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JOHN, JESUS, AND HISTORY, VOLUME 4: JESUS REMEMBERED IN THE JOHANNINE SITUATION

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

1 Apoc. Jas.	First Apocalypse of James
1 Apol.	Justin Martyr, *First Apology*
1 Clem.	1 Clement
1 En.	1 Enoch
1QS	Qumran, Rule of the Community
2 Bar.	2 Baruch
3 En.	3 Enoch
4 Esd.	4 Esdras
Abr.	Philo, *De Abrahamo*
Acts Carp.	Acts of Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonice
Acts John	Acts of John
Aen.	Vergil, *Aeneid*
Aeth.	Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*
Alex.	Plutarch, *Alexander*
Amph.	Plautus, *Amphitruo*
An.	Tertullian, *De anima*
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (*Antiquitates judaicae*)
Ap. Jas.	Apocryphon of James (Secret Book of James)
Ap. John	Apocryphon of John (Secret Book of John)
Apoc. Adam	Apocalypse of Adam
Apol.	Tertullian, *Apologeticus*
As. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
Aug.	Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*
Autol.	Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Ber.	Berakhot
Bib. hist.	Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*
Caes.	Plutarch, *Caesar*

Carn. Chr.	Tertullian, *De carne Christi*
Cat.	Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
Cels.	Origen, *Contra Celsum*
Chaer.	Chariton, *De Chaerea et Callirhoe*
Cho.	Aeschylus, *Choephori*
Chron.	Eusebius, *Chronicon*
Cist.	Plautus, *Cistellaria*
Claud.	Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*
Comm. Gos.	Ephrem, *Commentary on the Gospel*
Comm. Jo.	Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*
Conf.	Philo, *De confusione linguarum*
Cons.	Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*
Def.	Dio Chrysostom, *Defensio* (Or. *45*)
Descr.	Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*
Dial.	Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*
Dial. Sav.	Dialogue of the Savior
Dieg.	Conon, *Diegeseis*
Diogn.	Epistle to Diognetus
Dom.	Suetonius, *Domitianus*
EG	Egerton Gospel
El.	Sophocles, *Elektra*
Ep.	Jerome, *Epistulae*; Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*
Ep. apost.	Epistula apostolorum
Ep. Pet. Phil.	Letter of Peter to Philip
Eph.	Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka*
Epid.	Irenaeus, *Epideixis tou apostolikou kērygmatos*
Ex.	Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge*
Exc.	Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*
Ezek. Trag.	Ezekiel the Tragedian
Fac.	Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae*
Fug.	Athanasius, *Apologia de fuga*; Philo, *De fuga et inventione*; Tertullian, *De fuga in persecutione*
Gen. Socr.	Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*
Gig.	Philo, *De gigantibus*
Gos. Eb.	Gospel of the Ebionites
Gos. Heb.	Gospel of the Hebrews
Gos. Jud.	Gospel of Judas (Tchacos 3)
Gos. Pet.	Gospel of Peter

Gos. Phil.	Gospel of Philip
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
Gos. Truth	Gospel of Truth
Haer.	Augustine, *De haeresibus*; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*; Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*; Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes haereses*
Hist. eccl.	Eusebius, *Historia ecclessiastica*
Hist. rom.	Dio Cassius, *Historia romana*
Ign. *Eph.*	Ignatius, *To the Ephesians*
Ign. *Magn.*	Ignatius, *To the Magnesians*
Ign. *Rom.*	Ignatius, *To the Romans*
Ign. *Smyrn.*	Ignatius, *To the Smyrnaeans*
Il.	Homer, *Ilias*
Imag.	Philostratus, *Imagines*
Jejun.	Tertullian, *De jejunio adversus psychicos*
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
Jul.	Suetonius, *Divus Julius*
Life	Josephus, *The Life* (*Vita*)
m.	Mishnah
Marc.	Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*
Metam.	Ovid, *Metamorphoses*
Miln	Milindapañha
Mon.	Tertullian, *De monogamia*
Nid.	Niddah
Od.	Homer, *Odyssea*
Om.	Zosimos of Panopolis, *Omega*
Opif.	Philo, *De opificio mundi*
Or. Graec.	Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*
Orest.	Euripides, *Orestes*
Paed.	Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*
Pan.	Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*; Epiphanius, *Panarion* (*Adversus haereses*)
Pasch.	Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha*
Pass. Perp.	The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity
Phil.	Polycarp, *To the Philippians*
Plant.	Philo, *De plantatione*
Poet.	Aristotle, *Poetica*
Prax.	Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean*
Pud.	Tertullian, *De pudicitia*

QE	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum*
QG	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin*
Recogn.	Recognitions
Res.	Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*
Rud.	Plautus, *Rudens*
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Scorp.	Tertullian, *Scorpiace*
Scut.	Hesiod, *Scutum*
Shabb.	Shabbat
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Somn.	Philo, *De somniis*
Strom.	Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*
T. Asher	Testament of Asher
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
Tehar.	Teharot
Test.	Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos*
Theog.	Hesiod, *Theogonia*
Trad. ap.	Hippolytus, *Traditio apostolica*
Tranq. an.	Plutarch, *De tranquillitate animi*
Tri. Trac.	Tripartite Tractate
Trin.	Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate*
Val.	Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*
Vir.	Jerome, *De viris illustribus*
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*
Vit. phil.	Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*
War	Josephus, *Jewish War* (*Bellum judaicum*)

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Double Day, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABIG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
AcBib	Academia Biblica
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
AM	anno mundi (in the year of the world)
ANF	Roberts, Alexander, and James Donaldson, eds. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*. 10 vols. 1885–1887.
ANRW	Temporini, Hildegard, and Wolfgang Haase, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Part 2, *Principat*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972–.
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BCNH	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BG	Berlin Gnostic Codex
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	The Biblical Interpretation Series
BibLeb	*Bibel und Leben*
BJRL	*Bulletin of John Rylands Library*
BNTC	Black New Testament Commentary
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BW	The Bible and Women
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CH	*Church History*
Colloq	*Colloquium*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EC	*Early Christianity*
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EDSS	Schiffman, Lawrence H., and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
F	fragment (of Papias's *Exposition of Dominical Oracles*)
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FCNTECW	Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings
FO	*Folia Orientalia*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
Greg	*Gregorianum*
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HvTSt	*Hervormde Teologiese Studies* (*HTS Teologiese Studies*/*HTS Theological Studies*)
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	*Interpretation*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBRec	*Journal of the Bible and Its Reception*

JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JETh	*Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JGRChJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LASBF	*Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly*
Mus	*Muséon: Revue d'études orie*
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NIB	Keck, Leander E., ed. *The New Interpreter's Bible*. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004.
NIDB	Sakenfeld, Katharine Doob, ed. *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTApoc	Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, ed. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Rev. ed. English trans. ed. Robert McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Cambridge: Clarke; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus

NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
P.Beatty	Kenyon, Frederic G., ed. *The Gospels and Acts*. Vol. 3 of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. London: Walker, 1933.
P.Bodm.	Martin, Victor, and J. W. B. Barns, eds. *Évangile de Jean*. Papyrus Bodmer 2. Cologne: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1962.
P.Eg.	Bell, H. Idris, and T. C. Skeat, eds. *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1935.
P.Köln	Gronewald, Michael, Bärbel Kramer, Klaus Maresch, Maryline Parca, and Cornelia Römer, eds. *Kölner Papyri*. Vol. 6. Opladen: Schöningh, 1987.
P.Oxy.	Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–.
P.Ryl.	Roberts, C. H., ed. *Theological and Literary Texts*. Vol. 3 of *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938.
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
QRT	*Quaker Religious Thought*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SE	*Studia Evangelica*
SecCent	*Second Century*
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions

SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhiloA	*Studia Philonica Annual*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPatr	Studia Patristica
SymS	Symposium Series
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

Introduction: History and Theology within the Longitudinal Johannine Situation

Paul N. Anderson

In the first three volumes of the John, Jesus, and History Project, we engaged directly and broadly the two leading critical platforms of Jesus scholars over the last century and a half: the dehistoricization of John and the de-Johannification of Jesus.[1] If indeed there is nothing historical within the Fourth Gospel's story of Jesus, this would be important to establish. However, when multiple aspects of historicity in John's account of Jesus and his ministry are explored further, the first platform is found to be critically flawed, and extensively so (Anderson, Just, and Thatcher 2009). That being the case, what would result from viewing Jesus of Nazareth through the Johannine lens? Our third volume gathered illuminating essays along those lines, challenging critically the second leading platform (Anderson, Just, and Thatcher 2016). Thus, against a parsimonious approach to understanding Jesus of Nazareth—the most important single figure in human history—an inclusive approach is more serviceable than distortive reductionism.[2] But what if John's story of Jesus is simply concocted as a means of dealing with situational issues over several decades,

1. In so doing, rather than adopt a single methodology, we invited scholars to propose their own critical ways forward—an interdisciplinary approach—addressing also degrees of plausibility and why. See Anderson, Just, and Thatcher 2007.

2. On this score, it is not that the findings of the parsimonious quests have not elucidated effectively historical features of the words and works of Jesus; the problem lies with what they have omitted, especially from the Johannine witness, leading to potentially distortive portraitures of Jesus. See Borg 1994, followed by our engagements: Anderson 2000b; Borg 2002; Anderson 2002. See also the volume gathered by the John, Jesus, and History Project: C. Koester 2018.

with theology eclipsing history?[3] Or, does the Johannine account of Jesus of Nazareth connect historical memory with later conversations rooted in historical memory?[4] These are the questions this fourth volume in the central series of the John, Jesus, and History Project is designed to address.

As Johannine studies over the last century have shown, the origin and development of the Fourth Gospel must be considered within the developmental history of its tradition, beginning in Palestine and developed further in a diaspora setting, where it was likely finalized around 100 CE. While alternative settings have been argued, such as Alexandria or a Transjordan setting, none is superior to the unanimous second-century view, that the Johannine writings were finalized in the region of Ephesus in Asia Minor.[5] Given that the early memory cited by Eusebius locates the departure of the Johannine leadership (whether John the apostle, John the Elder, or others) from Palestine around the time that the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in 70 CE, the movement from one setting to another is also reflected among the Johannine writings and within the Johannine narrative. The Johannine Epistles and Apocalypse clearly reflect engagement with Jewish, Greco-Roman, and other Christian groups, and, like Mark, John's story of Jesus translates Jewish language and customs for non-Jewish audiences.

With John A.T. Robinson (1985), Raymond Brown (2024), Urban von Wahlde (2010), and others (Martyn 2019), the Johannine memory of Jesus and his ministry likely formed within a pre-70 Galilean/Judean context, and it was later finalized in an Asia Minor setting over the next three decades. The Johannine tradition thus developed over seven decades within three overall periods, in which at least two sets of contextual dialogues are evident in each.[6] Thus, taking note of how the Johannine presentation of Jesus within the longitudinal development of the Johannine situation—and beyond—informs John's distinctive contribution to understanding the Jesus of history as well as the Christ of faith.

3. This was the view of J. Louis Martyn (2003) and some others, to some degree, focusing on the later history of the Johannine situation rather than John's contribution to Jesus research.

4. On memory theory, see Thatcher 2006; Bauckham 2007.

5. This is the view of most commentators: R. Brown 1966–1970; Hoskyns 1947; Keener 2003; Moloney 1993, 1996, 1998a; Schnackenburg 1968–1982); O'Day 1995. See also the updated analysis in Lightfoot 2015.

6. Here the threefold stages of Johannine Christianity set forth by Martyn (2019) makes sense to the majority of Johannine scholars, although evidence for non-Johannine sources remains lacking.

While issues and audiences are clearly targeted during the finalization of the Johannine narrative, several earlier issues can also be seen to be relevant within its pre-70 Levant situation. In addition to numerous grounded topographical and archaeologically attested references,[7] north-south tensions between the Jerusalem socioreligious elite (the *Ioudaioi* of Jerusalem and Judea/*Ioudaia*) and the Galilean prophet are referenced within the narrative. Likewise, later Jewish-Johannine tensions are also palpable within the Johannine diaspora setting, but they did not begin there. In corroborative impression,[8] Jesus of Nazareth received uneven receptions in both Galilee and Judea, and that set of historical likelihoods is attested in the Synoptic and Johannine accounts of Jesus and his ministry. Particular to the Johannine rendering, however, despite being rejected in his hometown Nazareth in the Synoptics (Mark 6:1–6), Jesus is well received in Galilee and Samaria, performing signs at wedding celebrations and a healing of a royal official's son (John 2–4). Scholars will debate whether or not such was an augmentation or a corrective pushback against the Markan rendering, but the Johannine account of the beginning of Jesus's ministry certainly is presented as reporting early developments and reactions in the ministry of Jesus, perhaps in dialogue with Mark's account.

Yet how does the history of the Johannine situation relate to investigating the Jesus of history within the Johannine tradition? While source-critical scholars inferred the evangelist's use of alien sources, such paradigms have not survived the rigors of critical analysis over time.[9] Nor is the 85 percent of distinctive material in John explicable as Synoptic-dependent. Thus while John's story of Jesus can be seen as addressing contextual issues over the history of its development, this does not imply the absence of historical memory of Jesus and his ministry, distinctively evolving within the Johannine tradition.[10] While all historical projects are formed with interests of engaging contextual realities, situational

7. See the forthcoming volume of the John, Jesus, and History Project, the first volume ever gathered on the subject: *Archaeology, John, and Jesus: What Recent Discoveries Show Us about Jesus from the Gospel of John* (Anderson forthcoming).

8. One of the improved criteria for determining inclusive historicity—an advance over multiple attestation, which omits all distinctive gospel material from historical consideration—as laid out in Anderson and Clark-Soles 2016, 18–21.

9. Against Bultmann 2014, see the judgments of Van Belle 1994; D. Smith 2015; Anderson 2010; and Kysar 2005.

10. On the existence of the Johannine school, see Culpepper 1975. For analyses of the Johannine situation in longitudinal perspective, see Anderson 1997, 2007b.

interests do not eclipse the narrating of the past as understood by the evangelist.[11] Further, if more than one hand is involved in the authoring and editing of the narrative, those interests are also likely to impact John's overall presentation. Therefore, as Jesus remembered is considered within the longitudinal Johannine situation,[12] dialogues between memories of the past and relevance of the present must be taken into consideration within a comprehensive critical analysis of John, Jesus, and history.

1. Jesus Remembered in the Early Johannine Situation (30–70 CE)

At the outset, an acute set of tensions between the northern prophet and southern religious leaders is documented from early in Jesus's ministry, furthered by several visits to Jerusalem during Jewish festivals, where Jesus performed healings in Jerusalem and a resurrection in Bethany (John 5; 9; 11). On these accounts, Judean leaders not only oppose Jesus and his ministry; they also are wary of the ministry of John the Baptist, inquiring as to his authorization (John 1:19–42). They require the same of Jesus, troubled by his healings on the Sabbath (John 5; 9), and they are even more offended by his claims to having been authorized by the Father, citing the Deut 18:15–22 prophecy that God would raise up a prophet like Moses who would carry forth not his own will but only what the Father had instructed. This leads to a further set of charges regarding blasphemy (Freyne 2009; Anderson 1999). How can Jesus claim to be the Son of the Father—making himself equal to God—without committing blasphemy? While some of the Judeans believe in Jesus on the basis of his signs and teachings (John 8:31), the overall Judean leadership and many among the crowds do not. They turn Jesus over to the Roman authorities, demanding his crucifixion. Thus tensions with Jewish religious leaders are evident within the early Palestine-based development of the Johannine tradition's development, and these developments are

11. On Johannine primitivity and historical tradition, see Goodenough 1945; Dodd 1963; Thatcher and Williams 2013; Anderson 2006. The works of Dodd, Robinson, and others are what led A. M. Hunter (1968) to argue for a "new look" at John.

12. The more nuanced language of "Jesus remembered" introduced by Jimmy Dunn (2003) provides a more useful approach to gospel historicity, as it focuses on historical memory itself, whether or not it can ever be confirmed externally.

also corroborated by other New Testament writings.[13] In addition to debates with religious leaders in Jerusalem, however, John 5–12 presents Jesus as the eschatological prophet performing signs not included in the Synoptics, perhaps as a geographical augmentation of Mark, if familiarity with Mark's witness can be inferred.[14]

A second crisis within the early Johannine situation involves more of a friendly competition with followers of John the Baptist. Is John the Messiah/Christ, or is Jesus? These competitive tensions are put down by the Baptist himself, in declaring that he is simply the friend of the bridegroom.[15] He must become less, while Jesus is magnified (John 3:24–30). Note, however, several other features of this friendly collaboration. As a chronological augmentation of Mark, the early ministry of Jesus is outlined *before* John was thrown into prison (John 3:24 versus Mark 1:14; Bauckham 1998). Again, if some familiarity with Mark's narrative is inferred, it appears that in John 1–4 we have a presentation of a chronological augmentation of Mark, which presents Jesus as ministering alongside the Baptist for a period of time, including a featuring of some of John's disciples departing from his band and becoming followers of Jesus (John 1:19–51). Contra Mark 9:13, John the Baptist denies being the Elijah or the prophet (Moses) in John 1:21, yet John 1:6–8 and 15 appears to support Mark 1:1–14, emphasizing John's bearing witness to Jesus, who came after him (chronologically) though he was before him (positionally).[16]

An additional link might also be significant in terms of Synoptic-Johannine differences, regarding the timing and character of the temple incident. While Matthew and Luke follow Mark in placing it at the end of Jesus's ministry as a culminative offense, John places it at the beginning—an inaugural prophetic demonstration—in keeping with the

13. Corroborated by the Synoptics from the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem until his crucifixion, the Judean religious elite are remembered as opposing Jesus of Nazareth, and in Acts 3–7 the majority of Judean leaders oppose followers of Jesus despite many, including some among the Sadducees, becoming his followers. On these matters, the Johannine presentation is not an outlier.

14. Anderson 2018a. On John's familiarity with Mark, compare Mackay 2004.

15. R. Brown (2003) follows Baldensperger and others, inferring some sort of friendly competition between Johannine believers and followers of the Baptist. Further, the fraternal competition was likely earlier than later in the Johannine situation, although it could also have extended into the Asia Minor situation (see Acts 18–19).

16. On the view that the Johannine Christ-hymn was added to an earlier version of the narrative, see J. A. T. Robinson 1963; Kelber 1990a.

provocative thrust of the Baptist's ministry. This accounts for the fact that some Jerusalem witnesses believed in Jesus early (John 2:23; 4:43–45) and some Jerusalem authorities sought to put him to death at the outset of his ministry (5:18; 7:1). While the ministry of John the Baptist was also prized among followers of Apollos in Ephesus a quarter century later (Acts 18:24–28), his popularity was likely most acute during and closer to the ministry of Jesus. Thus in considering earlier crises and issues within the pre-70 Johannine situation, the Johannine account contributes meaningfully to understanding the Jesus of history as well as the Christ of faith, advancing Jesus research. Essays on "Jesus Remembered within the Early Johannine Situation" (30–70 CE), focusing on Judean-Galilean tensions and friendly competition with followers of the Baptist, will be featured in part 1 of this volume.

2. Jesus Remembered in the Middle Phase of the Johannine Situation (70–85 CE and Beyond)

Following the circa 70 CE resettlement of Johannine leadership and many others in Asia Minor and other diaspora settings, several new sociological engagements developed. To some degree, the Pauline, Petrine, and other missions to Hellenistic settings within the Mediterranean world bring about some friendly yet tensive engagements with Jewish communities over the next several decades. Thus supportive relations as well as adversarial engagements between Jesus adherents and Jewish communities and other groups within the Roman Empire in the last third of the first century CE are also palpable within John's developing account of Jesus and his ministry. While one need not infer theology-only bases for John's historical and theological presentation of Jesus and his ministry, the packaging and crafting of the narrative indeed appears to be addressing "what happened back then" in the light of "what is happening now" among Johannine believers and their interlocutors.[17] Therefore, the second phase of the Johannine situation (ca. 70–85 CE and later) reflects contextual concerns in the purview of the narrator, as later audiences are also targeted by the rhetorical crafting of John's presentation of Jesus. John's narrative seeks to show that Jesus is the Jewish Messiah/Christ and

17. This was the *Einmalig* (once upon a time-ness) approach taken by Martyn, based on his readings of John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2. Then again, later relevance does not imply earlier nonoccurrence, as Tobias Hägerland (2003) and others have argued.

that the kingship of Jesus is superior to that of the Romans. The Johannine Epistles and Apocalypse also provide corroborative information regarding the second and third phases of the Johannine situation.[18]

In particular, the *aposynagōgos* passages of John 9:22, 12:42, and 16:2 clearly reference tensions between Jesus adherents and local synagogues, which may well have spanned several decades, from the actual ministry of Jesus into the second century CE and beyond.[19] Among the second-generation Pauline-mission communities, both Jewish and gentile believers in Jesus gathered for worship and fellowship in various settings. Jesus adherents of Jewish origin would have met with other Jewish family and friends in local synagogues for Sabbath worship and other events, and this would have also included some Jesus adherents of non-Jewish origins. Additionally, some Jewish believers in Jesus likely joined First-Day worship in gentile believers' house churches, which constituted most of the Johannine communities.[20] Whereas the circumcision-related markers of following Jesus as the Jewish Messiah/Christ may have been settled among most of the believers in Jesus, things might not have been as easily settled among Jewish nonbelievers in Jesus. They likely insisted on clear and telling signs of authentic commitment to central aspects of Jewish faith and practice reflecting the refusal of pagan idolatry and other folkloric customs—including dress codes and dietary restrictions—as means of signaling outwardly one's Jewish commitments (Marcus 2006). At stake, from a synagogal perspective, would have been Jewish monotheism (Deut 6:4) and adhering to the first four commandments of Moses (Exod 20:1–11), along with other Jewish markers of self-understanding.

While *aposynagōgos* actions of those thinking they are offering worship to God in John 16:2 likely represents post-70 references to synagogue expulsions, the references in 9:22 and 12:42 may also reflect earlier memories (Instone-Brewer 2003; Bernier 2013). As uses of the Birkat Haminim (the curse against the heretics, the "Nazoreans") may have originated earlier, either in Qumran or in Jerusalem, they also reflect tensions with local

18. For state-of-the-art treatments of the relation between the Gospel and Epistles of John, with relation to the Johannine situation, see Culpepper and Anderson 2014.

19. On the Johannine synagogue dialectics, see the works of Martin (2003) and others: Reinhartz 2002, 2018a; Katz 1984; Kimelman 1981; Marcus 2009. For a contemporary socioreligious analysis, see Kloppenborg 2011.

20. Banks 2020. These communities of faith (Christ groups), of course, grew in their size and influence in Greco-Roman society, as Kloppenborg (2017) has noted.

synagogues around the times that John's narrative was composed. Programmatic expulsions of open followers of Jesus in post-70 Judaism are less likely than an interest in disciplining synagogue community members to maintain their monotheistic and ethical fealty, yet some Johannine believers in Jesus appear to have abandoned synagogue worship by the time the Johannine Gospel was finalized.[21] Nonetheless, the Johannine presentation of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah/Christ—the King of Israel, Son of the Father, and the one of whom Moses and the Prophets wrote—reflects a solidly Jewish perspective and commitment, vying for the heart of Judaism, not a full-fledged parting of the ways.[22] Even in Rev 2:9 and 3:9, acute tensions with local synagogue leaders in Asia Minor feature their labeling as "those who claim to be Jews but are not,"[23] due to the conviction that *we* (Johannine believers) are the true Jews and followers of the true King of Israel (Rev 7:1; 21:12).

In addition to synagogue worship, diaspora believers in Jesus also worshiped on First Day in house churches, likely managed by Jewish and gentile believers appointed as deacons, elders, and pastors. Thus the schism referenced in 1 John 2:18–25 may reflect some Jewish members of house-church worship gatherings abandoning their meeting with largely gentile believers in Jesus and returning to synagogue-only worship attendance. These defectors are accused of never really being committed to Jesus as the Messiah/Christ to begin with; indeed, if they reject the Son, they will also forfeit the Father, whom the Son authentically represents. One can also imagine family and friends appealing to their Jewish loyalties, proselytizing them back into synagogue-only fellowship, and it may well be that, as more and more gentile Jesus adherents came to outnumber those of Jewish origin and commitment, the pressures of socioreligious diversity became too great for some Jewish participants in house-church gatherings, making a return to the synagogue a safer prospect. In a post-70 situation, the presentation of Jewish leaders rejecting Jesus a full generation or two earlier would also have garnered timely relevance in the later crafting of the Johannine story of Jesus. Just as his uneven reception "even

21. Anderson 1999. On similarities and differences between the Gospel of John and the Qumran community, see Coloe and Thatcher 2011.

22. Indeed, John is the most Jewish of the gospels, in its own ways, with Barrett 1986. For the state-of-the-art collection on John and Judaism produced by the John, Jesus, and History Project, see Culpepper and Anderson 2017.

23. Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical translations are mine.

back then" among "his own" led to his suffering and death at the hands of the Romans, so his later (and contemporary) acceptances and rejections among fellow Jewish family and friends show that later Moses adherents ironically continue to reject the true King of Israel, of whom Moses and the Prophets wrote (John 1:9–13, 45–49; 3:18–21; 5:39–47).

Tensions with local synagogue communities during the Flavian dynasty, however, were also exacerbated by Roman imperial pressures that intensified following the Jewish war with Rome (66–73 CE). As a result of the Fourth Philosophy (according to Josephus) and the murderous insurrections of the Zealots and the *sicarii* (dagger men), the Roman crackdown on the Jewish nation was abysmal. Not only was Jerusalem's temple totally destroyed, but nearly all members of Jerusalem's nobility, aristocracy, and priesthood were also killed. As a means of accommodating Jewish monotheism, Vespasian did not require the worship of Roman gods; he simply levied a tax upon all Jewish residents of the empire requiring them to donate two drachmas to the temple of Jupiter Capitolina in Rome. As giving two drachmas was the standard Jewish tithe tax that Jews were expected to pay in support of the Jerusalem temple, now Jews throughout the empire were required to support Jupiter's temple in Rome. This was known as the *fiscus judaicus* (the tax of the Jews) levied by imperial Rome in 70 CE.

The sons of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, continued that practice, but Domitian raised the bar further. As a means of ensuring that there would be no further Zealot-type insurrections within the Roman Empire, he required non-Jewish subjects throughout the empire, on pain of punishment or even death, to participate publicly in the imperial cult, declaring Caesar as "lord and god," offering incense to Caesar, or both. This expectation is referenced some two decades later by Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia, in his correspondence with Emperor Trajan circa 110 CE, who inquired whether he should punish two Christian virgins further for refusing to deny Christ or to worship Caesar (Pliny, *Ep*. 10.96–97). Some had been doing so for two decades (going back to the beginning of Domitian's regime). They claimed to *not* be Christians—they just *met with such persons* on a set day of the week, before dawn, partaking of common food, and singing a hymn to Christ as though he were a god—and they reverenced Caesar's image.[24] In Pliny's

24. For analyses of the Gospel and Epistles of John under empire, see Thatcher 2009b; Carter 2008; Cassidy 2015. See also Harland 1996.

judgment, these people of course could never be considered Christians and were innocent of "the crime." Thus the presentation of the suffering passion of Jesus, the miscomprehending Pilate, and the anti-Domitian confession of Thomas (John 20:28: "My Lord and my God!") served as a means of addressing the imperial cult pressures under Domitian. Essays in part 2 (and part 3) of this volume are focused on addressing "Jesus Remembered within the Middle Johannine Situation," where tensions with local synagogues and the rising imperial cult would have been most intense, spanning 70–85 CE and beyond.

3. The Third Phase of the Johannine Situation (ca. 85–100 CE)

In the third phase of the Johannine situation (ca. 85–100 CE), tensions with local Jewish communities continue, and pressures of living under the imperial cult increase. Toward the last two decades of the first century CE, however, tensions now arise between Johannine believers and other Jesus adherents. On the one hand, traveling ministers denying that Jesus came in the flesh are to be resisted, according to the Johannine Elder (1 John 4:1–3; 2 John 7). While past interpreters connected such teachers with second-century gnostics who also denied the humanity of Jesus, not all docetists were gnostics (King 2005). Such inferences are anachronistic and overinterpreted. Further, the attraction of a nonsuffering Jesus was likely its lifestyle implications. If Jesus did not suffer, his followers need not do so either. Thus, given the facts that 1 John 5:21 summarizes the epitome of the first Johannine Epistle's ethical thrust—calling people to stay away from idols (the death-producing sin, 5:16)—excusing such was likely the basis for the assimilative teachings of the traveling ministers. That being the case, such issues addressed as "walking in the light" (and not in darkness, 1:6–7; 2:6, 11) and "loving not the world" (2:12–17) are clarified. Those claiming not to be sinning and making God a liar were not pneumatic perfectionists; they more plausibly claimed not to be sinning in participating in worldly festivities, and from a Johannine Jewish perspective—denying God's first two commandments: forbidding the worship of other gods and venerating graven images—making God a liar (Exod 20:2–6; Deut 5:6–10). Thus, if false traveling ministers are teaching assimilation with Greco-Roman culture and thereby excusing participation in socioreligious festivities, supporting the imperial cult, marching in festive parades, attending gladiator competitions, and the like, they might have excused such on the basis of a nonsuffering Jesus. Additional pressures

supporting the imperial cult and regional festivities would have been felt from civic leaders as well.[25]

Addressing these docetizing pressures, the Johannine account of Jesus and his ministry asserts several incarnational thrusts, showing the suffering humanity of Jesus and calling for embracing the way of the cross. These include the insistence of the Word made flesh in the Johannine Christ hymn (John 1:14), the requirement of ingesting the flesh and blood of Jesus (6:51–58), the groaning of Jesus in his spirit at the tomb of Lazarus (11:33), the witnessing of water and blood pouring forth from the side of the crucified Lord (19:34–35), the touching of the flesh wounds of Jesus by Thomas (20:27), and the prediction of the martyrdom of Peter (21:18–19). Thus in John's apologetic thrust, showing Jesus to be the Messiah/Christ and the Son of God, his signs and fulfillments of Scripture are emphasized, especially in the foundational Johannine narrative. In John's later material (if the Christ hymn and John 6; 15–17; 21 were added), the incarnational push-back against docetizing threats in the later Johannine situation is clear, and the fleshly humanity of Jesus is emphasized.[26] Such presentations address the first threat in the third period of the Johannine situation, pushing back against the docetizing thrust of assimilative teachers in the later Johannine situation.[27] The issue was not unbridled pneumatism; it was cultural (and pagan) assimilation in the second-generation Pauline mission, legitimated by cheap grace and easy discipleship (Jude 4; 2 Pet 3:14–17).

In addition to docetizing traveling ministers (although docetic Christology need not have been their main teaching; it simply may have justified assimilative teachings and easy discipleship on the basis of a nonsuffering Lord), the monepiscopal organizational counsel of Ignatius of Antioch also appears on the scene in the likes of the primacy-loving Diotrephes. In 3 John 9–10, the Elder writes to Gaius, encouraging him to continue offering hospitality, despite the fact that Diotrephes has denied hospitality to Johannine believers. The Elder has written to "the church" about this concern (Antioch?) and intends to confer with Diotrephes in person.

25. As Ephesus and Pergamum were vying for temple-keeper status within the empire, Jesus adherents would also have experienced pressures from local business owners and civic officials to show loyal support for Rome, lest funds and building projects be diverted elsewhere (Friesen 1993).

26. Schnelle 1992. For a basic two-edition theory and its implications, see Anderson 2015; for a three-edition theory, see von Wahlde 2010.

27. For the thrust of Johannine solidarity under empire, see also Rensberger 1988.

Diotrephes apparently is even willing to expel his own church members who welcome Johannine believers; that suggests his hierarchical role within his local church. While some scholars have guessed that he was concerned over their docetizing tendencies, the Elder clearly opposed docetizing traveling ministers, so the view of Käsemann (2017) along those lines is problematic. More likely is that Diotrephes and his kin felt that John's familial and egalitarian system of governance was ineffective and archaic, to which an Ignatian hierarchical model of patriarchal governance offered an orderly improvement.[28] Or, they might have opposed women in leadership (2 John) or been threatened by John's spirit-based ecclesiology (John 14–16).[29]

Whether or not Diotrephes was indeed a hierarchical aspirant, and this issue is debated among scholars, the Johannine narrative poses a number of ecclesial motifs that would have been in direct tension with rising institutionalism in the late first-century situation of early Christianity. These features can also be seen as pushing back against some of the hierarchical developments referenced in Matt 16:17–19 and 18:15–17, although Matthew also affirms forgiving and gracious approaches to church life (18:18–35). Nonetheless, in John's presentation of the will of Jesus for his followers, organic and relational images for the church include sheep and shepherd (John 10:1–16) and vine and branches (15:1–8); christological confessions are made by nonmembers of the Twelve: Nathanael and Martha (1:49; 11:27); the Samaritan woman and Mary Magdalene become apostles to the Samaritans and the apostles (4:4–42; 20:18); Jesus commissions the priesthood of all believers (20:19–23) and sends the Holy Spirit to be an empowering and present guide for all believers (chs. 14–16); rather than receiving instrumental keys to the kingdom, Peter affirms the sole authority of Jesus as the true leader of the church (6:68–69); and Jesus entrusts his mother to the Beloved Disciple as a relational coin of ecclesial authority. Within the highly dialectical situation illuminated by the other Johannine writings (D. Smith 1984), the programmatic prayer of Jesus for unity in John 17 clearly addresses the crises in the third phase of the Johannine situation (85–100 CE). Thus, tensions with docetizing teachers and hierarchical developments, in addition to continuing engagements

28. On Johannine tensions with rising institutionalism, see Maynard 1984; Quast 1989. On issues of hospitality within the church of Diotrephes itself, see Malherbe 1983.

29. Note the prominent presentation of women in John's story of Jesus: Schneiders 2003; J. K. Jones 2008; S. Miller 2023; Grench 2004.

with local synagogues and imperial pressures, are addressed in part 3 of this book.

4. Jesus Remembered in Post-Johannine Situations: Main Streams and Alternative Streams

Following the finalization and circulation of the Johannine writings, they continued to impact hearers and readers from the turn of the first century into the second, in the subapostolic era.[30] Within the post-Johannine era, dissention among Jesus adherents continued, as did tensions with neighboring Jewish communities, Hellenistic cultures, and political pressures under the Roman Empire.[31] While Jesus remembered in the Johannine situation comes to something of an end with the finalization of the Johannine literature, the Johannine Gospel's continuing influence over the following decades sheds light nonetheless on developing understandings of Jesus of Nazareth connected with the Johannine witness. Thus the reception of the Johannine literature not only conveys how Jesus was remembered in the last third of the first century CE; it also influenced ways Jesus was remembered hence—sometimes in ways cohering with what can be known about the Jesus of history and sometimes departing from historical memory in imaginative or distortive trajectories—to be evaluated critically (Hill 2004).

Along these lines, the Gospel of John contributed considerably to second- and third-century Christianity, although it is rarely cited explicitly early on. Along with the Gospel of Matthew, especially these two gospels provided training manuals for Christian discipleship, and they were often circulated together, as shown by textual evidence and reported references. This led to main streams embracing the Johannine witness, although a few alternative readings also developed over the decades, precisely because of the narrative's widespread appeal. Among Montanist readings of John, the authority of the Holy Spirit's work within believing communities served to challenge rising institutionalism within the early Christian movement, and debates with Jewish neighbors at times were furthered by Johannine influence. One can also see how early Christians sought to make sense of

30. On Jewish and Greco-Roman features of the Johannine situation, see Dodd 1953; Puskas and Robbins 2021.

31. Thus, Johannine Christianity was likely not sectarian but reflecting a cluster of worship groups within a cosmopolitan setting (Fugsleth 2005).

John's account of Jesus and his ministry alongside the Synoptics, and views of John's authorship also played roles in making sense of the distinctive Johannine witness. Part 4 of this volume traces the Fourth Gospel's continuing influence upon Jesus remembered in the mainstream Christian movement, which eventually contributed to the need for the first four ecumenical councils, as both sides of christological, trinitarian, and *filioque* debates cited the Gospel of John as a primary basis for their stances.

In addition to proto-orthodox receptions of John in the second and third centuries, the Johannine Gospel piqued the interest of non-Jewish believers, leading into alternative streams and more diverse Hellenistic expressions within early Christianity. As the Jesus movement expanded, connecting with other religious understandings and practices, emerging gnostic developments found consonance with the Johannine Prologue and the gospel's pneumatic thrust. They also built on Pauline, Petrine, and other New Testament writings. Some of these expressions were discovered in the Nag Hammadi finds, informing our understandings of what some have called "emerging Christianities" in the second and third centuries CE. For the purposes of the present project, however, the work furthered by the Jesus Seminar and others—identifying memories of Jesus of Nazareth in noncanonical as well as canonical writings—is augmented by the inclusion of the Fourth Gospel in the quest, rather than excluding it. These are the sorts of issues explored in part 5 of the present volume, within an inclusive quest of the Jesus of history alongside the Christ of faith (Anderson 2013a).

5. The Past and Future Work of the John, Jesus, and History Project

Most of the essays included in this volume were presented in the fourth and fifth triennia of the John, Jesus, and History Project (2011–2016), and several were drawn in later as part of the preconference held at the Denver Society of Biblical Literature meetings in 2022 and otherwise. Responses to the papers in each section advance the conversations along the way, and an overview will be contributed at the end. Great appreciation is extended to the members of the John, Jesus, and History Steering Committee over the years: Tom Thatcher, Felix Just, S.J., and Alan Culpepper (2002–2016); Mary Coloe, PBVM, Jaime Clark-Soles, and Moody Smith (2002–2011); and Helen Bond, Catrin Williams, and Craig Koester (2011–2016). Gratitude is also expressed to the J. M. Murdock Charitable Trust for supporting the 2022 preconference, to Emerson B. Powery and the editors of the Early

Christianity and its Literature Series, and to Bob Buller and Nicole Tilford and the SBL Press staff for their excellent assistance in the publication process. Having already published eight books emerging from the John, Jesus, and History Project (see Anderson forthcoming), three more are anticipated in the central SBL Press ECL series, on Jesus remembered within the Johannine tradition, Jesus remembered among the gospels, and methodologies for determining Johannine historicity.