v. 21 (Is 65:2).

[172] J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 178.

[173] For a discussion on the idea of Jews and Gentiles in Rm 9:30-10:21 see P. T. Gadenz, *Called from the Jews and from the Gentiles*, 136-166.

[174] For a general analysis of the diatribe style cf. P. T. Gadenz, *Called from the Jews and from the Gentiles*, 35-36. The author clarifies that a diatribe is generally based on the coexistence of a number of elements, such as: the use of imaginary interlocutors addressed with vocatives and the second person singular; direct address with the audience (second-person plural); short vivid exchanges of questions and answers; and a series of objections and false conclusions (often rejected with a negative phrase [e.g., μὴ γένοιτο). The aim of using diatribe is to make the discourse more vivid.

people of Israel (Rm 10:14-17); and second, he rejects any excuse on their part that they did not hear the good news about Jesus Christ (cf. Rm 10:18-21).[175] Paul strengthens his criticism using biblical citations and he bases his claim on the authority of Isaiah and Moses, both mentioned by name. The apostle anticipates any possible accusation by stating that God has commissioned and sent messengers to bring the good news to Israel, but it is Israel's fault for not accepting the messengers and the message. Consequently, Paul reproaches his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries' lack of faith, which in such circumstances may not be excused, and thus they are found guilty. As Shum wrote: "What an irony! Initially, the feet of those who bring 'good news' to Israel are wonderful; but now they turn out to be woeful because they have become bearers of 'bad news'."[176] The other example of dramatic irony is the fact that Isaiah calls out to the Lord (κύριε) concerning the lack of faith of his hearers who, in contrast, ought to have been the ones calling on the name of the Lord (τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου) for their salvation (Rm 10:13).[177] It does not mean, however, that God has rejected Israel, as is clearly stated in the following text starting from Rm 11:1.

This drama has a personal side. It seems that Paul identifies himself with Isaiah.[178] He quotes four texts from Isaiah (out of six) to show that just as the people of Israel in Isaiah's time did not pay heed to God's message (cf. ἀκοή), so also in Paul's days his Jewish contemporaries did not accept the "good news." Moreover, the term "good news," assumes a correspondence between Paul's and Isaiah's preaching by use of the verb εὐαγγελίζω (cf. also Is 40:9). They both are presented as carrying on the same mission, which also finds strong opposition. This claim is strengthened by the personal character of the citation of Is 52:15 in Rm 11:21, clarifying

[175] S.-L. Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 223-225.
[176] S.-L. Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans*, 224-225.
[177] J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 179.
[178] J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 179-180; R. Jewett, *Romans*, 640-641.

Paul's mission. This similarity is additional proof of the veracity of Paul's proclamation, despite apparent failure, and it is expressed with the Isaianic word ἀκοή.

Jewett claimes that κύριε in the citation of Is 53:1 in Rm 10:16 refers to Christ rather than to Yhwh.[179] Wilk claims the opposite: that it refers to Yhwh and not to Christ as in Rm 11:3.[180] It seems, however, that if we take into consideration all the occurrences of κύριος in the letter to the Romans, it is natural that this vocative in the new context of Rm 10:16 refers to Jesus. The text of Rm 10:16, however, is unique in the sense that it is not a narrative text, but a citation, and like in other citations (for instance, in Rm 11:3) it might remind us of the original context where κύριε refers to Yhwh - the God of Israel. However, there is a sophisticated difference between these two citations. In Rm 11:3 Paul cites the prophet Elijah from 1 Kgs 19:10, 14 and the apostle introduces the vocative κύριε, which is not in the LXX nor in the HB equivalent.[181] According to Rm 10:16, Paul identifies himself with the mission of Isaiah, so he might be seen as complaining with the same words as the ancient prophet. Therefore, κύριε in Rm 10:16 might include both possibilities, that is, this vocative may refer to Yhwh and to Jesus as well.

Having said this, it seems that one of the central themes of Is 53:1 in Rm 10:16 is the question of ἀκοή because it is presented not only in the citation, but also repeated twice in the summary verse 17, which puts further emphasis on this word. This is also a "catch word" among both citations in the first unit. Although it does not appear in the citation itself it

[179] R. Jewett, *Romans*, 641.

[180] F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 182, esp. n. 18.

[181] The word κύριος is used but in the dative.

is still part of LXX-Is 52:7.[182] Schneider claims that ἀκοή assumes in the NT a special theological quality wherever its passive meaning is not merely "report" but rather "Christian preaching."[183] He translates LXX Is 53:1 cited in Rm 10:16 and Jn 12:38: "Lord, who has believed our *report* [i.e., preaching]?"[184] Similarly, Ross Wagner argues that Paul identifies the "message" of Is 53:1 with the Christian proclamation in Rm 10:16.[185] This claim might by justified on the basis of Rm 10:17, where it is stated that "the message/what is heard (ἀκοή) comes by the word (ῥῆμα) of Christ," and Rm 10:8 clarifies that the word (ῥῆμα) of faith is "the word which we preach (κηρύσσω)."

Finally, one has to observe that Is 53:1 is part of the fourth song of the servant. However, this citation was not used in the context that directly relates to the suffering of the servant of God, as it is in the Synoptics where parts of Is 52:13-53:12 are cited or alluded to.[186] Instead, it is used in the context of the accusation of the lack of faith in the message of the good news. It shows the liberty taken in the use of this OT text, without reference to the context, but with a focus on the actual wording of it. This is not only so in Rm 10:16, but it also seems to be the case in Jn 12:38. However, the same text of Is 53:1 has been used by two NT writers for two completely different purposes, namely, in Rm 10:16 to accuse the people of Israel and in Jn 12:38 to excuse them, a subject which will be studied later in this research.

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[182] J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 179. Some parts of this citation are simply omitted for various reasons. For instance, the omission of mountains gives the universal character of the citation. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the form of the citation is close to the Lucianic text. Cf. J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 171-174; R. Jewett, *Romans*, 639.

[183] G. Schneider, "ἀκούω, ἀκοή, ῆς, ἡ," 54.

[184] G. Schneider, "ἀκούω, ἀκοή, ῆς, ἡ," 54; He also renders Rm 10:17 in a similar way: "So faith comes from what is heard [i.e. *preaching*], and what is heard [the *preaching*] comes by the *preaching* (ῥῆμα) of Christ."

[185] J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 180.

[186] Cf. B. Janowski – P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Suffering Servant*, *passim*; U. Mittmann, "Jes 53 LXX, ein umstrittener urchristlicher Referenztext," 217-232.

7. The Meaning of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40

One of the fundamental questions regarding Jn 12:40 concerns the subject(s) of the verbs in the citation from Is 6:10. This is particularly important when one part of the citation is the evangelist's redaction which is probably influenced by the Hebrew *Vorlage,* and the other part is clearly taken from the LXX. It seems that an omission in this citation is not accidental. Why does the Fourth Evangelist omit τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου / (העם הזה) in the citation of Is 6:10? Of further interest is an analysis of the comment in Jn 12:41 that witnesses the early Christian understanding of the citation.

7.1. Johannine Drama in Jn 12:40

The question regarding the subject in Jn 12:40 is much more complicated than it first appears.[187] J. Painter summarized the discussion as follows:

"1. God has blinded the eyes of the Jews so that they are unable to believe and Jesus cannot heal them.

2. The prophet has blinded their eyes so that they are unable to believe and Jesus cannot heal them.

3. The Evangelist or his Gospel has caused blindness so that God or Jesus cannot heal them.

4. Jesus has blinded their eyes so that they are unable to believe and God cannot heal them.

5. The prince of this world, the power of darkness, has blinded their eyes so that they are unable to believe and Jesus cannot heal them."[188]

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[187] For a discussion and various opinions, cf. J. Blank. *Krisis,* 301-305; J. Painter, "The Quotation of Scripture and Unbelief in John 12.36b-43," 435-439, 457-458. See the discussion in R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung,* 188-192; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 109-115; B. Hollenbach, "Lest They Should Turn," 317-318; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 98-99.

[188] J. Painter, "The Quotation of Scripture and Unbelief in John 12.36b-43," 435. See the discussion on pp. 436-439.

A problem arises from the fact that two *Vorlagen* might have been used in one citation. A variety of opinions springs from an attempt to reconcile various possibilities in the situation where the verbs τετύφλωκεν and ἐπώρωσεν are in the 3 p. sg., whereas ἰάσομαι is in 1 p. sg.

In the source text of Is 6:10, the God of Israel speaks to the prophet. God is also the subject of the verb ἰάσομαι in the LXX. However, the text of the citation in the FG is not so clear. Some scholars have observed that Is 6 (LXX) uses κύριος to translate אדני (Is 6:1, 8, 11) and יהוה צבאות (Is 6:1, 8, 11).[189] Is 6:12 is the only exception where יהוה is rendered with ὁ θεός. Menken claims that such a distinction may have prompted the Fourth Evangelist to distinguish between "the Lord" (Jesus) who talks with the prophet, and "God" of whom the Lord speaks in the third person singular (Is 6:12).[190] It would also agree with the distinction present in the citation in Jn 12:40 between God ("he") and Jesus ("I"). However, Menken argued that Jesus addresses God with the vocative κύριε in the preceding citation of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38.[191] In fact, as was mentioned before, it does not seem desirable to distinguish, on the basis of the Hebrew text or the Greek translation, which divine name would refer to Jesus and which to the God of Israel, because the LXX translation is far from being consistent,[192] and in the Hebrew text as well as the Septuagint one may simply exchange the divine names to avoid the repetition of the same name.

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[189] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 118-120; C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 117; R. Kühschelm, *Verstockung*, 130-131.

[190] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 119-120.

[191] M. J. J. Menken, "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John," 383-384.

[192] Cf. T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 14, 60-61; E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 630, 800. This lack of consistency is also seen in the translation of אלהים.

The most reliable suggestion about the meaning of this citation may be based on Jn 12:41. The evangelist writes: "These things Isaiah said, because he saw his glory, and he spoke of him." Usually, this verse is understood as the evangelist's claim that Isaiah saw Jesus.[193] Therefore, we can better understand the meaning of the citation in Jn 12:40 as a Johannine drama in which the direct speech of God from Is 6:10 is attributed to Jesus. Jesus marks the fulfilment of the prophecy by saying that "he" - the God of Israel has blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, lest "I" (Jesus) heal them. In this phrase is demonstrated the unity of will between God and Jesus and - most importantly - Jesus is presented as the subject of ἰάσομαι.[194] The evangelist puts Jesus in the same position as the LXX does for the God of Israel. It is not the first time where the Fourth Evangelist, using the citation from Isaiah, puts Jesus in such a position (cf. Jn 1:23; 6:45).

In this drama, the two citations in Jn 12:38-40 are linked together. Jesus is addressed with κύριε, then he turns to the public and declares the fulfilment of the prophecy, because the God of Israel has blinded the people's eyes; and finally he refers to himself, explaining why he will not heal them, which—in this case—would not only be the question of blinded eyes etc., but rather of the lack of faith (cf. Jn 12:38): something that is in agreement with other statements about healing made by Jesus. Clearly, he healed when someone believed, namely, when the person making the request had faith.[195]

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[193] This issue will be discussed below.

[194] Cf. M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 120; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 242-245; C. H. Williams, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 111-116.

[195] Cf. Mt 8:8-10; 15:20; Mk 5:29-34; Lk 8:47-48. See also K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 537. The verb ἰάομαι, used 26 times in the NT, usually describes the healing power of Jesus. Apart from Jn 12:40 in the FG, ἰάομαι occurs two other two times (Jn 4:47; 5:13), and it describes healing done by Jesus.

7.2. "This people": Omission

This omission does not seem to be accidental. On the contrary, it appears to be a deliberate decision made by the writer who adopts a text for a precise aim. So, what is the aim behind the omission of τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου / (העם הזה) in Jn 12:40? Obermann noted that the noun λαός in the FG has a positive connotation, since in Jn 11:50 and 18:14, it refers to those for whom Jesus is about to die.[196] Schuchard also points out the balanced metre of the first lines of the citation.[197]

To these arguments can be added another, which is in contrast to current scholarship, according to which the selection of Is 6:10 was determined by pre-Johannine tradition and belonged to early Christian testimonies to explain the lack of faith among the Jews.[198] Such an understanding of Jn 12:38-40 as a text that asserts Jewish unbelief is present in the subtitles of various editions of the Bible, for instance: "the unbelief of the Jews" (NJB),[199] "The Jews Continue in Their Unbelief," (NIV),[200] "Unbelief and Belief among the Jews" (NAB).[201] Some Bible editions did not enter into this problematic issue and made general titles (i.e., "Judgment time" (NOAB)[202] or "The Unbelief of the People" (NRSV)).[203] KJV does not provide a subtitle for this passage.[204] However, there are good reasons for opposing the

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[196] Cf. A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 242-244.

[197] B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 104, n. 58.

[198] Cf. E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, 87; M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 115; C. H. Williams, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 109, 113-116; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 251; B. G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, 106; C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, II, 882-885.

[199] *The New Jerusalem Bible*, 1773.

[200] *The Holy Bible*. New International Version, 978.

[201] *The New American Bible*, 1145.

[202] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1522.

[203] *The Holy Bible containing The Old and New Testaments*, 105.

[204] *The Bible*. Authorized King James Version, 134. The titles given around this perscope move from "Christ rideth into Jerusalem" to "Christ foretelleth his death." In one of the newest editions of KJV, while the text itself does not provide a title for this particular pericope, there is written in the accompanying note: "[Jn] 12:12-43 Jesus' entry into

claims preserved in the various Bible editions, and for arguing that the evangelist did not limit this citation to the people of Israel, but instead gave it a universal meaning. He did not refer to any specific nation, which is the meaning of the Hebrew *Vorlage* where the noun עם is accompanied by the definite article. Similarly, the LXX version indicated a specific nation/people with the demonstrative pronoun. Also, the literary frame of Is 6 points towards the Jews under Uzziah, king of Judah (Is 6:1), and toward the place wherein the revelation occurred - the temple in Jerusalem (the worship place of Jews). It is worthwhile adding that such an omission is similar to that in Jn 6:45, where "your sons" meaning "sons of Jerusalem" was not included in the citation from Is 54:13. Moreover, in the literary frame of this citation, it is written that many Jews believed in Jesus (Jn 12:42). Also, in other places, the same idea is emphasised (cf. Jn 8:30-31; 10:42; 11:45; 12:11). Another argument for the universal meaning of the omission of "this people" is that the invitation to faith was directed not only to Jews, but to everyone. At the very beginning of the Gospel, it is written that John the Baptist was sent in order that "all might believe" (Jn 1:7). In fact, it is attested that Samaritans (Jn 4:39-42) as well as pagans (Jn 4:50, 53) believed. In Jesus' own words, he prayed that "the whole world" might believe (Jn 17:21). The evangelist at the end of the FG addresses the reader, clarifying that "these things have been written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (Jn 20:21). Therefore, the question of faith in the FG as universal and the omission of "this people" does not limit the fulfillment of the prophecy to only one specific nation, but it gives the citation universal meaning: God has blinded the eyes not only of the Jews, but also of those others who did not believe.

Jerusalem, where Gentiles seek him." G. Hammond – A. Busch (ed.), *The English Bible*. King James Version, II, 221.

This claim also has important consequences for the understanding of the function of the citation. It seems that a better word to describe the function of this citation is not only *explanation*, but rather *justification* and an attempt *to excuse* the people (Jews and Gentiles) for their lack of faith. Therefore, the aim of the Fourth Evangelist is not only to explain why some of the people did not believe, but to *justify* and *excuse* their unbelief, since it was predicted in the prophet Isaiah - God has blinded their eyes and has hardened their heart. This is in contrast to the LXX understanding of the text, where people are presented as being responsible for their unbelief. Moreover, it is also in contrast to later Jewish sources, as demonstrated by C. A. Evans. He collected relevant material, according to which there was a general tendency to show the people as responsible for making their hearts fat.[205] The Fourth Evangelist, instead, justifies them.

7.3. "Isaiah saw his glory"

Jn 12:41 is an enigmatic summary of what is written before. Williams has suggested that the clause "Isaiah said these things (ταῦτα)" in Jn 12:41a can embrace both quotations and not only that of Is 6:10.[206] Such a claim seems, at first, plausible; even more so because the name of the prophet is repeated. However, ὅτι introduces the phrase, which refers only to Is 6:10 with link to the "glory of him" seen by the prophet during his temple vision.[207] In the case of the first citation (Is 53:1), there is no mention of the glory of the servant of God. On the contrary, in Is 53:2 we find a clear statement that the Servant of God has no glory at which to look (οὐδὲ

[205] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 17-80.

[206] C. H. Williams, "Isaiah in John's Gospel," 109. She bases her argument on the evidence that in the FG ταῦτα is used more commonly to denote a series of preceding statements (Jn 6:59; 8:30; 13:21; 14:25) rather than a single statement (i.e. Jn 9:22, 40).

[207] Cf. use of δόξα in Is 6:1, 3. Williams reminds us that the textual variants with ὅτε (D ϕ 565) focuses on the occasion of Isaiah's temple vision, whereas *lectio dificilior* ὅτι (P66 P75 ℵ A B) points to its consequences. C. H. Williams, "Seeing the Glory," 201-202, n. 9; B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 439.

δόξα).[208] Moreover, the use of the verb ὁράω in reference to Isaiah could be a literary device to emphasise the contrast between the prophet and the people, who did not see[209] (cf. use of the same verb). Consequently, it seems that ταῦτα in Jn 12:41 refers instead to the second of the citations and its context (Is 6).

The most urgent questions regarding Jn 12:41 are: whose glory did Isaiah see, and with whom did he speak? In the OT text, Isaiah saw the glory of the God of Israel and spoke about the God of Israel. The FG introduces a new meaning to this citation. Usually, scholars understand the comment in Jn 12:41 as stating that Isaiah saw Jesus Christ or as stating the glory of Jesus Christ.[210] B. Lindars rightly pointed out that the evangelist "is in line with the established Christian conviction that the OT prophecies all find their fulfillment in the Christ-event."[211] In fact, it was an early Christian belief that Jesus was active in the events of the OT, as attested in 1 Cor 10:4, where Jesus is presented as the spiritual rock, from which the Israelites had their spiritual drink in the desert.[212] From the textual point of view, one of the arguments comes from the surrounding narrative where αὐτός refers to Jesus (Jn 12:37, 42). Secondly, it is impossible to see God except through Christ (Jn 1:18; 4:46; cf. Ex 33:20).[213] Williams claimed that "Jewish precedents for making God's glory the object of Isaiah's vision would undoubtedly have paved the way for the interpretation of Jesus as the

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[208] Cf. the use of the verbs ὁράω and εἶδος (twice) in Is 53:2.

[209] Cf. use of the same verb ὁράω in Is 6:9-10 and Jn 12:40-41. Cf. C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 117.

[210] Cf. A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 251-253; C. H. Williams, "Seeing the Glory," 189; Idem, "'He Saw His Glory and Spoke about Him,'" 53-80; B. Hollenbach, "Lest They Should Turn and Be Forgiven," 317-318; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 433; C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, II, 883-885; M. Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 826-830.

[211] B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 439.

[212] According to Justin *Apol.* 1:63 Jesus appeared to Moses in the burning bush. Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 486-487.

[213] Cf. C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 115.

embodiment of that glory."[214] The idea of "embodiment" is new in the interpretation of Jn 12:38-40, but it does not seem to be embraced by other scholars, who suggest that Isaiah might have seen the preexistent glory of Jesus and the future earthly Jesus.[215] In the FG the *logos* is presented as being with God (Jn 1:1) and Jesus himself asks, in the High Priestly Prayer, the Father to glorify him "with the glory which I had beside you before the world existed" (Jn 17:5, cf. Jn 17:24). At the same time, Isaiah is known in other early Jewish sources as a visionary prophet, who sees the future (cf. 4Q174 1-2, 15; Sir 48:22-25).[216] A close parallel to it is found in Jn 8:56: "your ancestor Abraham rejoiced that he would see my day; he saw it and was glad."[217] Similarly, the Fourth Evangelist claims that Moses wrote about Jesus in the law and the prophets (Jn 1:45; cf. Jn 5:46). In this way, Isaiah together with Abraham, Moses, and John the Baptist becomes a witness to Jesus.[218] Thus, Jn 12:41 presents a clear Christological appropriation/interpretation of Is 6:10.[219]

Jn 12:42-43 is a *relecture* of Jn 12:37-41 and an example of the masterful use of a rhetorical form of wordplay: "They put human glory (honour, esteem, recognition) before God's glory ("his glory," power)."[220] "Isaiah saw his glory and spoke about him," in contrast to many who believed in Jesus, but

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[214] Cf. C. H. Williams, "Seeing the Glory," 196-200; Idem, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 116. Her interpretation of the previous citation of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 also refers to a similar idea, namely, that the Servant of God is the embodiment of the arm of the Lord, which was discussed above.

[215] Cf. C. H. Williams, "The Testimony of Isaiah and Johannine Christology," 116, n. 13; R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, IV, 150-152; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 252-255; A. J. Köstenberger, "John," 438.

[216] C. H. Williams, "Seeing the Glory," 190-200.

[217] The idea that Abraham saw his days is only in the FG. Cf. P. Miller, "'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him,'" 147.

[218] Cf. P. Miller, "'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him,'" 137-146; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 255.

[219] Cf. C. H. Williams, "Seeing the Glory," 186-190.

[220] Cf. A. T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial*, 285-301; R. A. Piper, "Glory, Honor and Patronage in the Fourth Gospel," 281-309.

did not profess this publicly (ὁμολογέω) because, being afraid of the reaction of the Pharisees who might have expelled them from the synagogue, they preferred human glory. Here is the explanation as to why so many Jews believed, but apparently, not all of them professed their faith.[221] This recognition is another argument for the claim that Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40 refers not just to the Jews, but has universal meaning.

8. Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics and Acts of the Apostles

According to C. A. Evans, the text of Mk 4:11-12 "(. . .) has produced more discussion and disagreement than just about any other passage in the gospels."[222] The complexity of this passage comes from the use of Is 6:9-10, which, according to the double source hypothesis, might influence other Gospels. Moreover, the meaning of such a harsh text in the Synoptics and Acts is greatly debated.

8.1. The Form of the Text of Mk 4:12

The first question is whether Is 6:9-10 was used in Mk 4:12 as well as in Mt 13:13 and Lk 8:10 as a citation, an allusion, or a paraphrase. The text read as follows:

Is 6:9-10	καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε (…) καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.
Mk 4:12	ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.
Mt 13:13	ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνίουσιν,
Lk 8:10	ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν.

[221] A parallel case might also be seen in the healing of the blind man described in Jn 9, where it is written that the Jews would expel a person who professed (ὁμολογέω) Jesus as the Messiah. Cf. C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 134-135.

[222] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 91.

A survey of scholarly opinions in this matter reveals the complexity of the problem. On the one hand, R. Schneck writes that Mk 4:12 can be classified as "a virtual citation" of Scripture (i.e., an explicit reference to the OT, but without an introductory formula such as "as it is written").[223] B. Hollenbach calls Mk 4:12 a modified quotation.[224] D. Rusam opines that the *verbatim* citation can be found in Mt 13:14-15 and "etwas abgeändert bzw. gekürzt" in Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8.[225] According to T.R. Hatina, Mk 4:11-12 is a paraphrased quotation (or a "truncated" quotation), despite the lack of an introductory formula.[226] M.D. Hooker calls Mk 4:12 "a clear quotation of scripture."[227] On the other hand, C. Focant maintains that Mk 4:10-12 is an example of a "non-citation."[228] G.J. Steyn describes Mk 4:12 together with Lk 8:10, Jn 12:40 and Rm 11:8 as "a reference or allusion, and not an explicit quotation"[229] and B.J. Koet writes that Mk 4:12 is "an extended allusion."[230] C.A. Evans calls it a paraphrase, but, as seen above, his classification did not enter into the scholarly discussion.[231] It has to be mentioned, though, that the above-cited scholars, generally speaking, do not justify their choice in classifying Mk 4:12 as a citation or allusion.

In order to answer this *crux interpretum,* it must be asked whether Mk 4:12, Mt 13:13, and Lk 8:10 fulfill a widely recognized methodological criterion for the citation, namely, whether they are "a clause (or series of clauses)

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[223] R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, 129; cf. *Ibidem*, 124.

[224] B. Hollenbach, "Lest They Should Turn and Be Forgiven," 312.

[225] D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 438.

[226] T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 185.

[227] M. D. Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," 38.

[228] C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 171-175.

[229] G. J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum*, 219; cf. *Ibidem*, 225.

[230] B. J. Koet, "Isaiah in Luke-Acts," 97.

[231] C. A. Evans, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John,"126; Idem, *To See and not Perceive*, 91.

from Israel's Scriptures that is/are rendered verbatim (or anyhow recognizably) (…) and that is/are marked as such by an introducing or concluding formula."[232] That is to say, whether ἵνα or ὅτι might be classified as an introductory formula. M.-J. Lagrange already launched the very influential idea that ἵνα in Mk 4:12 is almost an equivalent (*presque équivalent*) of ἵνα πληρωθῇ, but he did not claim that here ἵνα is an introductory formula. Rather, he maintained that here it is a citation without an introductory formula.[233] Clearly, this would open a whole discussion on whether a text without an introductory formula is a citation.[234] Without entering into this discussion, in the case of the NT literature, it is assumed (often for the sake of methodological clarity) that a citation is a text marked with an introductory formula. Even if we extend this category and also accept "the interpretative comments signalling the presence of a foreign body of text"[235] as indicating a citation, it does not seem to be the case for Mk 4:12, Mt 13:13, and Lk 10:8. However, C. A. Kimball lists ἵνα among "introductory formulae preceding Old Testament quotations in Luke,"[236] and he classifies Is 6:9 in Lk 8:10 as a quotation.[237] In short, if we accept ἵνα or ὅτι as the introductory formulae, we can treat a

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[232] M. J. J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 11.

[233] M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Marc*, 99. In the case of ἵνα in Lk 8:10, he refers to the commentary on Mk 4:12. Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Luc*, 239. For examples of the citations without an introductory formula, he suggests the citation in *b.Pesaḥ.* 118b, which is a much later text than the Gospels of Mark and Luke. Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Le messianisme chez les Juifs*, 203.

[234] Cf. S. E. Porter, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," 106-110. He distinguishes between a formulaic quotation (with an introductory formula) and a direct quotation (without an introductory formula, but with minimum number of three words since they may "form a minimal unit of determinable syntax and conceptual relation").

[235] D. Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*, 13-14.

[236] C. A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel*, 213.

[237] C. A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel*, 48, 215. He claims that a quotation is also a text without an introductory formula "but that possesses a substantial verbatim agreement with an OT text (i.e., more than a brief phrase) or that is identified as a quotation by the NT context." He acknowledges that such definition of a quotation results in a situation where the distinction between an allusion and a quotation can be, not only difficult, but arbitrary. *Ibidem*, 47.

text that follows as a citation, even though the form of the text is not identical with the Hebrew Bible nor with the Septuagint.[238] It seems, however, that ἵνα and ὅτι have alternative function in Mk 4:12, Lk 10:8, and Mt 13:13, as will be discussed later.

Apparently, the most appropriate classification of Mk 4:12, Lk 10:8 and Mt 13:13 is that mentioned by C.A. Evans, namely, that these texts present a paraphrase of Is 6:9-10. Though he did not develop his claim but just mentioned it, a few considerations should be taken into account. In terms of methodology, D. Lincicum suggests: "An instance of paraphrase or rewriting occurs when the substance of the original scriptural account is rendered in other words."[239] Indeed, in each of the Synoptic Gospels the same substance of the paraphrased text is found. First of all, there is the idea of seeing and listening without proper seeing and proper listening and, consequently, without proper understanding. Secondly, in all the instances, the same verbs are used as in the LXX Is 6:9-10: βλέπω, ἀκούω, συνίημι and ὁράω (the latter only in Mk 4:12). These verbs, depending on the context of each Gospel, are in different forms but such change is a typical feature of the paraphrase. Thirdly, Mk 4:12 has two identical words as in LXX Is 6:10, namely μήποτε and ἐπιστρέψωσιν, although Mark differs with use of ἀφεθῇ. Fourthly, in all the Synoptic Gospels, a participle is followed by a finite form as in the LXX, where the non-finite form (also a participle) is followed by the finite form (except ἀκοῇ). In the Hebrew text, there is a similar pattern, but the order is reversed, that is, the finite form (imperative) is followed by a nonfinite one (infinitive). This pattern is not only a Semitism, or a clear hint to identify the original text, but another typical feature of a paraphrase. Finally, the paraphrasing of biblical texts

[238] Cf. citation of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40.

[239] D. Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*, 14.

was not unusual in the Jewish literature of that time, as seen, for instance, in the writings of Josephus[240] or in the Qumran literature.[241]

8.2. *Vorlage* of Is 6:9-10 in Mk 4:12

On the one hand, it could be suggested that Mk 4:12 is a straight-forward translation of the Hebrew text, since βλέπω, ἀκούω, συνίημι and ἐπιστρέφω are the most natural translation of ראה, שׁמע, בין, and שׁוב, respectively.[242] Moreover, Mark and the other Synoptics use the nonfinite form of the verb ἀκούω as in the Hebrew text, whereas the LXX has the substantive ἀκοῇ. On the other hand, however, there are some strong arguments in favour of the LXX *Vorlage*. It is true that the above-mentioned verbs are natural equivalents of each other, but this is not the case for the verb ידע translated by ὁράω in the LXX, and also present in Mk 4:12.[243] As regards the occurrence in the LXX of ἀκοῇ instead of a participle (as in the Gospels), this substitution does not mean that the LXX departs from the HB, nor does it mean that the Gospels are closer to the Hebrew text. It has to be noted that ἀκοῇ appears in almost half of the occurrences as a translation of an infinitive absolute (usually שׁמע) accompanied by a finite form (as in Is 6:9).[244] Furthermore, Mk 4:12 preserves μήποτε and ἐπιστρέψωσιν in the identical form to the LXX. In contrast to the HB, Mk 4:12 does not follow the mood of the Hebrew text (the imperatives). Instead, Mark's subjunctives, ἴδωσιν and συνιῶσιν, correspond to the Septuagint's subjunctives, ἴδητε and συνῆτε, respectively. Moreover, the other Markan

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[240] Cf. L. H. Feldman, "Josephus's Biblical Paraphrase as a Commentary on Contemporary Issues," 124-201.

[241] Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the Temple Scroll," 543-567; E. Tov, "A Paraphrase of Exodus: 4Q422," 351-363.

[242] Cf. E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 45-49, 221, 531-534, 1316-1317.

[243] The verb ὁράω is most often a translation of ראה and only 12 times of ידע *Qal*. Cf. E. Hatch – H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 669-673.

[244] Ex 15:26; 19:5; 22:22; 23:22; Dt 11:13, 22 (with verb שׁמר); 15:5; 28:1; Jr 17:24.

subjunctives βλέπωσιν and ἀκούωσιν on a functional level are related (or correspond) to the Septuagint's future-tense forms βλέψετε and ἀκούσετε. It is claimed that the subjunctive mode is closely related in function to the future form, because both express an action that is yet to take place.[245] So there are areas of function where they overlap, as appears to be the case here. Therefore, it is quite plausible that the *Vorlage* for Mk 4:12 is LXX Is 6:9-10.

However, there remains a *crux interpretum*, namely, as to what is the *Vorlage* of μήποτε (…) ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς – "lest (…) be forgiven them," which does not appear in the LXX nor in the HB, but is similar to that of Targum of Jonathan of Isaiah, where the relevant part of the Is 6:9-10 reads as follows:[246]

> [v. 9] ואמר איזיל ותימר לעמא הדין דשמעין משמע ולא מסתכלין וחזן מחזא ולא ידעין [v.10] (…) דלמא (…) וישתביק להון.
>
> "[v. 9] And he said, "Go, and speak to this people who hear indeed, but do not understand, and see indeed, but do not perceive. [v. 10] (…) lest (…) it be forgiven them."[247]

There are three main similarities between Mk 4:12 and TgIs 6:9.[248] Both texts have verbs in the third person plural in contrast to the second person of the LXX and HB. The form in the Targum, however, can be easily explained as a natural form after the relative pronoun ד, which introduces the clause. Secondly, Mark uses the participles ἀκούοντες and βλέποντες like TgIs, although βλέποντες is also in the LXX. Thirdly, as mentioned above, there is the similarity between:

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[245] T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 186-188. See the bibliography of various grammars from 1912 to the present day in *Ibidem*, 187, n. 8.

[246] A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, III, 13.

[247] The translation is taken from B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, 15.

[248] Cf. C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 92; T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 186-188; C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 151.

μήποτε (…) ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς and וישתביק להון (…) דלמא.[249]

These similarities, particularly the last one, became an argument for many scholars that Mk 4:12 is based on TgIs 6:10.[250] However, it would appear that the problem is much more complex. Although it is commonly recognized that the Targum of Isaiah (like other targums) might preserve an older tradition, it is assumed – without entering into detailed discussion – that its redaction was accomplished a few centuries after the composition of the NT.[251]

Furthermore, it is important to note that Is 6:10 is connected to the idea of forgiveness, not only in TgIs, but also in other Jewish sources. In *Mek.-Ex* 19:2 the text of Is 6:10 is cited alongside Ps 78:36-38 in order to claim that God is willing to forgive Israel's unfaithfulness (biblical text in bold):[252]

> **ואפ על פי כן והוא רחום יכפר עון ואומר השמן לב העם הזה וגו׳** ושׁב אננקי לתשׁובה לעשׁות שׁלה **ורפא לו**.
>
> Despite this [unfaithfulness, cf. Ps 78:36-37] "He, being compassionate, forgave iniquity" [Ps 78:38] and it says: "Harden the heart of this people etc. [lest][253] …and return"

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[249] Some scholars claim there is the possibility of the confusion of the Hebrew verbs **רפא** (to heal) and רפה (to let drop), which Targum would give the passive form (itp^{e}'el). A. Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate*, 146-147 and C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 151. However, the form "to forgive" is not only in the Targum (as will be discussed hereafter), and such an understanding is not conditioned just by the scriptural variant, which, actually, is not attested in the major textual witnesses. Cf. BHS, 684.

[250] See the list of scholars for such a claim in C. A. Evans, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John," 127, n. 10. In addition, more recently the targumic source of this citation was claimed by C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 91-94; R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, 102-105; F. F. Bruce, "Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Acts," 77; C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 151.

[251] Cf. B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, XX-XXV.

[252] The text is taken from J. Z. Lauterbach (ed.), *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, II, 197-198.

[253] It is disputable whether *Mek.-Ex* excluded "lest," which, on the one hand, is not in the text, but on the other hand, the abbreviation "etc." (וגו׳) does not suggest any omission. J.Z. Lauterbach supports the presence of "lest" as he translates: "lest they… return and (…)."

> [Is 6:10] – perforce repentance achieving its task – and "be healed" [Is 6:10].

As is evident, there is a clear link between the idea of repentance/conversion and forgiveness.

In the Babylonian Talmud, Is 6:10 is cited in *b.Roš Haš.* 17b and *b.Meg.* 17b [twice]. In both tractates it appears in the context of forgiveness. In *b.Roš Haš.* 17b Rabbi Johanan quotes the entire verse of Is 6:10 in the context of repentance and forgiveness. The conclusion is:

> "If one repents in the interval, he is forgiven; if he does not repent in the interval, should he even offer [subsequently] all the rams of Nebayoth[254] he is not forgiven."[255]

(השׁב בינתים מוחלין לו לא שׁב בינתים אפילו הביא כל אילי נביות שׁבעולם אין מוחלין לו).

According to this tractate, Is 6:10 could be understood, not as the final condemnation, but as a chance for one to be forgiven if one repents. In order to claim such a meaning there is a word play between the forms of the same verb: ושׁב (Is 6:10) and שׁב/השׁב (*b.Roš Haš.* 17b) and the conditional use of this verb.[256] The meaning of "in the interval"/"betweentimes" (בינתים) is problematic. Evans,[257] along with Watts,[258] suggests that it means the time after the anouncement and before

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Cf. J. Z. Lauterbach (ed.), *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, II, 198. C. A. Evans argues in favor of the intentional omission. C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 139, 217, n. 9. However, it seems more probable that it is simply a rabbinic way of citing the text, in which it is assumed that the reader knows the source text, so not all the syntactical elements are present, especially after the abbreviation וגו׳, after which there is merely quoted the last word of the relevant part of the citation. The reason for this form of the citation – with the insertion in the middle of it - might be a verbal connection to the typical expression of conversion "לשׁוב בתשׁובה."

[254] Cf. Is 60:7.

[255] M. Simon, "Rosh Hashana," 69.

[256] This, however, does not mean that פן should be understood conditionally as "unless," for the whole phrase. In fact, the reading of ורפא לו in this context is not conditional.

[257] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 139-140.

[258] R. E. Watts, "Mark," 153.

the judgment. L. Goldschmidt[259] and M. Simon[260] claim that it refers to the period between the New Year and the Day of Atonement. The latter consideration is more probable, taking into account that the tractate itself is about the New Year. Furthermore, in *b.Meg.* 17b the text of Is 6:10 is cited twice.[261] The first time it is mentioned to justify the sequence of the benedictions in the *Amidah*, where the fourth one begins with "You grant understanding," while the fifth starts with "Bring us back, Father." In this context, the writer asks: "What reason had they for mentioning repentance after understanding? Because it is written: '[Lest…][262] they understand with their heart, return and be healed'" (similar reasoning in *y.Ber.* 2.3). The following citation is from Is 55:7, where forgiveness to those who repent (return) is clearly stated: "And let him return to the Lord, and he will have compassion on him; and to our God, for he will abundantly forgive." One might ask whether Is 55:7 appears together with Is 6:10 as *gezerah shawah* based on the verb "to return" (שׁב)?[263] In this way, one text would explain the other. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the LXX translation of the verb "to forgive" (סלח) in Is 55:7 is the same as in Mk 4:12 (ἀφίημι). To these Isaianic texts the third one is added (from Ps 103:3), which begins with the same verb "to forgive,"[264] and according to *b.Meg.* 17b, Ps 103:3 implies that healing and redemption come after forgiveness. Finally, it is explained that the healing in Is 6:10:

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[259] L. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Der babylonische Talmud mit Einschluss der vollstaendigen Mišnah*, III, 336, n. 228.

[260] M. Simon, "Rosh Hashana," 69, n. 2.

[261] See L. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Der babylonische Talmud mit Einschluss der vollstaendigen Mišnah*, III, 607-609.

[262] The conjunction פן is not mentioned, but the citation after this conjunction is mentioned.

[263] For the analysis of this method of interpretation cf. G. Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 25-40; P. Basta, *Gezerah Shawah*, 18-29.

[264] This time the verb סלח was translated in the LXX with εὐιλατεύω (to be merciful) and in the TgPs 103:3 with the same verb as in TgIs 6:10 - שׁבק.

"refers not to the healing of sickness, but to the healing [power] of forgiveness."[265]

(והכתיב **ושב ורפא לו**

ההוא לאו רפואה דתהלואים היא אלא רפואה דסליהה היא).[266]

In summary, the above mentioned citation linking Is 6:10 to the idea of forgiveness in the rabbinic sources, which might be contemporary to the redaction of TgIs 6:10, prove that this targum is not the only text to be considered. It has to be mentioned, however, that TgIs 6:10 has the idea of non-forgiveness (cf. **דלמא**) and other rabbinic sources tend to claim the possibility of forgiveness. The difference, however, comes from the nature of the sources. Although the targum is a translation, the other Jewish sources mentioned above are an explanation of certain words or phrases of Is 6:10, so they quote a relevant word or a phrase, but this does not mean that the reader did not know that **פן** (lest) is the original text (cf. the whole citation in *b.Roš Haš.* 17b). Neither does it change the evidence that this Isaianic text was linked with the idea of forgiveness. Therefore, it seems that the reading μήποτε (…) ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς does not necessarily come from TgIs 6:10, but rather that it comes from a Jewish background of which the traces are left in *Mek.-Ex* 19:2, TgIs 6:10, *b.Roš Haš.* 17b, *b.Meg.* 17b. Moreover, Mk 4:12 might also be an early Christian and/or the evangelist's understanding or appropriation of the Jewish understanding of Is 6:10. Based on the available textual evidence, it is difficult to discern where such a tradition originated, but certainly TgIs 6:10 is not the only possibility for the *Vorlage* of Mk 4:12.

[265] The translation is taken from M. Simon, "Megillah," 106.

[266] L. Goldschmidt (ed.), *Der babylonische Talmud mit Einschluss der vollstaendigen Mišnah*, III, 608.

8.3. *Vorlage* of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15 and Acts 28:26-27

A significant number of scholars have argued that the *Vorlage* for Mt 13:14-15 is the text of Acts 28:26-27 (itself taken from LXX) inserted after the redaction of the Gospel (a post Matthean insertion).[267]

LXX Is 6:9-10[268]	Mt 13:14-15[269]	Acts 28:26-27[270]
καὶ εἶπε[ν][271] Πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν [αὐτῶν][272] βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.	καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα· ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν [αὐτῶν][273] βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν, μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν [αὐτῶν][274] ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.	(…) ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων· πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπόν· ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν [αὐτῶν][275] βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν [καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν][276] καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

One of the main arguments for such a claim is the omission of αὐτῶν after τοῖς ὠσίν in Acts 28:27 and Mt 13:15, in contrast to LXX Is 6:10 where this pronoun is present. However, Codex Sinaiticus provides an insight, which cannot be ignored. This Codex preserves αὐτῶν after τοῖς ὠσίν in Acts 28:27

[267] Cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 129-132; J. Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels*, 103-105; Idem, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 479-485; J. De Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7; W. Rothfuchs, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums*, 23-24; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 70, n. 3; J. D. Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13*, 38-39; W. D. Davies – D. C. Allison Jr., *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, II, 394; M. J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 230-231. For the Matthean authenticity of Mt 13:14-15 see F. Van Segbroeck, "Le scandale de l'incroyance," 348-352, esp. n. 14; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 11 6-118; Idem, *Matthew*, 257; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 237-238; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 373-375.

[268] Text taken from J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 143-144.

[269] Text taken from NA[28].

[270] Text taken from NA[28].

[271] In J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 143 is εἶπε.

[272] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 44 has this variant as an addition.

[273] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 206v has this reading.

[274] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 44 has this variant as an addition.

[275] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 206v has this reading.

[276] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 317 has this variant as an addition on the bottom of the column.

(not mentioned in the apparatus of NA[28]) as well as in Mt 13:15.[277] Secondly, ℵ* lacks αὐτῶν in Is 6:10, but has this pronoun as an addition in the margin (ℵ[1]).[278] When this correction was made is uncertain, but it is a fact that the majority of the other textual witnesses have αὐτῶν in Is 6:10.[279] It cannot be excluded that the presence of this pronoun in ℵ* in Acts 28:27 and Mt 13:15 might be an assimilation to ℵ[1] of LXX Is 6:10 or to other manuscripts/codices, which have αὐτῶν in Is 6:10. However, as D. S. New wrote: "(…) we cannot simply rule out that the αὐτῶν in Matthew-ℵ represents the original Matthean text on the assumption that it reflects assimilation to the 'original' Isaiah text as determined by scholarly theory, especially when the Isaiah text of the same codex reflects another possibly original text."[280] In addition, it has to be mentioned that Mt 13:15 in Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ[1]) is different from Acts 28:27 and Is 6:10 because it has the pronoun αὐτῶν before ἀκούσωσιν.[281] However, it betrays the copyist's uncertainty of the pronoun's position rather than representing a textual tradition because it is an addition (ℵ[1]) and occurs only in some manuscripts (*pauci*).[282] In any case, the question of the omission or presence of αὐτῶν in Mt 13:15 and Acts 28:27 is more complicated than at first it seems, and the claim based on αὐτῶν, that the pronoun indicates that Acts 28:26-27 was the *Vorlage* for Mt 13:14-15 is not convincing.

Another argument for a non-Matthean origin of Mt 13:14-15, and thus an interpolation from Acts 28:26-27, arises from the introductory formula: καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα. It is emphasised that

[277] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 206v, 317.
[278] *Codex Sinaiticus*, 44.
[279] J. Ziegler (ed.), *Isaias*, 144.
[280] D. S. New, "The Occurrence of αὐτῶν in Matthew 13.15," 480.
[281] This case is not mentioned in the edition of NA[28].
[282] Cf. C. von Tischendorf (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, II, 70-71.

such a short formula contains two *hapax legomena* in Matthew: ἀναπληρόω and προφητεία. However, their cognate forms, such as: πληρόω, προφητεύω, προφήτης are often used in this Gospel;[283] the noun προφητεία does not occur in Acts;[284] the pronoun αὐτοῖς puts further emphasis on the responsibility of the people; and the form λέγουσα is considered a Mattheanism.[285] Moreover, if this had been an interpolation from Acts 28:26-27, it would include the introductory formula from that passage in Acts. In the case of ἡ προφητεία Ἠσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα, instead of the typical formula ἵνα/ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (Mt 3:3, 4:14, 8:17, 12:17), it has to be emphasized that this is the only fulfilment formula coming from the direct speech of Jesus.[286] Therefore, the difference might be justified by the change of speaker, who is no longer the narrator. Moreover, when Jesus speaks in Mt 15:7 he uses a similar introductory formula to that in Mt 13:14: καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἠσαΐας λέγων.[287] Also, the prophet Isaiah is mentioned here; the citation is applied to a group of people (his opponents); semantic similarity between προφητεία and ἐπροφήτευσεν is clear and the larger context in both cases concerns an explanation of a parable (cf. Mt 15:10-15). It is worth mentioning at this point that the text of Matthew's fulfilment quotations usually departs extensively from the LXX, but Mt 13:14-15 is an exception.[288] Regarding the lack of ἵνα/ὅπως in Mt 13:13, it is understandable on a contextual basis. The evangelist also speaks about the hardening of Israel in Mt 2:17 and Mt 27:9; but according to Matthew, while this is predicted in scripture, it does not occur for the

[283] The claim that Matthew could not use these two verbs would rather undermine his competence in Greek.

[284] This word was used in the NT only in Mt 13:14; 1 Cor 12:10; 14:6, 22; 2 Pt 1:20, 21.

[285] R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 257.

[286] The fulfilment citations in this Gospel are: Mt 1:22-23; 2:15, 17-18, 23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:14-15, 35; 21:4-5; 27:9-10.

[287] F. Van Segbroeck, "Le scandale de l'incroyance," 350-351.

[288] J. Miler, *Les citations d'accomplissement dans l'Évangile de Matthieu*, 351-360.

purpose of fulfilling (ἵνα) the scripture.[289] Moreover, ὅτι is syntactically justified as a natural conjunction after διὰ τοῦτο. Finally, it is more probable that a post-Matthean gloss would have received a "stylistically authentic" introduction to the quotation, as is the case for Mt 27:35 (Δ θ 0250 *f* [1.13] et al.).[290]

The third main issue raised by those who claim Acts 28:26-27 as the *Vorlage* for Mt 13:14-15 (and its later interpolation) is that the quotation in Matthew is superfluous because it repeats what was written earlier in Mt 13:13 and can, therefore, be omitted without any loss to the logic of Jesus' argument. It has to be remembered, however, that such a practice, beginning first with an allusion to a text and then citing the whole text, also occurs in this Gospel, in Mt 21:2-5, and 27:3-10.[291] Both cases concern the fulfillment of scripture, as does Mt 13:14-15. Moreover, this practice is also seen in other NT writings (cf. 1 Pt 2:4-6). Therefore, the use of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15 does not seem unusual.

Finally, there is not even a single textual witness in which Mt 13:14-15 is omitted. And the scholars who argue for an interpolation from the Acts of the Apostles do not provide any example of another interpolation from this book in the Gospel of Matthew.

In summary, if Mt 13:14-15 is not an interpolation from Acts 28:26-27, then it means that both citations come independently from the Septuagint. If this is so, then the choice of the Greek *Vorlage* shows the evangelists' preference for its interpretation of Is 6:10, in which the people are guilty and their lack of understanding is not God's responsibility (in contrast to Jn 12:40). This

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[289] R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 257; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 237.

[290] F. Van Segbroeck, "Le scandale de l'incroyance," 350; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 237-238.

[291] Cf. U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 237.

extreme faithfulness to the LXX text might indicate that the NT writer did not want any misunderstanding in such a delicate matter. Furthermore, he might prefer to rely on the authority of the Septuagint (which is less likely to be questioned) and not on his own words. The latter motive might actually be the reason why the evangelist gave the entire citation in Mt 13:14-15 after the paraphrase of Is 6:9-10.

8.4. The Meaning of Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics

Some scholars claim that Matthew's and Luke's inclusion of Is 6:9 in the context of the parable of the sower was influenced by Mk 4:11-12.[292] However, one has to face a crucial question as to whether the paraphrase of Is 6:9-10 in Mk 4:11-12 is a pre-Markan or un-Markan text, or even a later addition. Moreover, the text of Mk 4:12 gave rise to a thorough debate about the meaning of ἵνα and μήποτε, whose results influence the meaning of the teaching of Jesus in general, not only in the parable of the sower. Some of the problems from Mk 4:12 are found in the other Synoptics, but each of the Gospels has its own characteristics, which are going to be discussed in the present research.

8.4.1. Is Mk 4:11-12 Pre-Markan, un-Markan or a Later Addition?

Some scholars have suggested that the logion of Mk 4:11-12 is an intrusion into the present literary context.[293] One of the arguments is that Mk 4:10 leads quite naturally to Mk 4:13: "[They] asked him concerning the parables (...). And he said to them: 'Do you not understand this parable? How then will you understand all the parables?'" A similar rebuke occurs in Mk 7:17-18: "(…) his disciples asked him about the parable. And he said to them: 'Then are you also without understanding?'" (cf. similar vocabulary). One

[292] For the discussion see D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 370-376; M. J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 230.

[293] For the survey of these opinions see C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 99-103; C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 147-148; C. M. Tuckett "Mark's Concerns in the Parables Chapter (Mark 4,1-34)," 1-26.

would expect this as a pattern, namely, that the request for a further explanation receives a rebuke, but is actually followed by an explanation.[294] It cannot go unnoticed that in the whole Gospel of Mark the disciples were not presented as those who understand or were given an understanding, as is in the case of Mk 4:11-12.[295] Jeremias has argued that Mark found this isolated saying, and (misled by the phrase ἐν παραβολαῖς) inserted it into its present place, whereas the logion was wrongly applied to the parabolic teaching of Jesus because this Greek expression goes back to the Aramaic Ur-logion (במתלא), where it means "in riddles."[296] W. Marxsen's comment about this hypothesis - that it is "ebenso kurz wie verblüffend"[297] - is often cited with approval.[298] However, he just modified Jeremias' hypothesis stating that the evangelist was aware that ἐν παραβολαῖς meant "in riddles."

There are arguments, however, that the passage of Mk 4:11-12 is not necessary un-Markan or a later addition. One of the arguments is that the word "parables" is a natural connection to the context, in which is found the Gospel's largest collection of parables (Mk 4:1-34). It was also argued that, in view of the prominence of the word "seed" and its identification with the "word" in Mk 4:1-20, this might be a reference to the seed in Is 6:13.[299] Moreover, there is strikingly similar vocabulary used in the texts of Mk 4:11-12 and Mk 8:17-18 (cf. βλέπω, ἀκούω, συνίημι, ὀφθαλμός, οὖς).[300] Thus, the evangelist would be presenting a wider picture in which the disciples suffer from obduracy. It is expected that they had the privilege of

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[294] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 99-101.

[295] Cf. Mk 3:5; 6:51; 8:17-18.

[296] J. Jeremias, *Die Glaichnisse Jesu*, 9-13.

[297] W. Marxen, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Erklärung der sogenannten Parabeltheorie des Markus," 257.

[298] C. M. Tuckett "Mark's Concerns in the Parables Chapter (Mark 4,1-34)," 10.

[299] Cf. C. A. Evans, "On the Isaianic Background of the Sower Parable," 464-468; Idem, *To See and not Perceive,* 100-101. The author, however, does not speak of Mk 4:1-20 as a midrash on Is 6:13, but rather he suggests the Parable of the sower reflects the broader context of the book of Isaiah, in particular Is 55:10-11.

[300] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 101-102.

being instructed in private, although, one has to ask whether the expression "the mystery is given to you" means that those around Jesus and the Twelve understand it. So there does not seem to be a contradiction between Mk 4:11-12 and the context of this Gospel, particularly Mk 8:17-18. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that Mark's Gospel may have other references to Is 6:9-10, in particular: Mk 8:18, Mk 3:5, and Mk 6:52.[301] Another argument for the textual connection between Mk 4:11-12 and other parts of this Gospel was raised by Marcus. He indicates that the text under consideration should be understood against the saying in Mk 4:21-22: "(…) nothing is hidden except [in order] that it should be revealed (…)," because of the similar usage of ἵνα and the injunction "to hear" that precedes Mk 4:10-13 (in Mk 4:9) and follows Mk 4:21-22 (in Mk 4:23). Therefore, it appears to indicate that these two passages are mutually illuminating.[302] From this perspective it can be readily understood that what is (now) obscure or hidden will eventually come to light. At the same time, the idea of the hardening of heart advances Markan Christology, as Marcus wrote: "God intends the outsiders to be blinded by Jesus' parables and his parabolic actions (4:11-12), so that they oppose him and eventually bring him to death; in his death however, the new age of revelation will dawn. Thus the hiddenness of Jesus' identity (cf. the *hina* clause in Mk 4:12) leads to his death, which in turn results in the open manifestation of his identity (cf. the *hina* clause in 4:22)."[303] One can therefore see how Mk 4:11-12 is an important part of the Gospel and not simply an un-Markan text added later as an intrusion to the context.

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[301] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 106.

[302] J. Marcus, "Mark 4:10-12 and Marcan Epistemology," 567-570; Idem, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 147.

[303] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 147. The author notes that ἵνα, in Mk 9:12 and 14:49, expresses God's intention that Jesus die, similarly to three passion predictions in Mk 8:31, 9:31, and 10:33-34.

In addition, Mark's Gospel does not use the verb γιγνώσκω in the context of Is 6:9-10 (in contrast to Mt 13:11 and Lk 8:10). The reason for the omission could be that the evangelist did not wish to ascribe understanding to the disciples in the time prior to the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus.[304] Throughout the Gospel, the Twelve are presented as those who do not understand (cf. Mk 4:13; 8:17).[305] The text in Mk 8:17-18 (which could be an allusion not only to Jr 5:21, but also to Is 6:9-10) is particularly strong and connected with Mk 4:12.[306] The verb γιγνώσκω is not used after the resurrection, but the change in the disciples' understanding is implied. It must be emphasised, however, that the presence of the verb γιγνώσκω in the other Synoptics might be an argument for a pre-Markan tradition. In order to compensate for the omission of this verb in Mark 4:11, the evangelist may have put μυστήριον before δέδοται, thus splitting "the mystery" off from its genitive, "of the kingdom of God." He also emphasised "the mystery" and gave greater stylistic balance to the logion.[307] Taking into consideration all these arguments, the present study considers Mk 4:11-12 a pre-Markan concept,[308] but not an un-Markan text or a later addition to the Gospel. Rather, it seems to be a Markan adoption of an early Christian teaching, which, in this Gospel, sounds quite harsh at first.

8.4.2. Sin and Non-forgiveness in Mk 4:11-12

The paraphrase of Is 6:9-10 in Mk 4:12 differs from the original source in four main ways. The evangelist: a) converts the second-person plural form

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[304] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 86-87. This verb is used in Mk 4:13 as a reproach.

[305] This is in contrast to the chief priests, elders, and the scribes. Cf. Mk 12:12.

[306] Cf. use of πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν (cf. Jn 12:40) and the sequence of the phrase: eyes followed by ears.

[307] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 86-87.

[308] For the question of influence of the early Christian understanding of Jesus and his teaching cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Christianity in the Making*, I, esp. 139-336.

into the third form, influenced by the narrative (cf. those outside)[309]; b) reverses the "hearing" and "seeing" clauses, possibly in order to further emphasise the lack of response from the people, even though they saw the signs/miracles of Jesus (cf. Jn 12:38-40)[310]; c) omits all but μήποτε and the last colon of Is 6:10, probably to coordinate two conjunctions and/or to emphasise the final clause; d) substitutes the Isaianic καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς (ורפא לו) with καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς, which may lead to the belzebub controversy (cf. Mk 3:29)[311] as well as the controversy regarding the power of Jesus to forgive sins (cf. Mk 2:5-10), or it may have another function, as will be argued later.

In Mark's redaction, the text of Is 6:9-10 has a new shape—that of a parallelism in the form ABCDE: A (conjunction), B (present participle), C (the same verb in present subjunctive), D (καὶ μή), E (related verb in aorist subjunctive):

ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν,
καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν,
μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.

The first two lines are closely connected by καί, and the third line departs from this exact parallelism, which gives further emphasis to the text.[312] This is particularly relevant because Mark is the only Synoptic who paraphrases Is 6:10. The other two refer only to Is 6:9 (cf. Mt 13:14; Lk 8:10), but all the Synoptics, like Mark, have the third person plural form of the verbs and the concept of "seeing" before "hearing," which distinguish them from

[309] According to Chilton, the change to the third person plural was influenced by the Targum, but this is an unnecessary and highly hypothetical claim. Cf. B. D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible*, 91-98.

[310] F. Landy, "Strategies of Concentration," 71; R. E. Watts, "Mark," 151. He suggests the reason is the concentric structure in the source text or because of the writer's interest in seeing. The author notes the two healing-of-sight miracles that begin and conclude the evangelist's "way" section (Mk 8:22-26; 10:46-52).

[311] R. E. Watts, "Mark," 151.

[312] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 76-77.

the source text. Is this an argument for a dependence of the other Synoptics on Mark?

8.4.3. The *crux interpretum* of ἵνα in Mk 4:12

The harshness of Mk 4:11-12 is due to the conjunction ἵνα, which became a point of very heated discussion among scholars as one of the most controversial issues regarding the exegesis of this text.[313] Usually, when ἵνα or μήποτε are followed by a subjunctive they introduce purpose or result clauses, though in this case several other possibilities were argued. Complexity is added by the fact that one conjunction is part of an OT text and the other is the evangelist's redaction.

In recent scholarship, it became more evident that the telic sense is an appropriate one for Mk 4:12, despite its harshness. This is also our contention here.[314] However, various scholars find the telic meaning difficult to accept and to reconcile with the Gospel's portrait of Jesus. It is beyond the scope of this research to discuss at length the matter of other scholars' thought, since this has been done by Evans,[315] Schneck[316] and Hatina.[317] Nevertheless, some major proposals should, at least, be mentioned. The claims for a non-telic meaning have taken two turns. While some scholars have tried to suggest the original function of the logion as it was allegedly intended by Jesus or the evangelist, others have argued (on grammatical grounds) for an alternative meaning of the conjunctions.

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[313] For a survey of this discussion, see T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 188-198.

[314] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 119-121; C. A. Evans, "The Function of Is 6:9-10 in Mark and John," 126-133; Idem, *To See and not Perceive*, 92-99; R. H. Gundry, *Mark*, 202; R. E. Watts, "Mark," 151; BDR, § 396.2; M. Zerwick – M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the New Testament*, 11; A. M. Ambrozic, "Mark's Concept of the Parable," 220-227; C. M. Tuckett, "Mark's Concerns in the Parables Chapter (Mark 4,1-34)," 19; C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 151-154, 169-170. For a list of other scholars see T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 189, esp. n. 14.

[315] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 91-106

[316] R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, 105-113

[317] T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 188-198.

In terms of the arguments grounded on the pre-Markan level, one of the most influential proposals is that of T. W. Manson.[318] His argument is based on TgIs 6:9-10 (against HB and LXX), which might approximate the words of Jesus. Thus, the particle ד in דשׁמעין, which can be translated into Greek with the final (ἵνα) or relative (οἵ) sense, was misunderstood by Mark, who altered the original meaning through translation with ἵνα instead of οἵ. In regards to μήποτε, Manson again refers to TgIs and suggests two possibilities in which דלמא can be understood as a conditional particle: ("for if they did [i.e. perceive and understand] they would repent and receive forgiveness") or, as in the sense of "perhaps" with the full stop, after understand ("Perhaps they may yet repent). Jeremias also focuses on the pre-Markan level (although without reference to the TgIs 6:9-10), but on the rabbinic exegesis of this passage.[319] He claims that while μήποτε as underlying דלמא, can mean either "in order that not" or "lest perhaps," the Aramaic may also mean "unless." Therefore, he translates: "in order that" (as it is written) they "may see and yet not see, may hear and yet not understand, unless they turn and God will forgive them." Obviously, both proposals are hypothetical.[320] Aside from the question of whether the text of TgIs 6:9-10 was present in the 1st century AD, it is important to note that if one removes the telic meaning from דשׁמעין, one should not escape from its necessity in דלמא, as Manson did.[321] In terms of Jeremias' proposal, it is not certain as to whether or not this rabbinic teaching goes back to the time of the Gospel.

There are scholars who argued on grammatical grounds for a non-telic meaning of the conjunctions in Mk 4:12. C.F.D Moule claims that μήποτε

[318] T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 72-81.

[319] J. Jeremias, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, 5-15.

[320] For the critical analysis cf. T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 188-198.

[321] M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 154-155.

must mean "otherwise" or "unless" because the decision of whether one wants to belong to "outside" or "inside" a group depends on the will of the people and not on a predetermined event.[322] T.A. Burkill suggests that ἵνα should be understood in a causal sense as in Mt 13:13, and that μήποτε means "perhaps."[323] He finds a causal sense of ἵνα in Jn 8:56 and a similar meaning of the second conjunction in Mt 25:9. C.H. Peisker argues that ἵνα in Mk 4:12, which reflects the consecutive use of למען (e.g., Jr 7:18), should be understood as "that" or "so that."[324] The imperatival meaning of ἵνα was suggested by C.J. Cadoux, who translated the logion: "let them see indeed and not perceive…". B. Hollenbach explains the text as using irony and recommends the English translation: "(…) so that they may indeed see, but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand; because the last thing they want is to turn and have their sins forgiven."[325] There are other proposals, but the grammatically based arguments do not provide a satisfactory answer to the problem of the syntactical relationship between ἵνα and μήποτε.[326] If the evangelist had wanted to avoid the harshness of the phrase, he would have avoided ἵνα, but he did not, and the intentionality of this conjunction is confirmed by the following μήποτε.[327]

As mentioned above, a number of scholars accept ἵνα and μήποτε as conjunctions with the telic meaning, as they were used frequently when accompanied with aorist subjunctives in the Greek of the NT. Thus, μήποτε is conditioned by the meaning of ἵνα. As a result, Jesus gives the mystery of

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[322] C. F. D. Moule, "Mark 4:1-20 Yet Once More," 100-101. He also argues that the telic meaning is incongruous with the function of parables in the NT time.

[323] T. A. Burkill, *Mysterious Revelation*, 112-113.

[324] C. H. Peisker, "Konsekutives ἵνα in Markus 4.12," 126-127. A similar view is held by B. D. Chilton. Cf. Idem, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible*, 93-94. For the discussion see R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, 110-113.

[325] B. Hollenbach, "Lest They Should Turn and Be Forgiven," 320.

[326] For the thorough discussion and a variety of proposals, see T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 195-198.

[327] J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 119-121.

the kingdom of God to those around him and to the Twelve, but to the outsiders he gives parables "in order that" they may not understand, "lest" they return and be forgiven. It fits well into the context of Mark's Gospel and the NT, where certain instructions were reserved to a certain group of people (cf. Mk 5:37; Mt 11:25-27; Lk 10:21-22). It is a fact that teaching in parables was not uncommon in Jewish and non-Jewish antiquity, as Keener demonstrated.[328] Moreover, Mark contends that God causes obduracy (cf. Jn 12:38-40). Paul holds the same contention (Rm 9:6-29; 11:1-10). The idea of obduracy is not foreign in the context of the Bible in general, which shows that it is not only an early Christian concept (cf. 2 Sm 17:4; 1 Kgs 22:13-23; Is 29:9-10). Surprisingly, a clear statement that God hardens the heart or causes blindness or the like is almost absent in early Jewish literature. 1QS 3:21-22 has the angel of darkness causing blindness; otherwise, the stubbornness of heart of the members of the community are mentioned (cf. 1QS 4:2-3; CD 2:17-18). Thus, when the telic meaning in Mk 4:12 is accepted, does it mean that "those outside" do not have any responsibility? Nothing would be more misleading, as will be argued next.

8.4.4. Sin in Mk 4:12

When scholars notice the characteristic of the Isaianic logion in Mk 4:12 and the verb ἀφίημι, they usually concentrate on the possible *Vorlage*, whether or not it comes from the Targum. Usually they do not study the meaning of this verb in its context, particularly in relation to the telic ἵνα.[329] It is important, however, to observe that ἀφίημι should be understood in Mk 4:12 as describing the forgiveness of sins. Indeed, in the Gospel of Mark, as

[328] For many examples cf. C. S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 378-381. Also various rabbinic sources, although late in time but preserving ancient custom, testify that rabbis were asked questions regularly by their disciples and sometimes sought a private interpretation after a vague public statement (cf. *t.Sanh.* 7:10; *b.Qidd.* 31a; *Gen.Rab.* 8:9; *Num.Rab.* 9:48, 11:4, 19:8).

[329] Cf. R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, 102-105; A. Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate*, 145-152; T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 185-188.

well as in all the other Gospels, the noun ἁμαρτία is often used as the object of this verb.[330] There is a similar meaning when the object is παράπτωμα (transgression)[331] or ὀφείλημα (debt).[332] In all cases, it means the forgiveness of sin, transgression, and debt: the latter being a figurative way of describing sin. This is also the meaning in Mk 4:12. It is not surprising that some of the textual witnesses add τὰ ἁμαρτήματα in this verse,[333] but even when we accept this version of the text without mentioning "sin/sins," this meaning is implied. When sin is mentioned, it expresses human responsibility. So the harsh telic meaning of ἵνα and μήποτε comes when people have already sinned and are guilty. Indeed, the motif of obduracy in the OT, as well as early Jewish sources, is presented in a consistent way. God does not always cause obduracy, rather, it stems from disobedience or rejection of an inspired or authoritative teaching, as seems to be the case in Mk 4:12 as well.[334]

In this respect, the vocabulary choice in this logion represents a masterpiece of biblical literature, which expresses very well the tension between God's sovereignty and human free will. On the one hand, Jesus speaks in a parable, "so that" they will look, but not see, "lest" they return and be forgiven, and on the other hand, when forgiveness or non-forgiveness is mentioned it is implied that the evangelist writes about sin(s) they have already committed. The third person plural "them" refers to "those outside" for whom sins are not forgiven.

In the Gospel of Mark, as well as in other Synoptics, it is stated that sins will not be forgiven only for those who blaspheme against the Holy Spirit

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[330] Mk 2:5, 7, 9-10; 3:28; Mt 9:2, 5, 6; 12:31; 18:21; Lk 5:20-21, 23-24; 7:47-49; 11:4; Jn 20:23.

[331] Mk 11:25; Mt 6:14-15.

[332] Mt 6:12; 18:32; Lk 11:4.

[333] Cf. NA[28], *in loco*.

[334] Cf., in particular, an important study in this subject done by T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 233.

(cf. use of the same verb ἀφίημι).[335] In Mark, such a statement closely precedes Mk 4:12 and refers clearly to the scribes who were saying "Belzebub is in him" (cf. Mk 3:22). Moreover, Jesus was teaching in parables, as in Mk 4:1-20. It is not fully clear whom he was teaching in parables, although the statement "he called them" in Mk 3:23 probably refers to the scribes as well. It would also fit well with the statement in Mk 4:11 that he taught "those outside" in parables, and the scribes would have again been referenced as those for whom sins are not forgiven. In this way, the scribes would have been the subject of the verbs in the logion, namely those who look, but do not see, and listen but do not hear and for whom sin is not forgiven. However, such an assumption would have over-simplified the meaning of the logion in Mk 4:12. Therefore, it does not seem justified on the basis of the text of the Gospel. The parable of the sower is isolated from the allegations of the scribes by the account of the true kinsmen of Jesus, therefore one could not claim the same subject in these two texts. Such isolation is even more evident in the accounts of Mt 12:24-32 and Lk 11:15-23, which are far more distant from the parable of the sower than is Mark's account. It raises the further question: who are those outside, lest their sin will be forgiven them?

8.4.5. People Who Are "Outside"

It should be noted that "those outside" (τοῖς ἔξω) are in contrast to "those around him and the Twelve" (οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα). The difference is sometimes explained as "insiders" being the opposite of "outsiders" who are non-Christians, opponents of Jesus and/or Christianity, non-believers, or those indicated by the Hebrew term החיצונים, which means unbelieving pagans or Jews.[336] It is important to note that, in Mk 3:32, it is written that a crowd was sitting around Jesus (ἐκάθητο ὄχλος περὶ αὐτόν). By analogy,

[335] Cf. Mk 3:22-30; Mt 12:24-32; Lk 11:15-23.

[336] For a very thorough bibliographical survey, see C. Focant, "La recontextualisation d'Is 6,9-10 en Mc 4,10-12," 149-151.

therefore, "those around him" in Mk 4:10 might indicate a group of people, but not a large crowd, since it is written "(…) And when he was alone, those around him with the twelve asked him about the parables (…)" (Mk 4:10). Moreover, the statement that Jesus explained everything to his disciples (τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ) in Mk 4:34 might easily be more general than just the Twelve, since the title μαθητής was used in this Gospel even before the election of the Twelve (cf. Mk 2:15-16, 18, 23; 3:7, 9). It seems that the main concern of Mark is that the teaching is to some people and not to all, and not the precise identification of those being taught.[337] Yet, how can the reference to "those outside," to whom the mystery of the Kingdom of God is not granted, be further understood?

Mark, like many Jewish writers, exhibits the pattern, according to which God's mystery consists in enlightening some people, while blinding others. The Semitic concept of the mystery (רז) implies the revelation to all at the Eschaton, but, before that, it is revealed to the chosen people by divine communication.[338] In Mk 4:11 the "mystery of the Kingdom" is, in some sense at least, Christological.[339] Thus, the seed of teaching would be that of Jesus and about him. It explains the opposition of some people, as described in various places of this Gospel (cf. Mk 3:22-30; 12:1-12), as well as the possibility that the disciples did not fully understand this mystery until the resurrection of Jesus. At the same time, the paradoxical side of the mystery is that, despite God's sovereignty, people can continue to be under the dominion of sin.[340] Further light is shed upon understanding the word "mystery" by Rm 11:25, where the apostle does not want his brethren to be uninformed and writes that mystery includes the fact of the hardening on

[337] Cf. C. M. Tuckett, "Mark's Concerns in the Parables Chapter (Mark 4,1-34)," 12-14.

[338] Cf. J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 43-51, 120.

[339] C. M. Tuckett, "Mark's Concerns in the Parables Chapter (Mark 4,1-34)," 16; T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 221-222, esp. n. 111; J. R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable*, 43-46. The author states that Kingdom is a code word for both the proclamation *of* Jesus and *about* Jesus.

[340] Cf. J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 43-47, 58, 144-147.

the part of Israel until the full number of the Gentiles has come in. Interestingly, the noun πώρωσις comes from the same semantic background as the verb πωρόω used in the translation of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40. It shows the link between the early Christian understanding of the mystery in the light of Is 6:9-10. However, it is difficult to agree with Hatina, who claimed that "there is a typological correspondence between the blindness of Israel in Isaiah's day and the blindness of Israel, as represented by the crowd, in Jesus' day."[341] This statement is not supported by Rm 11:25 (cf. part of Israel) nor by the text of the Gospel. There is no evidence in Mark that Israel was represented by the crowd. In Mk 4:1 it is written that Jesus spoke to the large crowd (ὄχλος πλεῖστος) from a boat. An analogous scene described with similar vocabulary is found in the preceding chapter, where Jesus also taught from a boat on account of the great number of people (cf. Mk 3:7: πολὺ πλῆθος; Mk 3:8: πλῆθος πολύ, Mk 3:9: πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος).[342] Members of the crowd are described as people coming from Galilee, Judea, Idumaea, Transjordan, as well as Tyre and Sidon, so there were possibly pagans within them as well. Obviously, in Mk 4:1 it is not the same crowd, but how can we be sure that there were no people from the places mentioned above? In this light "those outside" cannot be understood as the people of Israel, but as those to whom the mystery of Christ is foreign, which includes those who do not accept the Christological mystery (e.g., scribes, who claim "Belzebub is in him," but not only these) and those who are described as being outside for other reasons (not specified in the Gospel). What is important is that the mention of the forgiveness of sins in Mk 4:12 implies the responsibility of people (Jews and pagans). Is this also the case in Mt 13:13-15, Lk 8:10, and Acts 28:26-27 where the verb ἀφίημι does not appear?

[341] T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context*, 238.

[342] Cf. the description of the great crowd in Mk 5:21, 24; 6:34; 8:1; 9:14; 12:37.

8.4.6. People's Guilt in Mt 13:13-15

Matthew's use of Is 6:9-10 in the context of the parable of the sower might be influenced by Mark. However, Matthew has some common features with Luke, in contrast to Mark. For instance, the use of: a) οἱ μαθηταί (Mt 13:10; Lk 8:9) instead of Mark's οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα; b) γνῶναι after δέδοται (Mt 13:11; Lk 8:10), while absent in Mark; the plural form τὰ μυστήρια (Mt 13:11; Lk 8:10) rather than Mark's singular and, most importantly, the lack of the reference to Is 6:10 in Mt 13:13 and in Lk 8:10 (in contrast to Mk 4:12). At the same time, the Gospel of Matthew has its own characteristics. Only this Gospel has the question διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς. In Mk 4:10-12 and Lk 8:9-10, the implied question focuses on the *meaning* of the parable, while Mt 13:10-17 focuses on the *reason* for its use.[343] Mt 13:11 differs from the other Synoptics due to the use of ὅτι instead of their ἵνα (Mt 4:12; Lk 8:10), which again stresses the *reason* for the use of the parable. Mt 13:11 differs from Mark and Luke with the use of ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται, which makes his statement more harsh in contrast to the other Synoptics, who merely state that parables are spoken to them (Mk 4:11; Lk 8:10). One of the most important differences, however, is the fact that Matthew first paraphrases Is 6:9-10 and then cites the whole text, whereas Mark and Luke only paraphrase it. This shows the evangelist's independence from the other Synoptics and his freedom in the explanation of the *reason* for giving this parable. Needless to say, the repetition of the same text in Mt 13:13 and Mt 13:14-15 shows its importance to the writer and, most probably, to his *milieu*.

The other significant difference from the Synoptics (which influences the reading of the whole parable in Matthew) is the change of the placement of the phrase: ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ καὶ περισσευθήσεται· ὅστις δὲ οὐκ

[343] D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 371; J. Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure*, 158-162; C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 108.

ἔχει, καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, which is before the citation from Isaiah and the explanation in Mt 13:12, whereas in Mk 4:25 and Lk 8:18, it comes after. Matthew's text follows Mk 4:25 *verbatim*, except that he uses ὅστις instead of Mark's ὃς and adds καὶ περισσευθήσεται, which is unique to this Gospel. If we understand Mt 13:12 in the light of the following explanation of the parable, it becomes more evident that "those who have" are those who bear fruit and "those who do not have" are pictured as the soil which does not produce fruit. Thus, the seed is sown in various soils, but what counts is the fruit, which means the response of the people. They are pictured as the seed sown on the edge of the path and carried off by evil, or as the seed cast on patches of rock, which does not resist persecution, or again the seed in thorns of the worry of the world and the lure of riches, which chokes the word and so does not bear fruit. There is also seed sown in rich soil, which bears fruit of thirty, sixty or one hundredfold, because these people actually hear and understand, in contrast to those who look without actually seeing, and listen without actually hearing and understanding.[344] In this way, the evangelist points out the guilt of the people who fail to respond to Jesus' teaching.

It is to be noted that a very similar phrase in Mt 13:12 is also found in Mt 25:29 and Lk 19:26 in the context of the parable of the talents/minas, which does not occur in Mark, since this parable is not mentioned. Matthew, once again, has his own addition to the phrase καὶ περισσευθήσεται, which is not found in Luke. Without entering into the detail of this parable, it is evident in Matthew and Luke that people who receive a talent/mina were responsible for its multiplication and that they were judged on the basis of what they did or failed to do with that amount of money. The one who did not multiply the amount was condemned. The

[344] Interestingly, a similar pattern is also known in rabbinic Judaism, cf. *b.Ber.* 40a; *b.Sukk.* 46a; *t.Soṭah* 4.17-19; *b.Soṭah* 9b; *Gen.Rab.* 20.5; *Qoh.Rab.* 1.7. Cf. D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 373.

evangelist, as in Mt 13:12 and Mt 25:29, is making clear that everyone who has [implied: multiplied the talent(s)] will be given more, and he shall have abundance, but anyone who has not [implied: multiplied the talent(s)] will be deprived even of what he has [received]. A similar meaning is found in Lk 19:26 with reference to mina/minas. In both cases, emphasis is put on people's good response and on the guilt of a person who did not respond appropriately.

The idea of people's guilt and their responsibility is evident in the text of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14-15 and even in its the introductory formula. Usually the divine purpose is expressed in a statement that such and such happened "in order that" a prophetic word "might be fulfilled" (ἵνα / ὅπως + πληρωθῇ).[345] What is the reason for such a change in Mt 13:14? First of all, the use of ἀναπληρόω is striking. This verb was used six times in the NT, but only here is a citation introduced.[346] Some scholars suggest that it means "is completely fulfilled" and that it implies human responsibility.[347] The perfective ἀνα- understood as "completely" intensifies the guilt of the people as well as the insertion of αὐτοῖς emphasises their responsibility. The form of the introductory formula "the prophecy of Isaiah" instead of the usual "in order to fulfill what was spoken [implied by the Lord] through [Isaiah, Jeremiah etc.] the prophet" might be used by the evangelist to avoid any thought of divine causation that could be misunderstood as a lessening of human responsibility.[348]

In this light, one can see even more clearly why the LXX *Vorlage* of the citation suits the evangelist's purpose of showing the people's

[345] Cf. Mt 1:22-23; 2:15, 17-18, 23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:35; 21:4-5; 27:9-10. See also Mt 26:56.

[346] The other occurrences are: 1 Cor 14:16; 16:17; Gal 6:2; Phil 2:30; 1 Thes 2:16.

[347] Cf. D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 373; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 257; C. L. Blomberg, "Matthew," 46.

[348] R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 257.

responsibility rather than divine intervention. It has to be stressed that, in general, the fulfillment citations in Matthew depart extensively from the LXX,[349] but here there is an exception because it is very well suited to the purpose of showing the people's culpability.[350] Moreover, Isaiah's words find correspondence in the rejection of Jesus by the people described also in Mt 11-12. The insertion of γάρ in the citation indicates the people's obtuseness as the reason for their failure to perceive and understand.

After the citation, Matthew has the blessing of "your eyes because they see and your ears, because they hear,"[351] which is a typical blessing and a Jewish figure of speech (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 18:6-7, 17:44; Sir 48:11; *b.Ḥag.* 14b).[352] Interestingly, there is a parallelism with the paraphrased text of Is 6:9 in Mt 13:12, where there first is mentioned the capability of seeing and then hearing, which is in contrast to the order of the senses in the citation, showing the evangelist's redaction. The form ὑμῶν makes a clear contrast between the disciples, and those described in the Isaianic quotation and in the parable who have not responded to the teaching of Jesus. Moreover, the mention of many prophets and righteous people who longed to see and to hear might indicate another contrast. A possible implication is that if they had seen and heard, they would have accepted the message and would have borne fruit. The use of past and present tenses strengthens the importance of the present, when the discussion occurs. Thus, the entire blessing (Mt 13:16-17) again emphasises the responsibility and guilt of the present generation that fails to respond positively to Jesus' teaching in contrast to the disciples and, possibly, to many prophets and righteous people.

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[349] D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 374.

[350] J. Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure*, 156-162.

[351] Similar blessing is also in Lk 10:23-24, but in other circumstances.

[352] C. S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 380.

8.4.7. People's Unbelief (Lk 8:10 and Lk 8:12)

It is commonly assumed that the logion of Is 6:9 in Lk 8:10 is based upon Mk 4:12. However, it shows some characteristics which are sometimes in common with the other evangelists and other times are its own. In contrast to Mt 13:10, Is 6:9 appears in Lk 8:9 in the response of Jesus to the question concerning the *meaning* of the parable, rather than its *reason/purpose* (cf. Mk 4:10). Luke's revision is a natural work of the redactor, who provides the interpretation of the parable. It could be an intentional narrowing of the application of this Isaianic text to the parable, but equally plausible is the claim that the evangelist might consider the parable to be the *key* to understanding Jesus' teaching in general.[353] This can be supported by the statement in Lk 8:1 that Jesus was proclaiming and bringing the good news of the Kingdom of God and by the idea of the people's obduracy, something that plays a significant role in Luke.[354]

Unlike Mark, but in agreement with Matthew, Luke refers to *knowing* (cf. use of γινώσκω) the *secrets* (plural form) of the Kingdom of God, which - according to Evans – refers to various details of Jesus' teaching. However, it does not seem to contradict an assumption that it might refer to the teaching *of* Jesus and *about* him at the same time, as in Mk 4:12, even though the singular form occurs.[355] The noun μυστήριον is used in the Synoptics only in connection with Is 6:9-10, but further light is shed by its general use in the NT.[356] Thus, the difference in form, either plural or singular, does not radically change the meaning of the word "mystery," especially because it is used in the same context.

[353] D. W. Pao – E. J. Schnabel, "Luke," 307.

[354] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 116-120.

[355] *Pace* C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 116.

[356] K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 802.

Each of the evangelists makes, albeit in a different way, the distinction between groups of people who listen to the parables, as studied heretofore. Luke does so with the use of "disciples" (μαθητής) and the rest (λοιπός). It seems at first, that in this way he softens the distinction between the two groups, in contrast to Mk 4:11-12, because the name "disciples" is used for those who were with Christ before and/or after the election of the Twelve.[357] However, the evangelist makes a clear distinction between the disciples and people from Judea, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Sidon as in Lk 6:17. Although Mark's expression "those around him and the Twelve" might include non-Jews, it would be difficult to claim the same for Lk 8:9. Nevertheless, in Lk 6:17 it is clearly stated that there was a great crowd of his disciples, so in Lk 8:9 the word μαθητής might include a large number of people as well. It may also indicate a small group, as it does in Mk 8:22, where "disciples" means those who were with him in the boat. Although the two passages are so close to one another, Mk 8:22 is an account of what happened "one day," so the question of who the disciples are and whether they are a large or a small group remains ambiguous in Mk 8:9. It is important to notice consistency in the use of the noun "disciples" in Luke. He called disciples "blessed" because they see and hear what many prophets and kings wanted to see and hear, but did not have the chance (Lk 10:23-24). The very similar blessing is found in Mt 13:16-17 (though absent in Mark) just after the citation from Is 6:9-10. The link between this blessing and the Isaianic text (cf. shared vocabulary) is clear. It is in a different context in Luke than in Matthew, but it strengthens the aforementioned claim that Is 6:9 in Lk 8:10 might be the *key* to understanding the teaching of Jesus in general and not only in the parable of the sower.

[357] Cf. Lk 5:30, 33; 6:1, 17, 20 etc.

The controversial conjunction ἵνα, discussed earlier in regard to Mk 4:12 and also in Lk 8:10, has the telic meaning.[358] Evans adds a claim for this meaning based on the assumption that the evangelist's use of γνῶναι in the context of the Gospel (unlike in Matthew) is probably an instance of the infinitive of purpose and, as such, it stands roughly parallel to the ἵνα. Evans did not explain why in the Matthean context it is not an infinitive of purpose, but one might assume that because the conjunction ὅτι instead of ἵνα is found in Mt 13:13. In any case, he translates the text as follows: "To you it has been given (in order that you may) know…, but to the rest (it has been given) in parables, in order that seeing they should not see…"[359] However, even without the above mentioned assumption, it is clear that Luke uses ἵνα in the telic sense, as Mark does. One may ask: did he soften Mark's harsh statement by omitting the conjunction μήποτε and the following reference to Is 6:10, or did Luke not share the view that Jesus' parables are designed to prevent repentance and healing/forgiveness?[360]

It seems that in Lk 8:10 lack of Is 6:10 and μήποτε as well as lack of the verb ἀφίημι after the telic ἵνα (like in Mk 4:12) does not automatically mean the softening of the logion. It should be stressed, however, that on one hand, the LXX *Vorlage* of the paraphrase indicates human responsibility, but on the other hand, Luke uses this *Vorlage* for the most part, so it does not have the same relevance as it does for other Synoptics. However, the context speaks about those who hear the word, hold it fast in an honest and good heart, and "bear fruit with patient endurance" (Lk 8:15), which again shows the tension between God's sovereignty and the people's responsibility. Indeed, in this parable the people are compared to various souls on which the seed falls. For instance, in Lk 8:13 the people are represented by a rock, namely, those who welcome the word with joy, but in the time of trial "they give up" or

[358] Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 706-709.

[359] C. A. Evans, *To See and not Perceive*, 117.

[360] Cf. C. E. Carlston, *The Parables of the Triple Tradition*, 57.

literally "they apostatize" (ἀφίστανται).[361] Along with the other Synoptics, this shows the guilt of the people.

8.5. The Meaning of Is 6:9-10 in Acts 28:25-27

Is 6:9-10, in Acts 28:26-27, is the final scriptural quotation in Luke-Acts. It has been argued that this citation is a key text for the understanding of the whole of Acts or even Luke-Acts.[362] In this short passage, many issues are to be studied, such as: Does the LXX *Vorlage* in this context indicate the people's guilt, as in the Synoptics? Is the condemnation of Jews definitive? Is Paul or the writer of Acts 28:25-27 anti-Jewish? And finally, what is the meaning of the controversial καί in αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται (Acts 28:28)?

8.5.1. Unusual Introductory Formula

The meaning of the introductory formula pronounced by Paul is very significant. The narrator cites the words of the apostle, who in turn, introduces the citation. F. Bovon observed: "Just like a Russian doll, the word of Isaiah is inserted inside the word of Paul."[363] The one citation is signalled by ὅτι (Acts 28:25) and the other by λέγων (Acts 28:26). Paul's speech within the citation from 6:9-10 is considered by the writer of Acts to be a ῥῆμα ἕν, which bears a solemn and hieratic character.[364] This can be considered a rhetorical device to bring the attention of the reader to what follows. Further emphasis on the citation adds the adverb καλῶς, whereby Paul recognizes the aptness of the scripture and expresses his agreement with the meaning of the citation. The unusual introductory formula indicates the Holy Spirit, speaking through Isaiah the prophet, as a divine

[361] Cf. use of this verb in H. Schlier, "ἀφίστημι, ἀποστασία, διχοστασία," in: TDNT, I, 512-514.

[362] G. Wasserberg, *Aus Israels Mitte – Heil für die Welt*, *passim*.

[363] F. Bovon, ""How Well the Holy Spirit Spoke,"" 44.

[364] F. Bovon, ""How Well the Holy Spirit Spoke,"" 48.

source of the oracle. A similar formula was also used to introduce the first two quotations in Acts 1:16-20 (the Holy Spirit spoke through David). Thus, we can observe a certain *inclusio* between the first and the last citation in Acts, based on the authority of the Holy Spirit.[365] Moreover, a further inclusion is found between Acts 1:3 and Acts 28:31 in a sense that as Jesus taught his apostles about the Kingdom of God, so also Paul taught Jews (Acts 28:23) and everybody who came to him (Acts 28:30-31) about God's Kingdom.[366] Finally, the reference to "your fathers" in the context of Acts shows that Paul was, to a certain degree, distancing himself from them. This is also a link to other occurrences of "your fathers," which describe the people's obduracy,[367] in contrast to "our fathers," used to show the receivers of God's promise.[368] Paul identifies himself with the Jewish ancestors; this is why he wanted to meet his fellow Jews and speak to them in terms of "brothers," "our people," and "our ancestors" (Acts 28:17). He also persuaded them about Jesus on the basis of the Law of Moses and the prophets. The response of the Roman Jews was not unanimous. Some were persuaded by his teaching, but others did not believe in the words spoken by Paul. It is in these circumstances that he applied the Isaianic prophecy to those who did not believe.

8.5.2. Role of the LXX *Vorlage* in Acts 28:26-27

As noted above, all the Synoptics present a tension between God's sovereignty and the people's responsibility and guilt. One of the ways it is expressed is the LXX *Vorlage* of the citation, where it is clearly stated that people close their eyes, etc. One would assume that this is also the case in

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[365] Cf. D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 435.

[366] For the question of the Kingdom of God in Acts cf. L. D. Chrupcała, "Il disegno di Dio," 76-96.

[367] Cf. Acts 7:51-52, but see also Acts 7:39.

[368] Cf. Acts 7:38, 44-45; 13:17; 26:6, but see also Acts 3:25. Cf. D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 436; B.-J. Koet, "Paul in Rome," 405.

Acts 28:26-27, where the text is almost identical, as it is in the LXX.[369] However, it does not seem to be the case, for the simple reason that the writer of Acts (along with Luke) cites the LXX (mainly the version preserved in Codex Alexandrinus).[370] B. Witherington,[371] following J.A. Fitzmyer,[372] identifies in Acts seven citations agreeing verbatim with the LXX,[373] another fourteen in close agreement with the LXX,[374] and only two in minor agreement with the Greek text.[375]

In all other citations of Is 6:9-10, this text was applied to those who did not believe or accept the message about Jesus, which included Jews and Gentiles (cf. Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:11-12; Lk 8:10; Jn 12:40). In Acts, however, it clearly refers to those among the Roman Jews who did not believe. They were instructed by Paul, but it is their "closing the eyes" and "hardening the heart" that result in the lack of faith (Acts 28:24-25). Consequently, it is their responsibility. This situation resembles those cases when Jesus cites an OT text against the people who did not obey God's command (cf. Mt 15:7; Mk 7:6).[376] At the same time, the reference to the Holy Spirit speaking through Isaiah emphasises that such an attitude was already predicted and now its fulfillment is seen, although the word "fulfillment" does not appear.[377] Thus, in Acts 28:25-27 the tension is not between God

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[369] Cf. B.-J. Koet, "Isaiah in Luke-Acts," 96-97.

[370] T. Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas*, 166-173; H. Marshall, "Acts," 516-517.

[371] B. Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 123-124.

[372] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke-Acts," 533-535.

[373] Acts 2:25-28 (Ps 16:8-11b); 2:34-35 (Ps 110:1); 4:25-26 (Ps 2:1-2); 7:49-50 (Is 66:1-2, with change in word order); 13:33 (Ps 2:7); 13:35 (Ps 16:10); 28:26-27 (Is 6:9-10, except for the introductory phrase).

[374] Acts 1:20a (Ps 69:26); 1:20b (Ps 109:8); 2:17-21 (Jl 3:1-5a); 3:22 (Dt 18:15); 3:23 (Lv 23:39 conflated with Dt 18:19); 3:25 (Gn 22:18); 7:6-7a (Gn 15:13-14); 7:27 (Dt 18:15); 7:42-43 (Am 5:25-27); 13:34 (Is 55:3); 13:41 (Hb 1:5); 13:47 (Is 49:6); 15:16-17 (Am 9:11-12); 23:5 (Ex 22:27).

[375] Acts 4:11 (Ps 118:22); 7:7 (Ex 3:12).

[376] In these two cases, the adverb καλῶς is also used.

[377] B. Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 802-803: "What is important to note about the citation of this scripture here is that it did not signal a total rejection of the Jews in Isaiah's

and the people in general, but between God and some Jewish individuals in the Roman community who did not believe.

8.5.3. Differences between LXX and Acts 28:26-27

There are two major differences between Acts 28:26-27 and its *Vorlage*.[378] LXX Is 6:9-10 has καὶ εἶπεν, πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, with Acts 28:26 instead having: λέγων, πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπόν. There is also an absence of αὐτῶν after ὠσίν, a subject that was studied earlier. Additionally, in the LXX the God of Israel spoke to Isaiah and ordered him to go to the people (of Israel) and speak to them. We read in Acts, instead, "the Holy Spirit spoke through Isaiah to your fathers saying (…)." The versions in Is 6:9 and Acts 28:26 do not contradict each other in a sense that, in the first case, it is an order to do something in the future. In the latter case, it is seen from the distance of time, assuming that the prophet uttered what he was ordered.

Interestingly, however, the writer of Acts identified the God of Israel with the Holy Spirit, while exchanging the subjects of the same or similar verbs (εἶπεν, λέγον). Moreover, one would think that the LXX version, which uses the finite verb εἶπεν, denotes a punctual action that took place in the past. Instead, the participle λέγων in Acts is timeless, which may well be another way of saying that the prophecy is valid not only for "your fathers" but also for "you" – a group of Jewish people in Rome who did not accept Paul's teaching. However, in the introductory formula the aorist ἐλάλησεν is used, which, put together with λέγων, is a typical way of introducing a

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day, nor does it do so in this context for Paul's day (…). It does not indicate that the rejection was God's desire, but that it was a foreseen result of the preaching." L. D. Chrupcała, "La storia lucana della salvezza come illuminazione 132-135; *Pace* J. T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts*, 296-299

[378] For other small differences, which are a matter of scholarly discussion cf. *apparatus* and codices/manuscripts of Is 6:9-10 and Acts 28:26-28.

statement expressed precisely in the pattern, "He spoke… saying: (…)." This does not diminish the validity of the statement in Acts for the present generation, as this is clearly expressed in the context of the citation. It also seems that, as the prophet Isaiah was sent to his nation, so also Paul feels the same imperative. The use of the verb πορεύθητι might be understood as expressing a comparison between these two figures.

A change of the word order, following the introductory formula, is not based on any variant in *Vorlage*, but rather it is a stylistic feature of the writer. He is not just a scribe who rewrites the text of the LXX, but proves to be a redactor of his citations. This claim supports the second variant, namely, the omission of αὐτῶν in the cited text. Such a version of the text might stress the relevance of the citation to the present generation and not only to the people of the time of Isaiah.[379] The prophecy was reinterpreted to suit the new situation.

The text itself of the citation in Acts 28:26-28 is the same as in the LXX, apart from the above mentioned differences. Some scholars, however, suggest a radical change in meaning of Is 6:9-10 in Acts 28:28.[380] They claim that καί in the expression καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς should be understood as independent from μήποτε (not as a consecutive καί: lest (…) I will heal them), but as an adversative καί (lest (…) but I will heal them). Consequently, this citation would express, on the one hand, the people's fault as they do not hear, see, nor understand and, on the other hand, it would tone down the severe picture of God. In contrast to the Hebrew text, the LXX citation in Acts would be understood as giving a glimpse of hope for repentance and for healing. This claim, however, is very difficult to

[379] G. J. Steyn, *Septuagint* Quotations, 229.

[380] Cf. F. Bovon, ""How Well the Holy Spirit Spoke,"" 47; B.-J. Koet, "Paul in Rome," 403; H. van de Sandt, "Acts 28,28," 357; M. Karrer, ",Und ich werde sie Heilen,'" 255-271; J. J. Kilgallen, ""... and I will Heal Them" (Acts 28:27)," 94-99.

accept on a syntactical basis because, as in the LXX, all four prepositions in Is 6:10 depend on μήποτε. Moreover, as stated earlier, the future indicative is exchangeable in meaning with the subjunctive in the final prepositions, and so the change into the indicative form (ἰάσομαι) is not an argument to claim syntactical independence from μήποτε.[381]

8.5.4. Provocative Contraposition

After the citation from Is 6:9-10, it is stated that the salvation of God was given to the Gentiles. This is not a new idea. In fact, some scholars have noted the link between Acts 28:28 and Lk 3:6, where there is exactly the same expression τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, which appears nowhere in the NT except for these two places.[382] Furthermore, there is an evident link between the end of Acts and Lk 2:29-32, where Simeon prophesies about "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and glory for your people Israel."[383] Acts 28:28 adds to this discussion a very significant statement that salvation was already sent to the Gentiles (cf. use of the aorist ἀπεστάλη). Thus, as some scholars claim, this is independent from the hardening of heart of the interlocutors of Paul, the Roman Jews.[384] This claim, when read within the entire book of Acts, is not surprising. It is sufficient to refer to the fact that Peter was preaching among the Jews and Paul was sent to the Gentiles.

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[381] BDR, § 442, 2d; L. D. Chrupcała, "La storia lucana della salvezza come illuminazione," 133.

[382] For the fuller bibliography about this connection cf. T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 135-136, n. 89. The word σωτήριος appears only in Lk 2:30; 3:6; Acts 28:28 and Eph 6:17.

[383] For another connection between the beginning of Luke and the end of Acts cf. T.M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 125-137.

[384] Cf. J. Schröter, "Heil für die Heiden und Israel," 300-301; L. D. Chrupcała, "La storia lucana della salvezza come illuminazione," 134; Idem, "Il disegno di Dio," 95: "(...) l'indurimento dei guide non costituisce necessariamente una premessa alla missione tra i pagani (benché storicamente il rifiuto del vangelo da parte dei giudei abbia dato un impulso alla missione dei pagani), di certo l'annuncio della salvezza ai pagani è visto teologicamente da Luca come un evento incluso nel disegno di Dio."

In scholarly discussion about Jews and Gentiles in Acts, there is no unanimity on whether Acts 28:28 is a comparison between these two groups or whether it is a contrast. On the one hand, some scholars claim that καί in αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται has the meaning of "also," which further means that there is no contrast between Jews and Gentiles, but rather comparison, because the Gentiles will hear. [385] It implies that the Jews will hear as well. On the other hand, it is claimed that αὐτοί, in the emphatic position, is followed by καί with reinforcing value in order to stress the positive response of the Gentiles.[386] The conjunction does not strengthen the pronoun, but the verb "to listen."[387] It implies contrast to some Roman Jews. The latter conclusion appears to be more persuasive because of the context, which shows the completely different reactions of the Jews and Gentiles. T. M. Troftgruben aptly classifies this phrase as a provocative challenge, as he writes: "Paul states that Gentiles, in contrast to Jews, "will listen." A more provocative comparison for Jewish hearers – Gentiles proving worthier – can hardly be imagined."[388]

Having said that, the writer of Acts stresses the difference in the reaction to the message of salvation. He uses a rhetorical figure of contraposition between those Jews in Rome who did not believe and the Gentiles who will listen. He does not specify whether he means the Gentiles of Rome or Gentiles in general, as he does for Jews. In any case, the contrast is done in

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[385] R. Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 307; J. A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts*, 141-150. The author considers the possibility of understanding this by καί as "also" or "even"; K. Litwak, "One or Two Views of Judaism," 237-238; J. J. Kilgallen, ""(…) and I will Heal Them" (Acts 28:27)," 96, n. 23.

[386] BDR § 442, 8b; E. Delebecque, *Les Acts des Apôtres*, 140: "eux, oui, écouteront." He explaines in the footnote: "*oui*: traduit le καί qui donne de la force au verbe." Similarly C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, II, 1247; D. G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 718-719; L. D. Chrupcała, "La storia lucana della salvezza come illuminazione," 134-135.

[387] Cf. J. Schröter, "Heil für die Heiden und Israel," 300, n. 67.

[388] T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 128; cf. K. Litwak, "One or Two Views of Judaism," 229. The goal of such a statement was a "provoking to jealousy."

a sophisticated way, through the use of the verb "to hear" (ἀκούω), exactly the same as is used (twice) in the citation. If we compare this with the imperative "Hear, O Israel…" from Dt 6:4, the scene becomes even more dramatic. H. van de Sandt suggested that Acts 28:28 should be read in light of Ez 3:6b "(…) If I had sent you to these [Gentiles] they would have listened to you."[389] Nevertheless, the contraposition here is quite strong even without this reference. The writer of Acts did not choose other verbs, such as "to see" or "to not harden," but "to hear." In this way, voluntary or not, another meaning of the verb "to hear" was brought into the text, namely, "to obey."[390] It is a fact that several times in the Bible the verb ἀκούω or שׁמע expresses obedience to God or the lack thereof. In this context, therefore, the contrast between a group of Roman Jews and Gentiles is not only on the level of hearing, but also on the level of obeying. Is it a definitive condemnation of some of the Roman Jews?

8.5.5. A Definitive Condemnation?

In reading Acts 28:25-28, one has a sense of *déjà vu* because it parallels Paul's earlier preaching in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:14-52).[391] Similarities are striking. Both accounts entail two meetings on separate occasions (Acts 13:14, 44; 28:17-23), the second with the larger audience (Acts 13:44; 28:23). Twice Paul uses the phrase γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν to convey a decisive point of his speech (Acts 13:38; 28:28). In both texts the recipients of salvation are described through similar words:

Acts 13:26: ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης ἀπεστάλη.
Acts 28:28: τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ·

[389] H. van de Sandt, "Acts 28,28," 350-358.
[390] Cf. G. Kittel, "ἀκούω, ἀκοή et al." in: TDNT, I, 216-225.
[391] Cf. T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 130-131.

Both discourses conclude with a warning for the local Jewish community from the prophets (Acts 13:41 [Hb 1:5]; Acts 28:26-27 [Is 6:9-10]). In these two texts Paul speaks with the Jews, not with the Gentiles. Furthermore, he responds similarly to his hearers' reaction, that is, he stresses the relevance of Scripture for them (Acts 13:46-47; 28:25) and quotes the prophecy of Isaiah (Acts 13:47 [Is 49:6]; Acts 28:26-27 [Is 6:9-10]). Finally, in both occurrences, Paul identifies Gentiles as co-beneficiaries of salvation (Acts 13:46; 28:28).[392]

Acts 28:25-28 is parallel to Peter's discourses in Acts 2:14-40; 3:12-26.[393] Both begin by quoting the prophets (Acts 2:17-21 [Jl 3:1-5a]; Acts 28:26-27 [Is 6:9-10]). Peter, like Paul, uses scripture to interpret recent events (Acts 2:17-21, 24-28)[394] and introduces his point with a similar expression: γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν (Acts 2:36; cf. Acts 13:38; 28:28). Most importantly, Peter's discourses conclude by hinting at the inclusion of Gentiles (cf. Acts 2:39; 3:25).

A similar pattern is found not only in the proclamations of Paul and Peter, but also in those of Jesus himself, as described at the beginning of Luke's Gospel (Lk 4:16-30): similar to the end of Acts (Acts 28:23-28).[395] T. M. Troftgruben summarizes it as follows: "(…) on the appointed day (Luke 4:16; Acts 28:23), a preacher addresses a group of observant Jews; as support for his message, he quotes from Isaiah (Luke 4:17-19; Acts 28:25b-27); alludes to the message's rejection by Jews (Luke 4:24; Acts 28:25b-27),

[392] Needless to say, the two accounts also have some differences. For instance, the places of the teaching are different (synagogue in Acts 13:14 and Paul's rented apartment 28:23). In Antioch, he encountered explicit opposition (Acts 13:45-46), which was not the case in Rome (Acts 28:24-25a). Cf. R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, II, 344-357; J. J. Kilgallen, ""(…) and I will Heal Them" (Acts 28:27)," 96.

[393] T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 131; cf. C. H. Talbert, *Reading Acts*, 14-16; M. Dumais, *Le langage de l'évangélisation*, 122-126.

[394] Cf. Acts 2:31-35; 3:22-25 in comparison to Acts 13:46-47; 28:25.

[395] Cf. T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 132-133.

and underscores the certainty of this message, which gives no privilege to Jews (Luke 4:23-27; Acts 28:28); the audience reacts less than positively (Luke 4:28-29; cf. Acts 28:25b), and the preacher continues proclaiming afterward (Luke 4:30; Acts 28:30-31). Both scenes feature proclamation to the Jews but ultimately highlight the reception of God's work among Gentiles (Luke 4:23-27; Acts 28:28)."[396]

As noted above, Jesus, Peter, and Paul—even after bitter statements—continue their preaching to the Jews. Paul is usually seen as a missionary apostle who has harshly and bitterly abandoned Israel and gone to the Gentiles. This view, however, is oversimplified because after severe words to his fellow Jews (cf. Acts 13:46, 18:7-8), some verses later we find him preaching again to the Jews; so he did not abandon Israel, despite his harsh words.[397] The emphasis is placed on the mission to the Gentiles, who accept the message more easily, in contrast to the Jews. It is in this perspective that Acts 28:23-31 is more properly understood. Indeed, it becomes clear that the use of Is 6:9-10 is not – as many scholars argued[398] - a definitive condemnation of Israel, an indication that the Jews are beyond hope and that the mission to the Jews is therefore concluded. Instead, it is a challenge, which may lead to repentance. Thus, the citation is more an admonition than a condemnation.[399]

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[396] Cf. T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 132-133.

[397] J. J. Kilgallen, ""(…) and I will Heal Them" (Acts 28:27)," 89-93; E. E. Popkes, "Die letzten Worte des lukanischen Paulus," 609-613. J. Taylor claims: "(…) for the author of Acts and the Paul of its conclusion, Israel and a whole has not rejected the good news of Jesus Christ and so been in its turn rejected, but remains divided." Idem, "Paul and the Jewish Leaders," 321.

[398] J. C. O'Neil, *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting*, 77-99; J. T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts*, 50-78; J. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, 187-189. For more bibliographical references cf. T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 126, n. 51.

[399] R. L. Brawley, "The God of Promises," 279-296; J. J. Kilgallen, ""(…) and I will Heal Them" (Acts 28:27)," 88, 104-105: H. van de Sandt, "Acts 28,28," 341-358; J. A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility*, 150-155; K. Litwak, "One or Two Views of Judaism," 239-241; E. E. Popkes,

9. Conclusions

The texts of the citations in the HB and LXX, as well as in Jn 12:38-40, are well structured. The Hebrew and Greek version of Is 53:1 is composed of two phrases in the pattern AB//BC, which is preserved in Jn 12:38. The other text of Is 6:10 has the concentric structure in the HB as well as in the LXX, in contrast to its citation in Jn 12:40, which shows the parallelism AB // A'B', and the phrase regarding the ears is missing. This omission, however, might be explained by the chiasm between Is 6:10 and Jn 12:40.

In terms of the *Vorlage* of the citations, it is commonly agreed that Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 is the text of the Septuagint. However, there is no agreement regarding the citation of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40. It is suggested that, in this case, it is not just a matter of following the HB, because the text in Jn 12:40 differs from the Septuagint, but rather it is a question of being contrary to the Septuagint's interpretation of Is 6:10. According to the LXX, people are responsible for their unbelief because they made their hearts fat, their ears heavy, and they closed their eyes. In the HB, however, the prophet receives the order to make the hearts of these people fat, make their ears heavy and shut their eyes. The evangelist claims the fulfillment of the Hebrew text, showing that God is responsible for the unbelief of the Jewish people because he blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts. However, the final phrase in Jn 12:40 is identical to the LXX and in contrast to HB, and is marked by the change of the person from 3rd pl. to 1st sg., which fits well the context of the citation. In fact, every verb in this citation, which has people or parts of their body as a subject, differs from the LXX version (except ἴδωσιν). The people are not the grammatical subject, but are subjected to God's actions. In this sense, the citation is closer to the sense of

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"Die letzten Worte des lukanischen Paulus," 615; D. Marguerat, "Nunti personarum et rerum," 126-146; Idem, "The Enigma of the Silent Closing of Acts (28:16-31)," 297-301; R. Bauckham, "The Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts," 485-487; T. M. Troftgruben, *A Conclusion Unhindered*, 130.

the HB. However, the evangelist uses the LXX when it better explains his purpose, which is the case of καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. Therefore, the structure, as well as the *Vorlage*, of the citations in Jn 12:38-40 where one quotation is from the LXX and the other is exactly the opposite to the meaning of the Greek text, show that the Fourth Evangelist is not just a scribe, but a redactor of citations and is much freer in this respect than the Synoptics, in the case of the same citations. This claim is even strengthened by the fact that both citations possibly have the same introductory formula. Moreover, the evangelist's word choice is not a random one, but is in accordance with the precise usage of these words in other NT sources: even to the point of employing rare vocabulary, which is not in his style, but connected to other Christian sources (cf. τυφλόω [*hapax* in FG], πωρόω [*hapax* in FG], νοέω [*hapax* in FG] and στρέφω [4x in FG]).

In the case of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38, one of the main problems is the matter of who is the referent of κύριε, ἀκοῇ, and ἡμῶν. It is argued that the referent of κύριε is not God the Father called so by Jesus, but it is Jesus called so by the evangelist and those who have heard and proclaimed the Gospel (referred to as ἡμῶν). It is not without relevance that at no point in the NT does Jesus call his Father κύριε. Consequently, ἀκοῇ is better understood as a term for "proclamation" or "preaching" associated with ἀγγελία and κήρυγμα, (cf. Rm 10:16), rather than as "the report about us," where ἀκοῇ means report about miracles and "us" refers to Jesus.

Indeed, there are various proposals regarding the subject of verbs in the citation from Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40. This research attempts to analyze the citation as a part of Johannine drama. The Fourth Evangelist shows Jesus as the subject of ἰάσομαι. In this way Jesus Christ is put in the position of the God of Israel by the evangelist. The comment that "Isaiah saw his glory and spoke about him," presents the prophet as one of the witnesses to Jesus together with Abraham, Moses, and John the Baptist. Isaiah and those who

believed are in contrast with those who put human glory before God's glory, as expressed in a masterful way in Jn 12:42-43.

Furthermore, the form of the citation is not accidental; in particular, the omission of τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου/(העם הזה). In contrast to various bible editions (i.e., NJB, NIV, NAB), it is argued that such an omission is a voluntary rhetorical device that is used to give the citation universal meaning, referring to those who did not believe and not only to Jews who did not embrace faith in Jesus. The mention of a specific nation would limit the meaning of the citation to the Jews (cf. use of the article in Hebrew and the demonstrative pronoun in Greek). Consequently, this citation has the function of *justifying* the unbelief of the people in general and not merely *explaining* the Jews' lack of faith, as many scholars claim.

In terms of the *Vorlage* of Is 6:9-10 in Mk 4:12, various textual similarities are in favour of the Septuagint. However, there is *a crux interpretum*: what is the source of μήποτε (…) ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς, since the idea of forgiveness is not in the Hebrew nor Greek text of Is 6:10? Many scholars claimed that it should come from TgIs 6:10, where there is found the phrase ויִשתביק להון (…) דלמא. An investigation in other rabbinic sources that are contemporary with this Targum, show that the text of Is 6:10 was associated with the idea of forgiveness, also in *Mek.-Ex* 19:2, *b.Roš Haš.* 17b, *b.Meg.* 17b. Moreover, Mk 4:12 might refer to an early Christian and/or the evangelist's understanding of Is 6:10. It would be difficult to further argue where such a tradition originated, but TgIs 6:10 is definitely not the only possibility for the *Vorlage* of μήποτε (…) ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.

The meaning of Is 6:9-10/Is 6:9 in all the Synoptics can be described as a tension between God's sovereignty and human responsibility. However, each of the evangelists brings this to light in a different way. On one hand,

Mark's telic ἵνα suggests God's responsibility for the lack of understanding of "those outside," which is stressed with the use of μήποτε and the paraphrase of Is 6:10 (absent in other Synoptics). On the other hand, the presence of the verb ἀφίημι (occurs only in Mark), means that the people have already sinned. It shows their responsibility and guilt. Moreover, Mk 4:11-12 is particularly important, because it is not – as some distinguished scholars have argued – an un-Markan text or a later addition to the Gospel. Rather, it seems that Mk 4:11-12 influenced other Synoptics. One has to bear in mind, however, that Is 6:9-10 might be used in early Christianity as well (so it is a pre-Markan idea) in order to explain the lack of understanding of the Mystery of Christ. Consequently, the other Synoptics might depend not only on Mk 4:11-12, but also on the early Christian understanding of Is 6:9-10.

The Gospel of Matthew is the only one where the paraphrase of Is 6:9 is followed by a citation of Is 6:9-10, which shows particular emphasis on this text (Mt 13:13-15). This evangelist differs from the other Synoptics by virtue of his use of ὅτι instead of their ἵνα (Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10). This change stresses the *reason* for the use of the parable. At the same time – like other Synoptics – the evangelist shows peoples' responsibility, but in two ways, which are different from the other Synoptics. First, the evangelist cites the text and it is the Greek *Vorlage*, in which the people's responsibility is evident. Secondly, he uses the introductory formula, which is not the usual version, "in order to fulfill what was spoken [implied by the Lord] through [Isaiah, Jeremiah etc.] the prophet," but, "with them indeed is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah that says." In this way, he avoids any thought of divine causation that could be misunderstood as a lessening of human responsibility. In addition, some scholars argued that the perfective ἀνα- in the verb ἀναπληρόω (used in the introductory formula in NT only in Mt 13:14), meaning "is completely fulfilled," intensifies the guilt of the

people, and so does the insertion of αὐτοῖς, which emphasises their responsibility.

The use of Is 6:9 in Lk 8:10 again has its own characteristic. There is no μήποτε or the ἀφίημι after the telic ἵνα, but in Lk 8:13 the people who welcome the word with joy are described, but in the time of trial "they give up" or literally "they apostatize" (ἀφίστανται).[400] In contrast to them are the people who "bear fruit with patient endurance" (Lk 8:15). This shows, once again, the tension between God's sovereignty and the people's responsibility and guilt of those who apostatize.

In contrast to all the Synoptics, Acts 28:25-27 does not apply Is 6:9-10 in order to explain Jesus' use of parables nor (as in the FG) does it justify the unbelief of Jews. Instead, by mentioning some Roman Jews who rejected Paul's message, this citation in Acts 28:26-27 justifies Paul's proclamation of the good news to the Gentiles. Secondly, this text persuades the early Christians that Jewish unbelief does not mean that Christianity is wrong. The opposition between those Jews who did not believe and the Gentiles is marked by a contraposition in Acts 28:28 with the use of the verb ἀκούω. This research claims that this verb means not only the ability of hearing, but also that of obeying God. The conjunction καί, in this context, is not understood as καί *additivum* (also), but as καί, which strengthens the contraposition and emphasises the positive reaction of the Gentiles, showing them to be worthier of salvation. Such a statement is very provocative to Jews. It appears that its scope is more an admonition than a condemnation.

[400] Cf. use of this verb in H. Schlier, "ἀφίστημι, ἀποστασία, διχοστασία," in: TDNT, I, 512-514.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

"Sameness, five hundred years later, is the greatest difference."

(J. Neusner)[1]

This research contributes in two main areas within the studies of the OT citations in the NT, particularly in the matter of the use of Isaiah in the FG in comparison to the Synoptics. These contributions can be summarized as follows: 1) a new form of an old text, and 2) a new meaning of an old text in a new context.

1. A New Form of an Old Text

Only the citation of Is 53:1 is taken word for word from the LXX. All the other Isaianic citations in the FG have different forms, which are also slightly different in each of the Synoptics and in other NT books. Therefore, one has to ask: what is the Fourth Evangelist's *Vorlage* in comparison to the Synoptics and other NT writers? Secondly, is the aim of the introductory formulae to indicate the source of citation (book of Isaiah, Psalms etc.) or does it have other aims? Finally, what are the internal problems in the OT texts in their own literary context that may have influenced their use in the NT?

1.1. The Fourth Evangelist's *Vorlagen* in Comparison to the Synoptics and Other NT Writers

It is the contention of this research that the Fourth Evangelist was much freer in the use of Isaianic citations in comparison to the Synoptic writers, who mainly quoted the Greek texts. The difficulties in the forms of his citations cannot be explained as simply owing to the fact that the FG comes from a culture that exhibits a strong bias toward oral communication. In fact, Menken's claim that "many deviations in scriptural quotations and in the transmission of the biblical text are the result not of

[1] J. NEUSNER, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Holy Things*, VI, 45.

defective memory, but of conscious application of exegetical techniques and devices,"[2] seems to be a good insight, though it is still debatable whether the evangelists knew the exegetical techniques scholars think they knew, and whether they wanted to apply them.[3] It seems, rather, that the writer of the FG skilfully crafted his citations according to his genuine theological aims/agenda. Therefore, some of the "omissions" and changes in the form of the Isaianic citations are not accidental, but voluntary. Thus, it can be inferred that he felt free to use a Hebrew or Greek source or even to present his own creation based both on the Hebrew and the Greek *Vorlage* in order to suit his theological aims. In doing so he might or might not have applied exegetical techniques and devices.

It is commonly agreed that Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38 was taken from the Septuagint, but the source of the other citations is much debated. In terms of the *Vorlage* of Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45, most scholars are in favour of the Greek source indicating the presence of θεοῦ, διδακτός as *hapax legomenon* in the FG, the presence of ἔσονται as a common literary device, and the absence of "your sons" that is justified by the use of προσήλυτος in Is 54:15. Indeed, there are more arguments for the LXX as the source of citation, but they do not exclude the possibility of a rendering of the Hebrew *Vorlage* with such common vocabulary as ו, כל, למודי יהוה by καί, πάντες and διδακτοὶ θεοῦ respectively. This citation is so short that it is hard to suggest any further consideration in full confidence [cf. § II.3.3].

In the case of Jn 1:23, the verbal form βοῶντος, which does not appear at all in the Greek Bible of the Old and New Testaments except for the LXX-Is 40:3 and its

[2] M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 14.

[3] Cf. Menken's claim that in Jn 1:23 the 22nd rule of Rabbi Eliezer b. Jose ha-Galili was applied: דבר שׁחברו מוכיח עליו "a sentence to which its parallel brings evidence," M. J. J. MENKEN, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, 25. In general, references to rabbinic Judaism, which Menken sometimes mentions, might contain some earlier traditions and reveal exegetical techniques and devices, but it is still not certain whether they were known to the evangelists. However, Menken's constant references to the Qumran literature, writings of Philo, and of Josephus are very important, although again, we do not know whether these devices were preferred by the evangelists, even if they were known to him.

citations,[4] was probably taken from the Septuagint. However, other words such as מדבר, דרך, יהוה could be reflected in the NT by ἔρημος, ὁδός, κύριος, because this was the usual way of rendering these syntagms. The problematic form εὐθύνατε seems to be a translation of ישרו (not פנו), which was the natural rendering in other biblical books[5] and in the translations of Symmachus[6] and Aquila[7] [cf. § I.4].

Almost the entire text of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40 differs from that of the LXX. However, it is not just a matter of the evangelist following the HB, but rather a question of being contrary to the LXX interpretation of Is 6:10, according to which the people are guilty of making their heart fat, their ears heavy, and for closing their eyes (see below). It should be noted that the Fourth Evangelist's word choice is not a random one, but it is in accordance with the precise usage of these words in other NT sources. He even goes as far as employing rare vocabulary that is not in his style but connected to other Christian sources(often in the context of belief and unbelief): a) τυφλόω, *hapax* in FG, but used in 2 Cor 4:4; 1 Jn 2:11; b) πωρόω, *hapax* in FG, but used in Mk 6:52, 8:17; Rm 11:7; 2 Cor 3:14; c) νοέω, *hapax* in FG, but used in various NT books;[8] d) στρέφω 4x in FG and in various NT books.[9] At the same time, there is a consensus that the ending of the citation καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς comes from the LXX,[10] which suggests that the evangelist is not conditioned by one *Vorlag*e. This claim strengthens the claim that in the previous citation (just two verses earlier in Jn 12:38) the text of the Septuagint of Is 53:1 is clearly used, and both citations seem to have the same introductory formula, which makes the case for the study of the OT citations in the NT even more relevant [cf. § III.4].

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[4] Mt 3:3; Mk 1:3; Lk 3:4; Jn 1:23.

[5] See use of the same Greek root in 2 Chr 32:30; Prv 9:15; 15:21; Sir 39:24 (cf. the Hebrew version where there is ישרו); Is 45:15; Hos 14:10; cf. Sir 2:6.

[6] Cf. Is 45:15.

[7] Cf. Is 40:3 (ms. 86).

[8] Mt 15:17; 16:9, 11; 24:15; Mk 7:18; 8:17; 13:14; Rm 1:20; Eph 3:4; 1 Tm 1:7; 1 Tm 2:7; Heb 11:3.

[9] K. ALAND, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, II, *in loco*.

[10] It is not clear whether ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς is taken from the LXX or translated from the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

In contrast to the FG, all the other citations/paraphrases of Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics and in Acts follow the Greek *Vorlage* (Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10; Acts 28:26-27). The fact that the Synoptics and the writer of the Acts appropriated the LXX text of Is 6:9-10, while the Fourth Evangelist preferred to make his own composition of the citation, shows that he is not just a scribe, but a *redactor of citations*, and is therefore much freer in this respect than the Synoptics and the writer of Acts.

1.2. Introductory Formulae

An introductory formula distinguishes a citation from a paraphrase, allusion, or echo. Very often, this literary device is undervalued in the study of OT citations in the NT, which often focuses primarily on the text of a given citation. It is a contention of this research that an introductory formula in the Fourth Gospel often provides a key to understanding the citations because it gives an interpretation of the cited text. In fact, the evangelists, particularly the Fourth One, are very free in the composition of their formulae.[11]

The first Isaianic citation in FG (Is 40:3 in Jn 1:23) is introduced into the text by the formula καθὼς εἶπεν Ἠσαΐας ὁ προφήτης. The use of the name of the prophet forms an *inclusio* with the last two Isaianic citations in this Gospel (Is 53:1 and Is 6:10 in Jn 12:38-40), as is seen in a similar use of Ἠσαΐας, προφήτης and the form εἶπεν. In addition, the citation is qualified by the use of the pronoun ἐγώ on the lips of John the Baptist, in contrast to all the Synoptics where the narrator introduces the citation and, consequently, there is no personal pronoun. In fact, in all the Gospels Is 40:3 concerns John the Baptist, but its use in the FG is the most explicit, although it is the shortest version of the citation.

Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45 was introduced by the formula: Ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, which has no equivalent either in early Jewish or Christian sources, such as the Qumran material, the writings of Philo, Josephus, or the NT. The assumption that "in

[11] This research does not enter, however, into the matter of the introductory formulae in the NT as a whole.

the prophets" indicates the second division of the Hebrew Bible (נביאים), as various scholars claim, seems to be over-simplified because the comparison with earlier and contemporary literature shows that the formation of the canon was still in progress. This text was not cited elsewhere in early Jewish or Christian sources, thus, one can make no comparison [cf. § II.3.1].

Particularly interesting is the formula in Jn 12:38, which introduces two citations (Is 53:1 and Is 6:10). Indeed, it seems that the words ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν followed by πάλιν refers to two citations as being the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah. The expression διὰ τοῦτο also links the first citation to the second, which explains the motive for the lack of faith that is indicated in the first citation. In contrast to this unusual formula in the FG, the text of Is 53:1 cited in Rm 10:16 is introduced by a typical formula: Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει. In fact, this is a repetitive formula, since the expression that "Isaiah said" appears, for instance, in Rm 10:20-21. In addition, the phrase that "Moses said" is also in this very context (Rm 10:19). It is interesting to note that the citation of Is 6:9-10 in Mt 13:14 is introduced with the form καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα. This is not the common version "in order to fulfil what was spoken [implied by the Lord] through [Isaiah, Jeremiah etc.] the prophet." Thus, the evangelist, by using this particular introductory formula, avoids any thought of divine causation for unbelief (in contrast to the FG), which could be misunderstood as a lessening of human responsibility [cf. § III.8.4.6]. Similarly, the introductory formula in Acts 28:25-26, ὅτι καλῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων already gives an interpretation to the quoted text. The narrator cites the words of the apostle, who in his turn, introduces the citation, which is "just like a Russian doll" (F. Bovon) because the words of Isaiah are inserted inside the words of Paul. The one citation is signalled by ὅτι (Acts 28:25) and the other by λέγων (Acts 28:26).[12] With the adverb καλῶς Paul recognizes the aptness of the scripture, and expresses his agreement with the meaning of the citation, which indict some of the Roman Jews who did not believe his

[12] F. BOVON, ""How Well the Holy Spirit Spoke,"" 48.

preaching. This is in contrast to the FG, where the people who did not believe are excused; an idea also signalled in the introductory formula by telic ἵνα [cf. § III.7].

Finally it should be observed that the formulae, which mention the name of the prophet Isaiah, do not simply indicate the source of the text, as they are very well-known.[13] Rather, the mention of the name of the prophet was made in order to obtain the authority of Isaiah for some difficult claims that introduce a new meaning to the old texts. This argument is strengthened by the fact that in almost all of the cases where these texts are cited there appears the verb πληρόω. In this way the NT writers were able to show that the new meaning, although difficult to accept, is the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah.

1.3. Old Textual Problems in the New Context

Much information can be gleaned from analysing the OT text first and then analysing how it was used in the NT. One of the reasons for such an approach is the fact that the OT textual problems are often echoed in the NT citation and they influence its meaning.

The prime example of this is the famous text of Is 40:3. Moreover, one of the main problems is the issue of how דרך יהוה and מסלה לאלהינו should be understood. Textual studies based on the parallelisms suggest that both syntagms might be translated as the way/highway for the Lord, but even if someone does not accept this claim, מסלה לאלהינו still has the meaning "highway for the Lord." However, the LXX translates it in in both cases as "way/highway of the Lord." The Synoptics, relying on the LXX *Vorlage*, tried to avoid the problem. The Fourth Evangelist did not cite the last part of Is 40:3 (with מסלה לאלהינו) and in this way did not enter into this problematic area. Such a form of the text in the FG might be explained, as scholars usually claim,

[13] They come from the description of the vocation of the prophet (Is 6), the beginning of Deutero-Isaiah – Book of Consolation (Is 40-55), and the fourth Song of the Suffering Servant (Is 52:13-53:12).

by the evangelist's preference for short citations, but it is equally possible that he might have wanted to avoid the problematic issue.

The following citation of Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45 has another type of textual problem, which, in this case, is already in the Hebrew and in the LXX, namely, the lack of the finite verb. This phrase in the Hebrew text might be translated in the present tense, and the LXX text is just a word-for-word translation, so also without a finite verb. The Fourth Evangelist, however, in order to solve the problem added the verb in the future form - ἔσονται. Thus, the OT textual problem once again echoes in the NT text.

It would seem that Is 53:1, which is the only Isaianic citation in the FG that is taken exactly from the LXX, would not raise many problematic issues. However, the vocative κύριε complicates this case in Jn 12:38 and Rm 10:16, because it is missing in the HB, which raises the question of whether LXX was followed here because of the interpretative element κύριε. The following citation of Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40 shows the evangelist's own interpretation of the Hebrew text as well as an inclusion of the LXX text. The other Synoptics and the writer of Acts just repeated the LXX version of Is 6:9-10, which has a different meaning from the Hebrew one, but suited their theological aims well.

2. A New Meaning of an Old Text

The *Vorlage* as well introductory formula and the form of the citations have crucial consequences for the new meaning of the OT citation. Interestingly, however, the same citation (even with the same *Vorlage*) can have two different meanings in two different places, that is, the *sameness* that Neusner speaks of might be the *greatest difference*, not only five hundred years later, but even at a similar time, space, and literary genre, as it is the case for the NT *milieu*. Sometimes it depends on the network of citations to which an Isaianic text is connected in the new context, as in the case of Is 40:3.

2.1. From Is 40:3 (through Elijah) to John the Baptist

Why is it that in the FG John the Baptist declared he is not Elijah, while he has this title in the Synoptics (Mt 11:14; Mt 17:10-13)? One can understand his refusal to be called messiah or the prophet, the titles reserved in the FG for Christ, but why did he refuse to be called Elijah? This research aims to contribute with a new hypothesis to this controversial issue. Indeed, there is tension in the representation of John the Baptist.

On one hand, he was not like Elijah, according to popular expectations regarding mighty deeds. He did not raise the dead,[14] he was not associated with the resurrection,[15] he did not perform miracles, and he did not "close or open heaven" praying for rain or lack of it.[16] On the other hand, his preaching can be compared to fire and his words to a torch.[17] Moreover, he was a prophet, who like Elijah, was sent to turn the heart**s** of the fathers to their children.[18] Thus, the difference is found in the area of "deeds-miracles" and "words-preaching". Further support for this claim comes from the FG itself, where there is a clear distinction between deeds and words on the lips of the people in Jn 10:41: "John *did no* sign, but everything John *said* about him [Jesus] was true." The revealing of signs and performance of might**y** deeds were reserved for Jesus and not John the Baptist, as it is clearly stated in Jn 5:36, which mark**s** the difference between these two personalities in the FG. Thus, the Fourth Evangelist did not connect John the Baptist with the title "Elijah," by quoting Mal 3:1 (related to Mal 3:23) in relation to Is 40:3, as in the Synoptics. Instead, he still showed him to be a key figure in the Fourth Gospel "so that everyone might believe through him" (Jn 1:7). Moreover the present research claims that the main purpose for using Is 40:3 (or Is 40:3-5) in the FG**,** as well as in the Synoptic Gospels**,** is not to show that John the Baptist is Elijah or that he comes in the spirit of Elijah, but to show the identity of Jesus Christ for whom John the Baptist/Elijah prepares the way. This might explain the absence of the citation from Mal 3:1 in FG, which is linked with Is 40:3 in the

[14] Cf. 1 Kgs 17:17-24; 2 Kgs 13:20-21; Sir 48:5; Lk 4:24-26; cf. 2 Kgs 4:18-37.

[15] Cf. Sir 48:11; *m.Soṭah* 9:15.

[16] 1 Kgs 17:1; 18:1, 41; Sir 48:2-3; Lk 4:25; Jn 5:17-18; cf. Rev 11:6.

[17] Sir 48:1; 4Q558 frag. 51; Mt 3:10-12; Lk 3:17.

[18] Mal 3:1, 22-23; Sir 48:10-11; 4Q521 frag. 2 iii; Lk 1:17.

Synoptics in order to reinforce the identity of John the Baptist as Elijah. However, this is not *sine qua non* in showing the identity of Jesus as the Lord, because Is 40:3 alone proves it [cf. § I.6].

2.2. The Identity of Jesus Christ

It seems that one of the purposes of using Isaianic citations in the FG, as well as in the Synoptics, was to put Jesus Christ in parallel with the God of Israel. That is to say, where the OT citation refers to God - יהוה, אלהים, the NT writer refers in the same text to Jesus Christ.

All the evangelists cite Is 40:3 in connection with John the Baptist in order to identify him as a person who prepares the way for/of the Lord. Needless to say, κύριος is clearly a translation of יהוה. FG does not cite the other part of Is 40:3, but all the Synoptics have τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ, which refers to τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν/ מסלה לאלהינו. In this way, it is shown that John the Baptist was preparing the way for/of God. This idea is emphasized by the fact that all the Synoptics compare the Baptist with Elijah and link together the idea of preparing the way expressed in Is 40:3 with the citation of Mal 3:1 (Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2-3; Lk 7:27; cf. Lk 1:76). Moreover, this research contends that the *crux interpretum* מלאך הברית in Mal 3:1 does not mean simply an angel of the covenant, but somebody equivalent to האדון. Thus, in contrast to usual exegesis it is claimed here that Mal 3:1, which forms an *inclusio* with Mal 3:23, is not another messianic text. According to the Jewish sources Elijah was not supposed to prepare the way for the Messiah, but for God.[19] Therefore, use of Mal 3:1, 23 has far deeper meaning than the messianic one, as J. B. DeYoung stated: "Jesus is indeed deity, so he 'fulfils' the role of Yahweh (…)" [cf. § I.5].[20]

[19] R. NIR, "יוחנן המטביל בן דמותו שׁל אליהו," 55-78; E. ASSIS, "Moses, Elijah and the Messianic Hope," 207-220; J. J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star*, 123-126, 128-131.

[20] J. B. DEYOUNG, "The Function of Malachi 3.1 in Matthew 11.10," 90.

The second Isaianic citation in the FG, namely Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45, has a similar meaning, but is expressed in a different way. The phrase "And they will be taught of God," in the original context (Hebrew or Greek) means that the sons of Israel/Jerusalem will be taught by the God of Israel. The context of the FG brings some new considerations. The verb διδάσκω (of the same root as διδακτός) is used in the FG ten times, out of which seven describe Jesus' teaching.[21] The other three refer to the teaching of the Father (Jn 8:28), the Holy Spirit (Jn 14:26), and the teaching to the healed man (Jn 9:34). Most importantly, the entire discourse of Jn 6:22-59 finishes with the conclusion that Jesus said these things while he was teaching. There is, thus, a clear link between the citation in Jn 6:45 and Jn 6:59, which shows the fulfilment of the prophecy in Jesus Christ. Moreover, this idea occurs not only in the FG, but also in the Synoptics, where the verb διδάσκω is used almost exclusively for the teaching of Jesus, sometimes with reference to his teaching in the temple. There are only a few instances in the Gospels where this verb is not associated with Jesus. This evidence permits the claim that the words "they will be taught by God" in Jn 6:45 are an expression of an early Christian belief that this text is fulfilled in the teaching of Christ. It has a crucial consequence for understanding early Christianity because, again, it puts in parallel the God of Israel with Jesus Christ [cf. § II.3-4].

In terms of the meaning of Is 53:1 in Jn 12:38, one of the main issues to be resolved is that of identifying the referent of κύριε, ἀκοῇ, and ἡμῶν. It is argued that the referent of κύριε is not God the Father called so by Jesus, but it is Jesus called so by the evangelist and those who have heard and proclaimed the Gospel (referred to as ἡμῶν). It is not without relevance that at no point in the NT does Jesus call his Father κύριε. Consequently, ἀκοῇ is better understood as a term for "proclamation" or "preaching" associated with ἀγγελία and κήρυγμα, than "the report about us," where ἀκοῇ would mean a report about miracles and "us" would refer to Jesus. The Fourth Evangelist builds his claim on the changes of the referents of particular parts of the text, as can be seen below:

[21] Jn 6:59; 7:14, 29, 35; 8:2, 20; 18:20.

κύριε	τίς ἐπίστευσεν	τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν
God of Israel	Contemporaneous people to the writer of Isaiah	the report of the speaker in Isaiah
new meaning:		
Jesus Christ	Contemporaneous people to the evangelist	the report of the Fourth Evangelist and others who proclaim the Gospel

καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου	τίνι	ἀπεκαλύφθη
The miraculous power of God of Israel	Contemporaneous people to the writer of Isaiah	has been revealed
new meaning:		
The miraculous power of Jesus Christ	Contemporaneous people to the writer of the FG	has been revealed

The old meaning is applied to the new situation, but the new meaning does not "erase" the old one. On the contrary, the new meaning is built on the old. Thus, it shows once again the identity of Jesus Christ as paralleled with the God of Israel.

The text of Is 53:1 was also cited in Rm 10:16. Jewett argues that κύριε in this citation refers to Christ rather than to Yhwh.[22] Wilk claims the opposite.[23] It seems, however, that if we take into consideration all the occurrences of κύριος in the letter to the Romans, it is clear that this vocative refers to Jesus. Rm 10:16, however, is not a narrative text, but a citation, and as in other citations (for instance in Rm 11:3) it might remind us of the original context where κύριε refers to Yhwh - the God of Israel. In the letter to the Romans, however, Paul identifies himself with the mission of Isaiah, so he might be seen as complaining with the same words as the ancient prophet. In this case, κύριε in Rm 10:16 might include both possibilities, namely, this vocative may refer to Yhwh and to Jesus Christ as well.

[22] R. JEWETT, *Romans*, 641.

[23] F. WILK, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 182, esp. n. 18.

The final citation, Is 6:10 in Jn 12:40, and the comment afterwards show that the Fourth Evangelist twice puts Jesus in the same position as the Septuagint and the Hebrew text do for the God of Israel. First, the evangelist shows Jesus as the subject of ἰάσομαι, which in the Greek text, as well as in the Hebrew *Vorlage,* has the God of Israel as the subject. Secondly, it is clear in the original text of Is 6 that the prophet saw the glory of the God of Israel in the temple and spoke about the God of Israel. The FG introduces a new meaning to this citation and scholars understand the comment in Jn 12:41 "Isaiah saw his glory" as stating that Isaiah saw Jesus Christ or the glory of Jesus Christ. In this way, Jesus is put in the position of the God of Israel by the evangelist [cf. § III.7].

In contrast to the FG, the paraphrases of Is 6:9-10 in the Synoptics (Mt 13:13; Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10) do not focus on the identity of Jesus. In fact, none of them mention the verbal form ἰάσομαι or its Hebrew equivalent that is so crucial for the Fourth Evangelist, much less make a comment similar to "Isaiah saw his glory." Instead, the main focus in the Synoptic use of Is 6:9-10 is the "looking but not seeing and listening but not understanding" of the parables of Jesus Christ. Even when the whole LXX text of Is 6:9-10 is cited in Mt 13:14-15, the focus is not mainly on the identity of Jesus, but on his message/parables. Jesus' divine identity is also not so evident in the citation in Acts 28:26-27 [cf. § III.8]. Thus, the new meaning of Is 6:9-10 does not depend on whether it is quoted or paraphrased, but on the context in which this text is used and on the evangelist's theological scope. In fact, the Fourth Evangelist was careful to use all the Isaianic texts in order to show the identity of Jesus as paralleled with that of the God of Israel. The citations facilitated this purpose because they put Jesus in the place where in the original context God, יהוה, אלהים, is mentioned.

2.3. The Same Texts Used to Excuse and to Accuse

This study has shown that the very same text (either depending on the *Vorlage* or not) can be used either to accuse or to excuse somebody. Thus, again, the same citation could have a different meaning, not only some time later, but even at the same time and in the same place, as in the FG compared to the Synoptics and the letter to the Romans.

A good example of such a use is Is 6:9-10 itself. According to the LXX, people are responsible for their unbelief because they made their heart fat, their ears heavy, and they closed their eyes. In the Hebrew Bible, the prophet receives the order to make the heart of these people fat, make their ears heavy and to shut their eyes. The Fourth Evangelist claims the fulfilment of the Hebrew text, showing that people are no longer the subject of actions like in LXX (hardening the heart, closing the eyes), but subjected to God's actions because he blinded their eyes and hardened their heart in order that the prophecy might be fulfilled (ἵνα). Thus, God is presented as being responsible for the unbelief of the people and not the people themselves [cf. § III.7].

The meaning of Is 6:9-10/Is 6:9 is different in all the Synoptics. It can be described as tension between God's sovereignty and human responsibility, although, each of the evangelists carries it out in a different way. In Mt 13:13-15 and Mk 4:11-12 the people's guilt was expressed by the choice of the Septuagint *Vorlage*. However, the same Greek *Vorlage* in Lk 8:10 and Acts 28:26-27 is not so relevant, because in these two books citations are usually from the LXX. On top of this, each writer has his own way of showing the people's lack of faith. Mark's telic ἵνα, on one hand, suggests God's responsibility for the lack of understanding of "those outside," which is stressed with use of μήποτε and the paraphrase of Is 6:10 (absent in other Synoptics). On the other hand, the presence of the verb ἀφίημι (occurring only in Mark), means that the people have already sinned, something

which shows their responsibility and guilt. Moreover, Mk 4:11-12 is particularly important, because it is not – as some scholars argued – an un-Markan text or a later addition to the Gospel. It rather seems that Mk 4:11-12 influenced the other Synoptics. One has to bear in mind, however, that Is 6:9-10 might have been used in early Christianity as well (therefore it would be a pre-Markan idea) in order to explain the lack of understanding of the Mystery of Christ. Therefore, although the other Synoptics might depend on Mk 4:11-12 (cf. the Q hypothesis), they also might have been influenced by an early Christian interpretation of Is 6:9-10 [cf. § III.8.4.1-8.4.5].[24]

The Gospel of Matthew is the only one where the paraphrase of Is 6:9 is followed by a citation of Is 6:9-10, which shows a particular emphasis on the latter text (Mt 13:13-15). This evangelist differs from the other Synoptics with the use of ὅτι instead of their ἵνα (Mk 4:12; Lk 8:10). This change stresses the *reason* for the use of the parable. At the same time – like other Synoptics – Matthew shows the peoples' responsibility, but in two ways that are different from the other Synoptics. First, he cites the text as it is in the LXX *Vorlage*, in which the people's responsibility is evident. Secondly, he uses the introductory formula, - as was mentioned above - which is not the usual kind "in order to fulfil what was spoken [implied by the Lord] through [Isaiah, Jeremiah etc.] the prophet," but "with them indeed is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah that says," which avoids any thought of divine causation for unbelief [cf. § III.8.4.6].

Again, the use of Is 6:9 in Lk 8:10 has its own character. There is the lack of μήποτε and the verb ἀφίημι after the telic ἵνα, like in Mk 4:12. It should be stressed, however, that, on one hand, the LXX *Vorlage* of the paraphrase indicates human

[24] For the question of influence of the early Christian community cf. J. D. G. DUNN, *Christianity in the Making*, I, esp. 139-336 (chapter: From the Gospels to Jesus).

responsibility, and, on the other hand, Luke uses mainly this *Vorlage*, so it does not have the same relevance as it does for other Synoptics. However, the context of speaking about those who hear the word and "bear fruit with patient endurance" (Lk 8:15) once again shows the tension between God's sovereignty and the people's responsibility. Indeed, in this parable the people are compared to the various grounds on which the seed falls. For instance, in Lk 8:13 the people are represented by a rock, namely, those who welcome the word with joy, but in the time of trial "they give up," or literally "they apostatize" (ἀφίστανται). Along with the other Synoptics, this again shows the guilt of the people [cf. § III.8.4.7].

In contrast to all the Synoptics, Acts 28:25-27 does not apply Is 6:9-10 to explain Jesus' use of parables nor, as in the FG, does it excuse the unbelief of the Jews. However, like in all the Synoptics, it is an accusation directed towards some Roman Jews who rejected Paul's message. The writer of Acts goes even further: 1) he used this citation in Acts 28:26-27 to justify Paul's proclamation of the good news to the Gentiles and 2) wanted to persuade the early Christians that Jewish unbelief did not mean that Christianity is wrong [cf. § III.8.5].

Interestingly, the same pattern of accusing and excusing that is linked to the same OT text is repeated in the use of Is 53:1 in Rm 10:16 and in Jn 12:38. This case is particularly significant, because the very same LXX *Vorlage* has these two different meanings. In Rm 9-11 Paul is primarily concerned with Israel's resistance to the good news. He accuses the people of Israel for their stubbornness and wilful disobedience employing his favoured diatribe style: first, to affirm that messengers were indeed sent to bring the good news to the people of Israel (Rm 10:14-17); and second, to reject any excuse on their part that they did not hear the good news about Jesus Christ (Rm 10:18-21). Paul strengthens his accusation using biblical citations and bases his claim on the authority of Isaiah and Moses, who are both mentioned by name. In this way, the apostle anticipates any

possible opposition and complaints of the people by stating that God has commissioned and sent messengers to bring the good news to Israel, but it is Israel's fault that they do not accept it. In consequence, Paul reproaches his unbelieving Jewish contemporaries' lack of faith, which in such circumstances may not be excused, and thus they are found to be culpable [cf. § III.7.6].

The Fourth Evangelist gave Is 53:1 precisely the opposite meaning to that found in Rm 10:16. With his introductory formula in this context he excused those who did not believe on the basis that it happened so that the prophecy of Isaiah might be fulfilled. Moreover, in contrast to Rm 10:16, he extended the citation with the inclusion of "To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?," which concerns, not only the lack of faith in what was heard (cf. ἀκοῇ) as in Romans, but also lack of faith in the miracles/signs. Thereby, he also excused the people from this unbelief. There now remains the issue of whether the evangelist excused the people of Israel or people in general (both, Jews and Gentiles) [cf. § III.7.5].

2.4. Universality of the Fourth Gospel

The importance of the study of Is 53:1 and Is 6:10 together, and not as separate entities, is clearly visible in this case. Although the former citation is exactly as it is in the LXX, the latter one complements its meaning. The form of Is 6:10 is not accidental; in particular, the omission of (העם)/ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου in Jn 12:40. In contrast to various Bible editions (i.e., NJB, NIV, NAB), which interpret Jn 12:38-40 as describing unbelief of the Jews, this research argues that such an omission is a deliberate rhetorical device to give the citation universal meaning; referring to those who did not believe, and not only to Jews who did not embrace faith in Jesus. The mention of (העם)/ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου would narrow the meaning of the citation to the Jews (cf. use of the article in Hebrew and the demonstrative pronoun in Greek). Consequently, this citation has the function of justifying the unbelief of the people in general (Jews and Gentiles) and not only the lack of faith

of the Jews, which is a claim that finds further support in Jn 12:42, where it is stated that many of the Jewish rulers believed [cf. § III.7.2].

This is not only the case in the FG. A similar example of a voluntary omission, which makes the Isaianic citation more universal, is Is 54:13 in Jn 6:45. The omission of "your sons," (meaning sons of Jerusalem) indicates the universalism of the teaching of God. However, the context of this citation seems, at first, more exclusive than inclusive. The adjective πάντες refers to πᾶς and μαθών (Jn 6:45b) – to everyone who listens to the Father and learns from him; such a person can come to Jesus. Moreover, the adjectives refer also to οὐδείς (Jn 6:44) – no one can come to Jesus, unless the Father draws him. In fact πάντες in the context of citation, as well as in the context of the FG, refers to "all" who are drawn by the Father to Jesus, without distinctions, because the Father draws to Jesus the people of Israel and the Gentiles (cf. esp. Jn 10:16; 11:51-52). It seems that the evangelist's deliberate omissions are not dictated by an anti-Jewish agenda, as is claimed about the FG by various scholars, but are dictated by the desire to justify unbelief on the part of some Jews and to open the divine teaching to the Jews and Gentiles alike [cf. § II.3.4].

3. Proposals for Further Research

Isaiah is one of the three biblical books cited in the FG, along with the book of Zechariah and the Psalms. An exhaustive study of the use of Zechariah in the FG has already been done by A. Kobiś,[25] and the use of Psalms was thoroughly studied by Daly-Denton.[26] It would now be interesting to see the common and distinctive features between these three biblical books in the FG. Indeed, all the citations of Isaiah are linked in one way or another with the Psalms and sometimes with Zechariah. Indeed, in the Book of Signs, the Isaianic citations are

[25] A. KUBIŚ, *The Book of Zechariah in the Gospel of John*, *passim*.

[26] M. DALY-DENTON, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, *passim*.

linked with the other citations from the Psalms and Zechariah through the use of the verbs "to remember" μιμνήσκομαι and "to believe" πιστεύω, as can be seen in the table below:[27]

A	εἶπεν Ἠσαΐας προφήτης (πιστεύω)	first citation from Isaiah first citation in FG first citation in the Book of Signs	Is 40:3	Jn 1:23 (cf. Jn 1:7)
B	μιμνήσκομαι (2x) (πιστεύω)	first citation after that from Isaiah citations from Psalms	Ps 69:9	Jn 2:17 (cf. Jn 2:22)
C	πιστεύω (9x in Jn 6)	citation from Psalms (central part of the Book of Signs)	Ps 78:24	Jn 6:30-31
C′	προφήτης πιστεύω (9x in Jn 6)	citation from Isaiah central part of the Book of Signs	Is 54:13	Jn 6:45
B′	μιμνήσκομαι	last citation before that from Isaiah citation from Psalms and Prophet	Ps 118:25 Zec 9:9	Jn 12:13-15
A′	εἶπεν Ἠσαΐας προφήτης πιστεύω	last citations from Isaiah (combined) in FG last citations from Isaiah (combined) in the Book of Signs	Is 53:1 Is 6:10	Jn 12:38-41

This network of citations probably respects the writer's key concern, namely, *to remember* the prophecy of *Isaiah* in order to *believe*. This scheme could be a starting point for a fresh comparative research, which could bring new findings to our attention.

Furthermore, it would be profitable to extend the research to Isaianic paraphrases, allusions, and echoes in the FG in order to see their *Vorlage*, textual forms, and – most importantly - their meaning. Comparison with other sources, which uses the same paraphrases, allusions, and echoes would help bring to light the main ideas developed by these texts in the FG and in other writings while using the same sources.

[27] Cf. M. DAISE, Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John. Lectures at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem 2009; A. KUBIŚ, *The Book of Zechariah in the Gospel of John*, 489.

In conclusion, after a difficult but fascinating study of the use of the old style features/images of Isaiah in a new style, represented by "Fourth Gospel and Synoptic Mosaics," it is the contention of this research that the very same image/text in two or more "mosaics," even of the same *milieu*, may have a different meaning (i.e., accuse and excuse). That is to say, the "sameness," not only five hundred years later, but even at a similar time, space and literary genre, might be the greatest difference, something which entails a contrast (important for a mosaic), but not a contradiction.

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