THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND JEWISH WORSHIP

AILEEN GUILDING

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A study of the relation of St. John's Gospel to the ancient Jewish lectionary system

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to assess the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the ancient Palestinian synagogue lectionary system. In a field of study which has, as yet, received little attention, results must necessarily be provisional and incomplete. Nevertheless, too many provisos and qualifying clauses make tedious reading and lengthen the argument, and this must be my excuse if I have sometimes stated my conclusions with more confidence than is appropriate for a preliminary report.

I gratefully acknowledge many kindnesses from Miss Barbara Gwyer, sometime Principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, and much helpful advice and criticism from Professor G. D. Kilpatrick and Dr. N. H. Snaith. My former colleague, Professor F. F. Bruce, read the book in manuscript and supplied the note on the Feast of St. Denys on page 185; but beyond this, his generosity to me over a number of years has been unlimited.

I owe much to the teaching of the late Dr. Herbert Danby, who guided me in Rabbinic studies. But my chief thanks are due to my former Tutor, Dr. Austin Farrer, who first encouraged me to look for Old Testament patterns in the New Testament writings. The sayings of the Amoraim were habitually given in the name of their Rabbis, as corollaries of what they had learned: in this sense my book has been written in his name. Except for Chapter 12 he read and criticized it at every stage of preparation, though in fairness I must add that the opinions expressed sometimes conflict with his own. My debt to him is of a kind that defies formal acknowledgement, and my gratitude more than can be said here.

I am grateful to the Editor of the *Journal of Theological Studies* and to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for permission to draw upon an article which I contributed in 1952. Finally, I wish to thank the officers and staff of the Clarendon Press for their helpfulness and patience, and for a most pleasingly printed book.

A. G.

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PART I

THE LECTIONARY SYSTEM

1

THE LECTIONARY BACKGROUND OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE Fourth Evangelist has provided us with three plain clues to the interpretation of his Gospel:

1. The Gospel is composed mainly of long discourses.
2. These discourses are carefully dated in relation to the Jewish festal calendar, and the place of preaching is usually the synagogue, the Temple, or the Temple environs. The latter fact is emphasized in Jesus' own account of his teaching: 'I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where all the Jews come together, and in secret spake I nothing' (18.20).
3. The miracles of this Gospel are drawn into the discourses by way of illustration of the argument.

The emphasis, then, is on Jesus as preacher. The Fourth Evangelist seems to have preserved a tradition of Jesus' sermons which has not found a place in the Synoptic Gospels, and he has arranged these sermons against the background of the Jewish liturgical year, keeping to the regular order of the feasts without breaks or dislocations, and driving home the theological point of each discourse by linking with it the record of some carefully selected miracle, which he calls a *sign*. His pattern of writing is generally *Feast—Miracle—Discourse*. In chapter 6, for example, there is first the mention of the Feast of the Passover, then the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, and finally a discourse on the heavenly bread, preached in the synagogue at Capernaum and based on the Old Testament passage which would normally be read in the synagogue at that season, the story of the manna (Exodus 16). Here the miracle illustrates the discourse, and both are intimately related to the themes of Passover. In chapters 7–9 there is first a mention of the Feast of Tabernacles, then discourses on the themes of Jesus as the giver of living water and the light of the world, and finally the miracle of the healing of the man born blind. Here again the discourses and the miracle are intimately linked with the two main features of the

ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles (the water-pouring and the illuminations) and with the Old Testament scriptures read at that feast in the first century. The mere arrangement of the Gospel, quite apart from other considerations, drives us to the conclusion that the starting-point for its interpretation is to be found in first-century Jewish Temple worship and synagogue preaching.

As a preliminary test of this theory, let us consider chapters 7–10 of the Gospel. It is a commonplace of exegesis that the discourses spoken at the Feast of Tabernacles (chapters 7–8) are connected with the two ceremonies which dominated the services of that feast, namely, the ceremonies of the water-drawing and the illuminations. The account of the *water-drawing* given in the Mishnah (*Sukkah* iv. 9) tells us that a golden pitcher was filled with water from Siloam and carried in procession, with the blowing of trumpets, through the Water-gate up to the Temple, where it was poured out, together with a libation of wine, into two pipes beside the altar. Undoubtedly the water-libation was a symbol of the rain so much needed in Palestine at that time of the year; and that the Jews themselves so explained it is shown by the Talmudic injunction 'Offer ye waters before me on the Feast of Sukkoth that the rains of the year may be blessed to you' (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 16a). A passage of the Jerusalem Talmud, however, connects the ceremony rather with the gift of the Holy Spirit: 'Why is the name of it called, The drawing out of water? Because of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, according to what is said: "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation" ' (j. *Sukkah* v. 1). There is no need to stress the aptness of Jesus' words spoken on the last day of the feast: 'If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water'; and it is noteworthy that the Evangelist's interpretation 'This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive' is in complete accord with the symbolism that appears in the Talmud. The other ceremony, the all-night *illumination* of the women's court of the Temple and the accompanying torch-dance, is described in the Mishnah (*Sukkah* v. 2–4). Golden candlesticks (according to the Talmud fifty cubits high) were set alight so that 'there was not a courtyard in Jerusalem that was not lit up'. Again the relevance of Jesus' words needs no emphasis when he says 'I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness but shall have the light of life'. There follows in chapter 9 an account of a miracle of illumination, both physical and spiritual. The ritual of the Temple, then, provides us with the key to the discourses and the miracle of chapters 7–9.

We now come to the Parable of the Good Shepherd in chapter 10. In the middle of his account of this parable and the controversy it raised, the Evangelist remarks, quite unemphatically, 'And it was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem: it was winter'. It would seem reasonable to expect that

a consideration of the ritual connected with the Feast of the Dedication would provide a clue to the interpretation of chapter 10, just as the ritual of Tabernacles does when we seek to understand chapters 7–9. But disappointingly enough the Dedication ceremonies (the main feature of which was the lighting of candles in private houses) seem to bear no obvious relationship to the Parable of the Good Shepherd. Are we then on a false trail? At this point we must anticipate what will follow in Part II, and say now that Jesus' discourse at Dedication depends very little on the *ritual* of that feast, but is closely bound up with the themes of that feast, and even more closely with the synagogue lections read at that season; for the theme of nearly all these readings is the theme of sheep and shepherds, of God the Shepherd of Israel and of the coming Messianic shepherd-prince, who, like God himself, would be his people's shepherd. Thus the first-century synagogue lectionary system would seem to be at least as important a key to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel as the Temple ritual of the time.

It is suggested, then, that the Fourth Gospel appears to be a Christian commentary on the Old Testament lectionary readings as they were arranged for the synagogue in a three-year cycle. The order of the Gospel follows the cycle of the Jewish lectionary year, which was so arranged that a suitable portion of scripture was read at each of the feasts, and the Evangelist's many allusions to Jewish festivals are not merely casual references but are fundamental to the structure of the Gospel. This hypothesis would explain several remarkable features of the Gospel, of which three will now be considered:

1. *The divergence from the Synoptic Gospels in respect of the scene of the ministry and the form of the discourse.* In the Fourth Gospel, the Evangelist's interest in the Jewish festal system leads him to depict Jesus as speaking and acting mainly in the Temple on the occasion of a series of Jewish feasts. Thus, in contrast to the Synoptists, his main interest is in the ministry in Jerusalem, and the ministry in Galilee receives comparatively little attention. St. John's interest in Temple and synagogue worship also explains the way in which the discourses in the Fourth Gospel differ from Jesus' sayings as recorded by the Synoptists. Instead of the short, crisp, isolated sayings found, for example, in St. Mark, we are given a series of discourses in sermon form, with frequent allusions to or quotations from the lections on which the sermon is based—i.e. the lections proper to the season. Our Lord 'ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple', and the preservation, interpretation, and application of these sermons is the Fourth Evangelist's main concern.

2. *The Johannine chronology.* In contrast with the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel seems at first glance to be very carefully dated. Thus, we find not only allusions to particular festivals, but even more specific marks

of time, as, for instance, in 7.37 (the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles), or 12.1 (six days before the Passover). Nevertheless, on the assumption that John knew either Mark or the tradition behind Mark, the dating of some of the incidents of the Fourth Gospel is exceedingly puzzling. A striking example is the episode of the cleansing of the Temple, which is placed at the beginning of the ministry instead of at the end. The reason for this mingled casualness and exactness would seem to be that for the Fourth Evangelist time is at once historic time and *lectionary time*. Thus, although he places the cleansing of the Temple in a different year, the season of the year is approximately the same as in the Synoptic Gospels, namely, not long before Passover, and the Johannine and Synoptic accounts are based on the same sequence of lections. So for lectionary purposes the month was important, but the year was not, and St. John preserves the proper place of the incident in the lectionary calendar while departing from its historic time as preserved in the earlier tradition. It is lectionary time that is all-important to him. The arrangement of Jesus' teaching and the events of his life for a lectionary cycle implies a certain self-imposed detachment from real time on the part of the Evangelist—or rather, for his purposes real time is lectionary time, and this perhaps accounts for the impression we get that the Fourth Gospel stands outside and beyond time.

3. *The self-contained allusiveness of the Gospel.* This results from the repetition of the lectionary cycle, and the consequent reiteration of themes (see Diagram 2, p. 48).

Thus three of the striking characteristics of the Gospel, its divergence from the Synoptic Gospels, its timelessness, and its self-contained allusiveness, are explained by the lectionary background. Historical time is subordinated to the liturgical cycle, and instead of progressing in a straight line the Gospel moves spirally, combining change with permanence in the 'perpetual recurrence of determined seasons'. The serene triumph of the Johannine passion narrative, in contrast to the note of suffering found in the Synoptic records, has often been noticed. This is to be expected: any one Passover is simply one of an eternal series of Passovers, and the Christ who suffers *this* Passover is the Christ who has already triumphed, risen, and ascended last Easter. This cyclic conception of time seems to depend on the fact that the great rituals of the ancient world, the Jewish rituals among them, were seasonal, and based upon a cyclic experience of life.[1]

A study of the Fourth Gospel, then, leads us back to a study of the early Jewish lectionary system. At this point a difficulty has to be faced: the early Palestinian lectionary system was later ousted by a Babylonian annual system (except in a few places such as Fusṭāṭ where it was retained as late as the thirteenth century) and has to be conjecturally reconstructed. Is it

[1] Cf. S. H. Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', in *The Labyrinth*, pp. 220–2.

possible to make a reconstruction sufficiently accurate to form a background to Jesus' sermons? Was this Palestinian lectionary system already well established and fixed by the first century, or was it in an early amorphous stage? Can we even be quite sure that it was in existence by the first century? In which month was the three-year cycle of lectionary readings begun? An answer has to be found to all these questions before we can proceed with any confidence to a study of the Fourth Gospel. We therefore turn in Chapter 2 to a preliminary consideration of the early Palestinian synagogue lectionary system.

2

THE TRIENNIAL CYCLE

THE name 'triennial cycle' is given to the early Palestinian system of reading the whole of the Pentateuch through once on the consecutive sabbaths of three lunar years. The Pentateuch was divided for this purpose into rather more than 150 sections, known as *sedarim*. In course of time there grew up the habit of adding a second lesson from the Prophets, known as a *haphtarah* or 'concluding' passage. It seems possible also that the Psalms were recited over a three-year period: the number of Psalms corresponds to the number of sabbaths in three lunar years,[1] and the arrangement of the Psalter seems to have been influenced by liturgical considerations.

The suggestion made in Chapter 1 that this three-year lectionary system provides us with an important key to Jesus' synagogue sermons rests on the assumptions that it was already well-established in Palestine by the first century and that it can be adequately reconstructed. These assumptions must now be tested.

1. *Evidence for an early regular system of reading the Law and the Prophets*

Early evidence for the regular reading of the Law in the synagogues is found in the Preface to Ben Sirach, where we learn that in the second century B.C. the Egyptian Jews had as a permanent institution the public reading of the Law. Evidence for the first century A.D. is found in Josephus (*Contra Apionem* ii. 17), who ascribes to Moses the institution of regular sabbath readings of the Law in order that the people might learn it exactly, and in Philo (*De Somniis* II. xviii. 127), who refers to the regular expounding of the holy books on the sabbath.[2] But the most important evidence from the first century is found in the New Testament itself.

In all four Gospels and in the Acts there is frequent mention of synagogue worship. St. Matthew's Gospel is regularly punctuated with a summarizing account of Jesus' synagogue preaching: 'And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom' (4.23, and similarly 9.35 and 13.54). Mark and Luke record instances

[1] Three lunar years contain 151, or at the most 152, sabbaths. Presumably fifty Psalms were allocated to each year, and provision made for additional sabbaths by dividing certain Psalms. The supernumerary Psalm found in the LXX was probably added so that the Psalter should furnish sufficient Psalms for the sabbaths of three lunar years.

[2] . . . καὶ καθεδεῖσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγίοις ὑμῶν, τὸν εἰωθότα θίασον ἀγείροντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες κἂν εἴ τι μὴ τρανὲς εἴη διαπτύσσοντες; . . .

of Jesus' synagogue preaching at the beginning of his ministry at Capernaum and Nazareth respectively, and subsequently throughout Galilee. John records that Jesus 'ever taught in synagogues and in the temple'. By the time of the Christian era every large city of the Roman Empire possessed at least one synagogue, and in the Acts Paul is shown as habitually preaching in the synagogues of the Diaspora, where the rulers of the synagogue seemed willing to allow any competent worshipper to interpret and expound the scriptures that had been read. New Testament passages of importance for our purpose are Acts 15.21, Luke 4.16 ff., and Acts 13.14 ff.

Acts 15.21 is interesting because it represents the custom of regular sabbath exposition of the five books of Moses as a long-established one: 'For Moses *from generations of old* hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath.'

In Luke 4.16 we read how Jesus preached on the sabbath day in the synagogue at Nazareth after first reading some verses from Isaiah. Abrahams[1] tries to show that the wording of the Lukan passage makes it clear that the prophet was not Jesus' own choice; it was handed to him. Further, he was not free to choose which particular passage he would read, for he did not unroll the scroll as he would have done had he searched for a text, but simply opened (*ἀνοίξας*) the book at the place already selected for him. When he had finished reading, however, he rolled up (*πτύξας*) the scroll. This argument seems to place too much stress on a mere change of verb, which may be simply a matter of style. However, the passage is interesting since it shows that by the first century the service of the synagogue included a reading from the Prophets on sabbath days, and that the reading was followed by a sermon.

Acts 13.14 ff. describes a visit of Paul and his company to the synagogue in Antioch of Pisidia, where 'after the reading of the Law and the Prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on'. As in the case of Jesus' sermon at Nazareth, Paul's address followed the reading from the Prophets. His words 'And for about the time of forty years suffered he their manners (*ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτοὺς*) in the wilderness' (v. 18) are reminiscent of Deuteronomy 1.31 (LXX), and the same variant (*ἐτροφοφόρησεν* 'he carried them like a nurse') occurs in both passages. It is tempting to suppose that the first chapter of Deuteronomy was the reading from the Law referred to in Acts 13.14, all the more so because later in his sermon Paul says 'He raised up David to be their king', apparently quoting from Jeremiah 30.9; and in later times Jeremiah 30.4 ff. seems to have been read as haphtarah, or second lesson, to Deuteronomy 1.[2] Is it possible that already in the first

[1] I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, i, p. 8.

[2] Cf. A. Büchler, 'The Triennial Reading of the Law and Prophets', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vi (1894), 37.

century the two passages were read on the same sabbath as first and second lesson?

Evidence dating from the end of the second century for a regular lectionary system is found in Mishnah *Megillah* iii. 4. After enumerating the four readings allocated to the four special sabbaths of the twelfth month, Adar, the tractate continues 'On the fifth [sabbath] we return to their order (בחמישית חוזרין לכסדרן)', i.e. the ordinary cycle of sabbath readings from the Pentateuch was resumed. The tractate then goes on to specify the occasions on which the set order of sabbath readings was departed from. By Mishnaic times, then, there was a set order of sabbath readings from the Pentateuch, though on certain occasions the regular lesson was displaced by a special reading for the day.

With regard to the readings from the Prophets, the evidence of the Mishnah is inconclusive. *Megillah* iv. 10 discusses whether or not the 'Chariot' (Ezekiel 1) and 'Cause Jerusalem to know' (Ezekiel 16) should be permitted to be read as concluding prophetical lessons. The 'Chariot' is the name given in Rabbinic literature to speculations, based mainly on Ezekiel 1, concerning God's 'Throne-chariot'. Such speculations were evidently considered dangerous, and in the Talmud we read that of four scholars who engaged in such studies one lost his reason, one died, one turned sceptic, and only one survived unharmed (b. *Hagigah* 14b). 'Cause Jerusalem to know' (Ezekiel 16) contains a vehement denunciation of Israel's apostasy, and evidently the portion was considered unsuitable for public reading. The whole discussion in the Mishnah may imply either a fixed system of reading from the prophetical books or the reverse.

Finally, the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah* iv. 75a) and *Sopherim* xxi. 4 may be cited as showing that Jewish tradition recognizes distinct stages in lectionary development: the readings on sabbath afternoons, Mondays, and Thursdays were held to be the institution of Ezra, but the lessons for the festivals and the special sabbaths were regarded as established by Moses himself.

All this gives us a clear picture of a regular system of lectionary readings already in use by the first century, but it leaves unanswered the question: Was this system a *triennial* cycle? To this question we now turn.

2. *Evidence for a triennial cycle of lectionary readings*

We learn of a triennial cycle of readings in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megillah* 29b), where, in a discussion on alternative lessons for Sabbath Shekalim, reference is made to 'the people of Palestine, who complete the reading of the Pentateuch in three years'. Because of the hegemony of the Babylonian Gaonate over the Jewries of the Diaspora, this triennial cycle was ousted by a Babylonian annual cycle except in a few localities such as Fusṭāṭ, where it was retained as late as the thirteenth century A.D.

The Mishnah seems to reflect this triennial cycle, for in *Megillah* iv. 2, 4 it is laid down that on the sabbath the Law is to be read by at least seven persons, and that no one who reads the Law in public may read less than three verses. Thus an ordinary sabbath reading from the Pentateuch would consist of at least twenty-one verses, and skipping was not allowed. A minimum of twenty-one verses read each sabbath would accord with the reading of the Pentateuch in a triennial cycle. This minimum is also reflected in the Baraitha (*Megillah* 23a) which lays down that the haphtarah also should consist of twenty-one verses so as to correspond to the Torah lesson. It is true that in the Massoretic divisions we find sabbath lessons (sedarim) which contain less than twenty-one verses, such as Genesis 8.1–14, or Numbers 25.1–9. This, however, is really to be explained as the result of numerous shiftings of the commencement of particular sedarim: in some localities, for example, a seder would begin with Numbers 25.1, whereas in others the seder for the same sabbath would begin with 25.10.

Although the triennial cycle has gone out of use it has left traces of its existence in early Jewish writings; for example, in the Massoretic divisions known as *sedarim* indicated in the text of the Hebrew Bible. These number 154 in the Pentateuch, and probably correspond, therefore, to the sabbath lessons of the *triennial cycle* and not the annual cycle. Further evidence is found in the main Midrashim to the Pentateuch, which, as Theodor's research[1] has shown, depend for their structure on the sedarim of the triennial cycle, and not on the sidras of the annual cycle. The early Halakic Midrashim, *Mekilta*, *Sifra*, and *Sifre*,[2] also seem to reflect the Palestinian triennial cycle, though they were edited in the Babylonian schools (fourth to fifth century A.D.). In the *Mekilta*, for example, the Aggadist gives exact dates for various events connected with the Exodus and the journey to Sinai, and these dates reflect the arrangement of Exodus to be read in a triennial cycle. In their original form these Midrashim go back to the earlier part of the second century A.D., to a time before the Bar-Kokba revolt, A.D. 132–5. Ishmael, Akiba, and Eleazar of Modiim, who were of the second generation of Tannaim and disciples of the famous teacher Joḥanan b. Zakkai, appear to have redacted the main contents of the exposition on the basis of the still older and anonymous stratum of the exegetical tradition. Some of the principal Rabbinical authorities who are cited in Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers, for example, belong to the latter part of the first and the earlier part of the second century. This would suggest an early date for the existence of the triennial cycle.

[1] 'Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch u. der dreijährige pal. Cyclus' (*Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vols. 34–36, 1885–7).

[2] The *Mekilta*, lit. 'rule', is a Midrash to Exodus, from chapter 12 to 23.19, with the addition of two comments on 31.12–17 and 35.1–3. The *Sifra*, lit. 'Book', is a Midrash on Leviticus, and the *Sifre*, lit. 'Books', on Numbers 5–36 and the whole of Deuteronomy.

An example of the way in which the Palestinian Midrashim often seem to reflect the triennial cycle is perhaps to be found in *Ekah Rabbati*, an exegetical Midrash on Lamentations, and one of the oldest of the Palestinian Midrashim (Buber assigns it to the fourth century). The exposition of Lamentations 1.16 given in the Midrash tells how the wife of Trajan gave birth to a child on the 9th of Ab while all the Jews were mourning the destruction of the Temple. The child died on Hanukkah, the Feast of Dedication, which is observed by lighting candles for eight nights. It was then told Trajan's wife, 'When your child was born the Jews mourned, and when it died they kindled lights!'. She sent a letter to her husband, who returned, taking five days over the journey. On his arrival he found the Jews occupied with the verse 'The Lord will bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the vulture swoopeth down' (Deuteronomy 28.49). He said to them, 'I am the vulture who planned to come in ten days, but the wind brought me in five'. He surrounded them with his legions and slaughtered them. Then the Holy Spirit cried out, 'For these things I weep' (Lamentations 1.16). This exposition shows that at a time shortly after Hanukkah the Jews were occupied with the verse Deuteronomy 28.49, and it is precisely this verse that would be read at that time according to the lections of the triennial cycle.

To recapitulate: There is early evidence in the Preface to Ben Sirach, Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament for a system of the regular reading of the Law and the Prophets in the synagogue on sabbath days, and this is confirmed by the second-century Mishnah, which alludes to a regular order of reading. Evidence that under this early system the Law was read in a triennial cycle is found in the statement of the Mishnah that on sabbath days seven persons read at least three verses each without skipping; in the specific statement of the Talmud (*Megillah* 29b); in the number of sedarim preserved in the Massoretic text; in the custom of the synagogue at Fusṭāṭ; and in the main Midrashim to the Pentateuch which depend for their arrangement on the triennial, not the annual, cycle. It would therefore seem probable that by the first century A.D. the triennial cycle was in use, though the evidence is insufficient to show what stage of its development it had then reached. Acts 15.21 shows that in St. Luke's view, at any rate, the custom of sabbath synagogue readings from the Law was one of very great antiquity.

3. *The reconstruction of the triennial cycle*

(i) *The Pentateuchal lections*

We have seen that the Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible preserves a record of 154 divisions in the Pentateuch, called *sedarim*, which are the sabbath readings of the triennial cycle. If we knew at what time of the year the cycle began, it would be possible to allocate these 154 lections to the

sabbaths of three lunar years, and thus discover in what month the reading of each of the five books of the Pentateuch was started.

The natural starting-point for a lectionary system would seem to be the beginning of the year. In the Jewish calendar, however, New Year's Day falls on the first day of the *seventh* month, Tishri. This strange position of New Year's Day is explained by the fact that the calendar represents two reckonings of the year, as commencing in the months Nisan and Tishri (April and October) very near to the spring and autumn equinoxes. The Nisan reckoning reflects the Babylonian calendar, with which the Jews became acquainted during the exilic period, and which was already in use in the Jewish colony at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. On this the cycle of Jewish festivals is based. The secular or civil year of the modern Jews, however, looks back to the earlier commencement in the autumn, and is a survival of the original year which obtained among all Canaanitish people, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Moabites, and Edomites.[1] Did the triennial cycle, then, begin in Nisan or in Tishri? As we shall see, Jewish scholars disagree on this point.

Dr. Adolf Büchler[2] restored the order of the Pentateuchal lections on the assumption that the reading of the Law was begun on the 1st Nisan, and thus made what seems to be an excellent reconstruction of the triennial cycle. He showed that if the 154 sedarim of the Pentateuch are divided into three portions corresponding to the three years of the triennial cycle, the three parts are: Genesis 1–Exodus 10, Exodus 11–Numbers 6, and Numbers 6.22–Deuteronomy 34. Let us now examine the first portion for each year of the cycle.

The first year opened with the reading of Genesis 1, the story of creation. Jewish tradition holds (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b) that the world was created on the *1st Nisan*.[3]

The second year began with the reading of Exodus 11.1–12.20. Exodus 12 describes the first Passover, which was held in *Nisan*, and the second verse of that chapter runs: 'This month shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you.'

The third year began with the reading of Numbers 6.22 ff. The seder includes the account of the offerings of the twelve tribal chiefs after the erection of the tabernacle. Now the tabernacle was erected on the first day

[1] Cf. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, p. 24. A double New Year seems to be reflected in Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* II. 150–4), who argues that according to the sun's revolution Tishri is the first month and Nisan the seventh; but that Nisan is rightly called first in the sacred books because it is first in importance. Cf. also Josephus, *Antiquities* I. iii. 3, and Mishnah *Rosh Hashanah* i. 1.

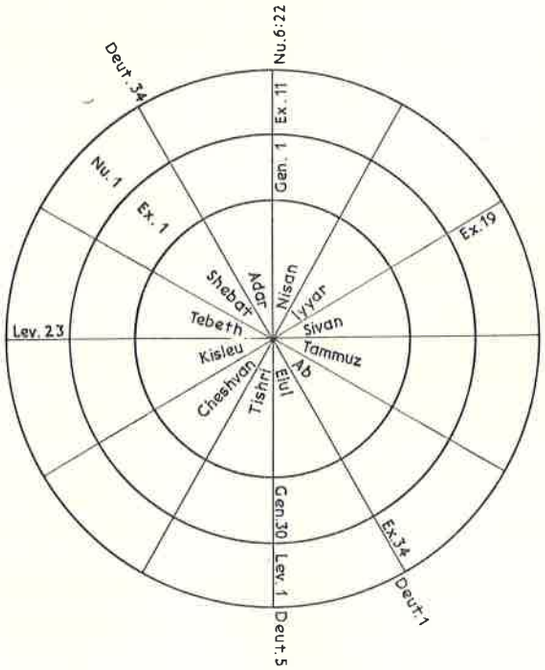
[2] 'The Triennial Cycle', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, v (1893), 420–68 and vi (1894), 1–73.

[3] This was the opinion of Rabbi Joshua ben Chanaya, but Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus disagreed with him, and held that the world was created in Tishri. The dispute is handed down from the closing years of the first century A.D. Cf. also *Bereshith Rabbah* xxii. 4.

of the first month, Nisan (Exodus 40.2); hence tradition assumes that the events recorded in Numbers 6.22 ff. took place on the *1st Nisan*.

The conjecture that the triennial cycle began in Nisan, then, seems a reasonable one. It would follow that Deuteronomy 34 (which records the

TRIENNIAL CYCLE BEGINNING IN NISAN



Nisan	= April approximately	Tishri	= October approximately
Iyyar	= May ,,	Cheshvan	= November ,,
Sivan	= June ,,	Kisleu	= December ,,
Tammuz	= July ,,	Tebeth	= January ,,
Ab	= August ,,	Shebat	= February ,,
Elul	= September ,,	Adar[1]	= March ,,

DIAGRAM 1

death of Moses) would be read in the twelfth month, Adar, and this agrees with a tradition preserved in *Mekilta* to Exodus 16.35 that Moses died on the 7th Adar.[2] Büchler therefore arranged the Torah readings in a three-

[1] A 'Second Adar' was intercalated approximately every third year in order to bring the Jewish lunar year of 354⅓ days level with the solar year.

[2] The same passage in *Mekilta* records a rival tradition that Moses died on the 7th Shebat. I do not entirely accept Dr. Büchler's theory as to the reason for this rival tradition. On the whole question see further below, Chapter 3, p. 29.

year cycle beginning on the 1st Nisan of the first year and ending on the 7th Adar of the third year, and came to the conclusion that Genesis would be begun on the 1st Nisan, Deuteronomy on the 1st Elul, Leviticus on the 1st Tishri, and Exodus and Numbers on the 15th Shebat. It is remarkable that these four dates are precisely those given as 'New Years' in the Mishnah (*Rosh Hashanah* i. 1). The passage runs as follows:

> There are four New Year Days: on the 1st of Nisan is the New Year for kings and feasts; on the 1st of Elul is the New Year for the tithe of cattle (R. Eleazar and R. Simeon say: The 1st of Tishri); on the 1st of Tishri is the New Year for years, and for years of release and for jubilees, for plants and for herbs; and the 1st of Shebat is the New Year for trees (so the School of Shammai; the School of Hillel say: On the 15th of it).

The reasons given for having four 'New Years' are obviously artificial in the extreme, and cannot be taken at their face value; in fact, the discussion seems to amount to a refusal to acknowledge that there had been a change of calendar.[1] However, the important point for our purpose is that the correspondence of these four New Year Days with the days on which the books of the Pentateuch were begun according to the triennial cycle is much too close to be accidental.

Büchler's arrangement is illustrated in the diagram above.

We will consider in detail the allocation of lectionary readings to the first six months of the second year of the cycle. It would seem that four lections were allocated to each month, and if the month happened to contain five sabbaths, or a feast day, the four lections were subdivided to provide the additional readings required. Twenty-one verses was the minimum *sabbath* reading from the Law, but on other occasions, as, for example, during mid-festival, the lesson could be somewhat shorter,[2] and since the sedarim preserved in the Massoretic Text are generally considerably longer than twenty-one verses, these additional lections could be provided without overmuch adjustment. If we allocate four lections a month to the first half of the second year of the triennial cycle, on the assumption that the first sabbath in Nisan fell on the 3rd of the month, we get the following division:

3	Nisan[3]	Exodus	11.1	1	Iyyar	Exodus	16.4
10	,,	,,	12.21	8	,,	,,	16.28
17	,,	,,	13.1	15	,,	,,	18.1
24	,,	,,	15.1	22	,,	,,	19.6
				29	,,	,,	20.2 extra lection

[1] Cf. the discussion of Mishnah *Rosh Hashanah* i. 1 found in the first pages of the tractate *Rosh Hashanah* of the Babylonian Talmud.

[2] Cf. Mishnah *Megillah* iv. 2.

[3] The six months listed contain 30 and 29 days alternately.

7	Sivan	Exodus	21.1
14	,,	,,	22.24
21	,,	,,	23.20
28	,,	,,	25.1
5	Tammuz	Exodus	26.1
12	,,	,,	26.31
19	,,	,,	27.20
26	,,	,,	29.1
4	Ab	Exodus	30.1
11	,,	,,	31.1
18	,,	,,	32.15
25	,,	,,	34.1
2	Elul	Exodus	34.27[1]
9	,,	,,	35.30
16	,,	,,	37.1
23	,,	,,	38.21
1	Tishri	,,	39.33

Such an arrangement would account for many traditions assigning definite dates to Pentateuchal occurrences, the dates being, in fact, those of the sabbaths on which the lections recording the occurrences were read. Thus, for example, we read in *Mekilta* to Exodus 16.1:

> The new moon of the month of Nisan in which Israel went out from Egypt came on the fifth day of the week. Nisan was a complete month [i.e. it had 30 days], so the new moon of Iyyar came on a sabbath. Iyyar was a defective month [i.e. it had 29 days], so the new moon of Sivan came on the first day of the week. For it says . . . 'On the new moon of the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt' (Exodus 19.1). Thus you must say that the Torah was given in the third month on the sixth day of the month and on the sixth day of the week.

If the 1st of Nisan was a Thursday, then the first sabbath in Nisan must have been the third of the month, and the division of lections shown above has been made accordingly. On the sabbath of the 3rd Nisan, then, Exodus 11.1–12.20 would be read. Now this passage not only contains the words 'This month shall be unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you', but it also records the command to Moses to have the Passover lamb ready by the tenth day of the month, which would be the next sabbath. The next lection, Exodus 12.21 ff., describes the selection of the lamb on the 10th Nisan, the very day on which this passage would be read. Further, suitable lections would fall to the Feast of the Passover: according to Büchler 'Exodus 12.29 was regularly reached on the first day of Pesach, and Exodus 13.17 on the seventh, and they were established as the ordinary lessons for those days'. It is also remarkable that the Aggadist mentions a precise date for the giving of the Torah, and remarks that the day was the sixth day of the week, Friday. On what was his conclusion based? Presumably on the system of reading Exodus in a triennial

[1] Büchler allocates Exodus 34.1 to the last sabbath in Ab, Leviticus 1.1 to the last sabbath in Elul, and Leviticus 4.1 to the 1st Tishri. With this arrangement Exodus 35–40 must be divided between the first three sabbaths of Elul, giving very long sedarim. Since, however, there have evidently been numerous shiftings of the sedarim in this part of Exodus, the allocation of seder to sabbath for these last chapters can only be approximate.

cycle, for with the arrangement shown above, the first sabbath in Sivan would be the 7th of the month, and thus the sixth day would be Friday. The Feast of Weeks fell on the 6th Sivan, and Exodus 20, which describes the giving of the Torah, would regularly be reached by that day, and would thus be established as the lesson for Shabuoth. Büchler found similar traditions giving exact dates for the events of the Exodus in *Seder Olam* v and x.

With regard to the rest of the lections for the third month, Exodus 21 would be read on the 7th Sivan, and 22.24 on the 14th: this latter lection the *Seder Olam* (vi) also connects with the same date, remarking that Moses climbed Mount Sinai seven days after the Revelation.[1]

Two further lections are of interest. Exodus 34 would be the reading for the last sabbath of Ab, and a tradition preserved in *Seder Olam* vi tells us that Moses went up Mount Sinai with the tablets of stone on the 29th Ab, precisely the event described in that chapter. The last chapter of Exodus, which describes the setting up of the tabernacle, would be read on the first day of Tishri. The chapter is dated 'in the first month in the second year on the first day of the month', which would be correct on the basis of a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri.

Before we leave the Exodus sedarim, a word must be said about the festival portions. We have noticed that suitable lections for Passover and Pentecost are found in the regular course of reading, so that Exodus 20, for example, became the regular reading for Pentecost among the Palestinian Jews.[2] In this connexion Büchler cites a statement of Mishnah *Megillah* iii. 4, which says:

> For all these [the regular order of readings] is interrupted, on New Moons, on Hanukkah, on Purim, on fasts, and at Maamads [*or*, at the set feasts] and on the Day of Atonement.

The passage is a difficult one because of the variation in readings (which may have arisen through scribal errors on account of the similarity of the words מועדות and מעמדות). Büchler evidently accepts the reading 'at Maamads': with this reading, the problem is raised why Purim, the Day of Atonement, and Hanukkah are mentioned as interrupting the regular order of reading, whereas nothing is said about the rest of the festivals. Büchler argues that the other festivals are not mentioned because they were already suitably provided for *by the ordinary lections of the triennial cycle*. The lessons for Purim, Atonement, and Hanukkah, on the other hand, were

[1] According to the Genizah lists of triennial cycle haphtaroth, the seder which commenced at Exodus 22.24 extended to the end of chapter 24, and the next seder began at 25.1. With this arrangement of sedarim, there is exact correspondence between the reading and the tradition. However, it is evident from the Midrashim that in early times there was inserted an additional seder at Exodus 23.20.

[2] The Babylonian Jews commenced with chapter 19.

chosen from parts of the Pentateuch which would not fall to them in the ordinary course of reading; hence they are listed as interrupting the triennial cycle.[1]

For one further example of the very close connexion between the lectionary system and Jewish tradition we turn to the lections for the first year of the cycle. In this year the lection for Rosh Hashanah (1st Tishri) would be Genesis 30.22 which begins 'And God remembered Rachel'. The Babylonian Talmud, b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b, and the Book of Jubilees xxviii. 24, preserve a tradition that Rachel was 'remembered' on the 1st Tishri. Did the tradition arise from the lection, or the lection from the tradition? Büchler held that the reading came first, and in this case he is almost certainly right.

The correspondence noted by Büchler between the dates on which the Pentateuchal lections were read and the dates preserved in Jewish tradition would seem to constitute a fairly convincing argument for his theory that the triennial cycle began in Nisan, but it does not answer the question whether the triennial cycle was already in use by the first century. Traditions enshrined in such writings as the *Mekilta*, *Seder Olam*, or the Talmud are too late to be used as reliable evidence for the first century. According to Strack,[2] *Seder Olam*, from which Büchler takes many of his examples of traditional datings, was ascribed by tradition to R. Jose ben Ḥalafta (third generation Tannaite, late disciple of R. Akiba). It was probably compiled in early Amoraic times, and was subsequently enlarged or revised. In its present form it can be ascribed to approximately the twelfth century. The points of agreement cited by Büchler between the triennial cycle and the earlier *Mekilta* are impressive, but the *Mekilta* is still too late to be used as evidence for the first century. Most impressive of all, perhaps, is the coincidence of the dates for beginning the reading of the several books of the Pentateuch with the four 'New Years' given in the Mishnah, not only from the closeness of the correspondence but also from the fact that the Mishnah gives the opinions on this point of the rival Schools of Shammai and Hillel, which were active in the first century.

We will now examine the evidence for the theory that the cycle began in Tishri. Büchler's reconstruction of the cycle, impressive though it seems, has been criticized by others. The late Dr. Jacob Mann, for example, wrote of him: 'He brilliantly became involved in an untenable theory of the triennial cycle having started in Nisan, and not in Tishri, which theory resulted in equally unwarranted corollaries as to the origin and the evolution of the whole institution and its features.'[3] Elbogen[4] also raises a serious

[1] According to the Mishnah, *Megillah* iii. 5, Numbers 7 was read at Hanukkah, Exodus 17.8–16 at Purim, and Leviticus 16 on the Day of Atonement.

[2] *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, p. 225.

[3] *The Bible as read and preached in the Old Synagogue*, p. 6.

[4] Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 540, n. 5.

objection to Büchler's theory—an objection based on a statement in b. *Megillah* 29b. In this passage there is a discussion as to the Pentateuchal portion to be read on Sabbath Sheḳalim, the first sabbath in Adar. Two different portions are proposed, '*My food which is presented to me*' (Numbers 28.2 ff.) and '*When thou takest*' (Exodus 30.12 ff.), and the comment is made:

> If it [the New Moon of Adar] falls on the portion next to it [the portion of Sheḳalim], whether before or after, they read it and repeat it. Now this creates no difficulty for one who holds that '*When thou takest*' is read because [the regular portion containing this passage] falls about that time. But according to the one who says that '*My food which is presented to me*' is read, does [the portion containing that passage] fall about that time? Yes, for the people of Palestine, who complete the reading of the Pentateuch in three years.

The statement that the regular portion containing this passage (Numbers 28) falls to be read about the first sabbath of Adar is incomprehensible if the triennial cycle began in Nisan, but it could so work out if the cycle began in Tishri; for, according to Büchler's calculations, Numbers 6.22 was the opening passage of the third year of the cycle, and if this was read in Tishri, by Sabbath Sheḳalim Numbers 28 might well be reached. However, the rest of the Baraitha as found in Tosefta *Megillah* iv. 4 'וכן בשנייה וכן בשלישית וכן ברביעית' is based on the further assumption that the lections for the other special Sabbaths of Adar (Deuteronomy 25.17 ff., Numbers 19, and Exodus 12.1 ff.) might also fall to be read at the correct time in that month in the *regular* sequence of reading the Pentateuch. But this is not possible, even assuming that the cycle commenced in Tishri, and the Baraitha may therefore be pure hypothesis. However, the fact that the statement in the Tosefta seems nonsensical does not necessarily invalidate the statement in the Talmud, and before dismissing it we would do well to consider whether any further evidence can be found for a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri.

Most of the dates given in the Pentateuch fit a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan. For example, Exodus 12, which would be read in Nisan, begins: 'This month . . . shall be *the first month of the year* to you'; a date in the *second* month is given in Exodus 16.1, and Exodus 19.1 is dated 'In the *third* month'. There are two Pentateuchal datings, however, which seem to suggest a triennial cycle beginning in *Tishri*. The first is Deuteronomy 1.3, which is dated 'the eleventh month, the first day of the month'. Now this would suit a Tishri cycle, whereas with a Nisan cycle the passage would be read at the beginning of Elul. The second is Exodus 40.17, which tells how the tabernacle was set up 'in the first month, in the second year, on the first day of the month'. On the basis of a Tishri cycle, this passage would be read on the first sabbath in Nisan in the second year of the cycle, and

thus the time of reading the seder would correspond exactly to the Biblical dating.

Another Pentateuchal passage which might possibly reflect a Tishri rather than a Nisan cycle is Numbers 10.1–10, which tells of the making of two silver trumpets to be sounded 'in the day of your gladness, and in your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months, for a memorial before your God. I am the Lord your God'. With a Tishri cycle this passage might fall to be read on Rosh Hashanah, a feast celebrated with the blowing of trumpets on the 1st Tishri. Certainly the passage seems to be connected with Rosh Hashanah in Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers, for the Midrash interprets the words in verse 10 'I am the Lord your God' as prescribing the Malkiyyoth, i.e. certain passages in which there is a reference to the Kingship of God, *recited on New Year's Day*.[1] (Cf. *Sifre* 77, 19b on Numbers 10.10). The same Midrash on Numbers 10.8, 'the priests shall blow with the trumpets', relates a discussion between R. Tarphon and R. Akiba. R. Akiba held that the words applied only to priests who were without blemish. R. Tarphon retorted that he had seen Shimeon, his mother's brother, who was lame on one foot and yet stood and blew the trumpets. The matter was amicably settled when R. Akiba suggested that perhaps the occasion was *New Year's Day*, when it would be allowed. The Midrash here gives an early tradition, for R. Akiba and R. Tarphon were Tannaim of the second generation, A.D. 90–130. It may be objected that silver trumpets (חצוצרת) are described in Numbers 10, and not the שופר or curved ram's horn used on New Year's Day. But Snaith[2] suggests that the custom of using ram's horns was a later innovation introduced by Rabbi Judah, and shows that Josephus knew of no difference between the trumpets used on Rosh Hashanah and those used at any other time.

Further, it is possible that some of the festival and special lections have been taken over from a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri. We will consider first the regulation in the Mishnah (*Megillah* iii. 6) that 'the blessings and curses', i.e. Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28, are read on fast days. The Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 9) says nothing about general fast days, mentioning only a reading for the 9th of Ab, and giving two conflicting opinions regarding which section is to be read, viz. ואם לא תשמעו (Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28), or כי תוליד בנים (Deuteronomy 4.25–40). This suggests that originally the blessings and curses were read on the ninth of Ab only, and that later on this reading was extended to all public fast days.[3] Now Leviticus 26 would be read on the ninth of Ab in the second year of a Tishri cycle, and Deuteronomy 28 in the third year.

Next, we will consider the lection for Pentecost. The Mishnah (*Megillah*

[1] The Malkiyyoth, however, may not have been introduced until the second century A.D.
[2] *The Jewish New Year Festival*, pp. 169 ff.
[3] Cf. J. Rabbinowitz, *Mishnah Megillah*, p. 107.

iii. 5) ordains Deuteronomy 16.9 for this occasion, but the Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 5) gives an alternative view that Exodus 19 and 20 is the reading, since according to tradition the revelation on Sinai took place on the 6th Sivan, the date of Pentecost. The Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) names alternative lessons from Deuteronomy 16.9 or Exodus 19, and as haphtarah a chapter from Habakkuk or else 'The Chariot' (Ezekiel 1), adding that now the festival lasts two days all four lessons are used. Now Exodus 19 falls to be read at Pentecost with a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, but Deuteronomy 16 falls to Pentecost with a Tishri cycle. It is possible that the alternative lessons for Pentecost reflect the existence, at some period, of synagogues using a Tishri cycle. This would answer the question why, although the festival readings ordained by the Mishnah for Passover, New Year, and Tabernacles were all taken from Leviticus 23, the lesson for Pentecost was chosen instead from Deuteronomy 16: the latter passage may, in fact, have been taken over from synagogues using a Tishri cycle.

Büchler, however, gives a different explanation for the use of Deuteronomy 16 as the lection for Pentecost. In his opinion this reading supplanted an older one from Leviticus 23. The Leviticus lesson was abandoned because of controversy about the meaning of the words 'the morrow of the sabbath' in verse 15, the parallel passage in Deuteronomy lacking this particular ambiguity. Hence the original contentious lesson gave way to a lesson that would raise no difficulties. To the English mind, no doubt, this easy-going compromise would seem the obvious solution of the difficulty, but it does not strike one as quite the sort of solution that would suggest itself to Jewish protagonists disputing on a point of exegesis. An analogous dispute arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees on the question of the *Tamid* offering, and the Pharisees celebrated their victory (in 79 B.C.) over the Sadducees by instituting the public reading of the contentious passage, Numbers 28.1–8. This certainly does not suggest an overriding anxiety that nobody's theological corns should be trodden on.

Finally, a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri may be reflected in a passage in the Talmud (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b, 11a) which records a dispute about the date of the Creation. Rabbi Joshua ben Chanaya held that the world was created in Nisan, but Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus disagreed with him, saying that the world was created in Tishri. The dispute is handed down from the closing years of the first century A.D., and may possibly indicate two different lectionary systems, one reading Genesis 1 in Nisan and the other in Tishri. It is perhaps unlikely that two different synagogue systems should coexist before A.D. 70, since the synagogues of the Diaspora modelled themselves on the Temple, and there was the closest possible connexion between Temple and Synagogue (cf. Mishnah *Taanith* iv. 2), but it might possibly come about after the destruction of the Temple.

We conclude that the evidence is strongly in favour of a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, while the evidence for a Tishri cycle is slight. If, indeed, a Tishri cycle was in use at any time as well as a Nisan cycle, then the double lectionary system must reflect the double New Year, which can probably be traced back to the Babylonian calendar. The old Nippurian year had its new year in the autumn, and this was the custom under Sargon I and under Gudea. Hammurabi, however, changed the New Year festival to Nisan, and this was the date which finally prevailed throughout Mesopotamia. Snaith[1] considers that the double new year was a compromise between an old calendar, which celebrated the new year in the autumn, and Hammurabi's innovation, which insisted on the celebration in the spring.

(ii) *The lections from the Prophets*

We now turn to the question of the haphtarah, or second lesson from the Prophets, which was chosen to illustrate and drive home the first lesson from the Law. The Mishnah (*Megillah* iv. 1–5, 10) mentions the various occasions on which a concluding lesson from the Prophets is read, and discusses whether certain passages should be read as haphtaroth. The tractate *Megillah* of the Babylonian Talmud enumerates certain haphtaroth to be used for festivals and fasts. Other sources are the homiletic Midrashim on the Pentateuchal and Prophetic lessons, such as the *Pesikta* and *Aggadath Bereshith*; the practice of the Karaites, a reform movement of about A.D. 780–800 seeking to restore ancient usages in these matters; and certain Geniza lists of triennial cycle haphtaroth. For our purposes, the main problem raised is whether the haphtaroth were already fixed by the first century A.D., or whether the choice of a haphtarah was left to the discretion of the reader.

Mann has shown the very close connexion between the lections of the triennial cycle and the homiletic Midrashim. He argues convincingly that the Midrashic sections are dependent not only on the sedarim of the triennial cycle but also on the respective haphtaroth to the latter, and that the whole structure and trend of the homilies depend on a technique of drawing upon the haphtarah as the background of the homily. The haphtarah was not used explicitly because it was tacitly employed throughout, the verse used to introduce a particular Petiḥta tallying linguistically with a verse found within the compass of the haphtarah.[2] This gives early evidence for fixed haphtaroth, and Dr. Mann attempts to trace this connexion between the homiletic Midrashim and the triennial cycle lections back into the first century. He instances the sermon preached in Jerusalem on a sabbath several years before A.D. 70 by R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. The seder was Genesis 14.1 and R. Eliezer's Petiḥta was on Psalm 37.15 which tallies with the beginning of the haphtarah to Genesis 14, namely, Isaiah

[1] Op. cit., p. 146.

[2] J. Mann, op. cit., Prolegomena, pp. 3–19.

41.2 ff. Dr. Mann claims that if the process he suggests of correlating the homilies on a given seder by means of the corresponding haphtarah is correct, then the age of the haphtarah Isaiah 41.2 must antedate the destruction of the Second Temple, and the triennial cycle must have been in existence before A.D. 70.

Thackeray[1] suggests that it was the *lectionary* needs of Jewish communities that provided the stimulus for translation of the scriptures into Greek. The Greek Bible of the third century B.C. comprised only the Law, and the translation of the Prophets and the 'Writings' followed in the course of the next two centuries. In the translation of the Prophets he considers that there were two stages: first, a rendering of select passages appointed as lessons for the festivals and the special sabbaths; secondly, a complete version. As an example of the first stage he instances a Greek version of the Psalm of Habakkuk containing lectionary 'catchwords' indicating its use at the Feast of Pentecost. If his conjectures are correct, this would argue fixed haphtaroth at an early stage.

Finally, the New Testament itself seems to furnish evidence that the haphtaroth were fixed by the first century A.D. Frequently in the New Testament a quotation is made from the Pentateuch followed by another from the Prophets, and the pair of quotations turn out to be seder and haphtarah according to the reconstruction of the haphtaroth of the triennial cycle made from Geniza lists, Midrashic sources, &c. Thus, for example, in John 6 the sermon preached by our Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum at Passover-time or shortly afterwards proves on examination to be an exposition of the themes of the sedarim of the triennial cycle for the last sabbath in Nisan or the first in Iyyar, Genesis 6, Exodus 16, and Numbers 11. Now the haphtarah to Genesis 6 was Isaiah 54.9 ff.[2] But verse 14 of this haphtarah was actually quoted by our Lord: thus his sermon was based not merely on Passover themes but on specific Passover lections, *including the haphtarah*. And this is no mere isolated instance; the phenomenon occurs so frequently that it cannot easily be put down to coincidence.

At this point we must mention again the Lukan account of Jesus' synagogue sermon at Nazareth (4.16–30), since an important objection to the theory that there were fixed haphtaroth in the first century has been based on it. Strack and Billerbeck,[3] arguing from the prohibition in Mishnah *Megillah* of the reading of certain passages as haphtaroth, conclude that in the first century the haphtarah was not fixed but depended on the choice of the individual reader. The Lukan passage is cited in support of this, since it is claimed that the section read by our Lord in the synagogue, Isaiah 61.1–2, was never a haphtarah. Mann, however, in a close

[1] *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, pp. 10–14, 43 ff.

[2] Cf. the list of triennial cycle haphtaroth in *Collection Bodleian* 2727[3], 2822[7d].

[3] *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* IV. i. 169 f.

examination[1] of the seder beginning Genesis 35.9, says that an analysis of the Yelammedenu and other homilies justifies the conclusion as to the existence of an underlying haphtarah other than that given in the Geniza fragment B40, namely, Isaiah 61.1 probably extending to 61.9. He concludes that the alternative haphtarah (Isaiah 43.1) was a later innovation, and that the substitution possibly came about indirectly because according to Luke 4.21 Jesus had applied Isaiah 61.1–2 to himself. Thus, according to Mann's reconstruction, Isaiah 61.1 *was* a haphtarah, and Jesus read it not because it was his own choice but because it was the fixed lesson. This agrees with the fact that he did not choose the scroll—it was handed to him.[2]

One other feature of the haphtaroth may be mentioned, namely, the practice of skipping a number of verses, which was allowed in the reading of the Prophetic lections though forbidden in the reading of the Law (Mishnah *Megillah* iv. 4). It might happen that a haphtarah thoroughly suited to its seder in every respect had still the disadvantage of ending with a verse of ill omen, and in this case the reader was allowed to skip until he found later in the book a more auspicious verse with which to close the reading. Thackeray[3] has pointed out certain common features of the haphtaroth for some of the feasts and fasts. Firstly, the selected passage in several instances occupies a position at the end of a book; for example, the last chapters of Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Hosea were all so used. These final chapters are probably foreign to the books to which they are attached. Secondly, several of the lessons are *poems* which seem to be interpolations in their prose context. Thackeray instances the Psalm of Habakkuk and the Song of Hannah. We might perhaps add a third feature—these lections end on a hopeful note which is often in striking contrast to what has gone before. The Psalm of Habakkuk forms a good example of all these features; it occupies a position at the end of the book, it is a poem, and it ends with words of good omen. Is it possible that the problem of the last five verses of Amos, which are generally considered to be a late addition to the book, can be solved by a consideration of lectionary usage? Except for these last five verses, the prophecy is one of unrelieved denunciation and oracles of doom, and without them the reader of a lection from Amos would find himself compelled to end on a note of ill omen.

We conclude, then, that by the first century the haphtaroth, as well as the sedarim, were at least relatively fixed, though the reader of the haphtarah may have enjoyed a certain freedom of choice through the practice of skipping.

[1] Op. cit., pp. 282–9.

[2] If Isaiah 61.1 was haphtarah to Genesis 35, it would fall to the third sabbath in Tishri, i.e. about Sukkoth. I shall hope to show in Chapter 7 the close connexion between these two alternative haphtaroth (Isaiah 61 and 43) and the Tabernacles section of the Fourth Gospel (John 7–9).

[3] Op. cit., p. 45.

There would thus seem to be early evidence for the existence of a triennial cycle, almost certainly beginning in Nisan, though with the possibility that at some stage in the development of the lectionary system certain synagogues used a Tishri cycle, and probably with haphtaroth fixed at an early stage. But on the whole the evidence, though early, is a little too late to be used for the first century, and the problem of how far back the triennial cycle can be traced is still unsolved. Were the sedarim and haphtaroth of the triennial cycle already fixed by the first century A.D.? Or had the synagogue by that time acquired merely the outlines of a liturgy, and was the lectionary system in a state of flux? It is true that some of the halakic Midrashim that are based on the sedarim of the triennial cycle can be traced back in their early form to the second century A.D., but although this implies the probability of a relatively fixed lectionary system in the first century, it falls short of proof. We turn, then, in the next chapter to the question of the origin of the triennial cycle.

3

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PENTATEUCH AND PSALTER

IN the previous chapter it has been suggested that although there is a strong presumption that the triennial cycle was already in use by the first century A.D., this is incapable of strict proof, since nearly all the evidence is later than the first century. In this chapter it will be argued that the origin of the triennial cycle can be traced back to approximately 400 B.C., so that by the first century the lectionary readings of this cycle were no novelty but already old-established and fixed.

The origin of the lectionary system is obscure owing to its very antiquity. According to some scholars the motives which inspired it were polemical or apologetic, and arose from situations such as the struggle against the Samaritans, against the spread of Hellenism, or against Christianity. Others discount the 'anti'-motive and consider that the system was educational in origin. Dr. Mann suggests that the positive aim of familiarizing the ordinary Jew on the leisure days of the Jewish calendar with a knowledge of his religion and tradition should be regarded as the starting-point of this institution.

Dr. Büchler stresses the polemical motive in tracing the evolution of the lectionary system. The first stage was the expounding of short lessons on the Festivals and on four extraordinary sabbaths, the early festival lessons being largely taken from the 23rd chapter of Leviticus. The consecutive reading of the whole Pentateuch on successive sabbaths in a triennial cycle was the last stage of all, and was probably not fixed until about the third century B.C. When, however, we inquire what evidence there is for postulating such a development of the triennial cycle, we find that this theory is largely conjectural, and is based on the *a priori* assumption that the practice of regular synagogue readings had a controversial origin: the festival lessons from Leviticus were the first stage, and these readings were the Palestinian method of meeting the attacks of the Samaritans, who showed their animosity by unorthodox explanations of the portions of the Pentateuch relating to the festivals. In the words of Dr. Büchler 'The people had to be taught . . . how to meet their attack; this could not be better achieved, or in a simpler manner, than by reading and explaining the disputed passages in the Pentateuch on the Festivals themselves which had been made the subject of controversy'. The four special sabbaths (Sheḳalim, Zakor, Parah, and Haḥodesh) likewise originated in controversy on disputed

points of ritual; indeed, three of the lessons allocated to them deal with eminently contentious subjects—the Temple half-shekel, the red cow (both of these are the subjects of special treatises in the Talmud), the fixing of New Year's Day. This assumption that the practice of regular synagogue readings had a controversial origin is then supported by quotations from Jewish tradition, which asserts that the institution of the regular readings from the Pentateuch on sabbath afternoons, Mondays, and Thursdays was the work of Ezra; but the (controversial) lessons for the special sabbaths and the festivals were instituted by Moses himself.[1] Thus, it is said, Jewish tradition recognizes distinct stages in lectionary development.

On the other hand, scholars such as Mann deny a controversial origin and think that the aims underlying the institution were educational. Rabinowitz[2] finds the primal origin of synagogue worship itself in the Babylonian Exile, when, deprived of the Temple and in a strange land, the exiles would meet from time to time, probably on sabbaths, to encourage one another and to find comfort in their affliction. We suggest that consecutive sabbath readings from the Pentateuch might well have been the earliest stage, special readings dealing with controversial topics being instituted later, as and when controversy on specific points arose. If so, what are we to make of Jewish tradition regarding the respective parts played by Moses and Ezra in the institution of the lections? It would seem that Jewish tradition when it deals with origins is not altogether a reliable guide. The Jewish tradition of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is a case in point. Is it not more likely that the authority of Moses was originally claimed for these controversial special lessons[3] and the festival lessons simply in order to boost these lessons? If they were intended to supersede the ordinary cycle lessons, which may well have been instituted by Ezra, some greater authority than Ezra must be invoked for them. In other words, when the needs of controversy made it expedient to replace an ordinary cycle lesson by a special lesson, the special lesson, being an innovation, had to claim earlier authority than the lesson it replaced. A parallel case can be found in traditions concerning the Septuagint. The Greek Bible probably owed its origin to a popular demand among Greek-speaking Jews for a version in the vulgar tongue. The *Letter of Aristeas* (a publisher's blurb advertising a new translation of the Pentateuch into Greek), seeks to commend the merits of the new translation by ascribing its inception to Ptolemy Philadelphus and his librarian, and tells a romantic tale of how the work was carried out. In later writers this story receives embellishments of the miraculous: the

[1] Cf. Jerusalem *Megillah* iv. 75*a*, *Sifra* to Leviticus 23.43, and Tractate *Sopherim* xxi. 4.

[2] L. Rabinowitz, 'The Synagogue and its Worship', in *A Companion to the Bible*, ed. T. W. Manson, p. 453.

[3] It is perhaps of significance that the oldest halakic Midrashim, *Mekilta*, *Sifra*, and *Sifre*, contain no reference to the extraordinary readings on the four special sabbaths.

translators, working independently or in pairs, all produced identical versions; they were no less inspired than the original authors, and so on.

The conclusion would seem to be that there is no adequate evidence that the triennial cycle of synagogue lectionary readings had a controversial origin and thus developed piecemeal. It would seem rather that the Pentateuch itself, like the Psalter, came to be arranged for continuous use in a triennial cycle, a three-year system best suiting the Jewish lunar year. Hence the ordinary cycle lessons would be the earliest, the special lessons (whether controversial in origin or not) being later innovations. In short, the triennial cycle was not superimposed on the Pentateuch, but the Pentateuch was adapted to suit the cycle. If this hypothesis is accepted, then the problem of how far back the cycle can be traced and whether it was already established by the first century A.D. receives an answer. Further, the arrangement of the Pentateuch itself can be expected to throw some light on the question of the time of the year at which the cycle started.

Professor S. H. Hooke in his book *In the Beginning* points out that the members of the school or guild of scribes to whom we owe the compilation of the Pentateuch and the assignment of the Psalms to their proper use at the great religious occasions of the Hebrew sacred year were priests whose interests centred in the Temple and the cult, and whose attitude towards the material with which they were dealing was liturgical rather than historical. He suggests that it was for liturgical reasons that the Priestly writer thought it necessary to prefix a second account of the Creation to the J account, and that Genesis 1.1–2.4a constituted the liturgy of creation which was chanted by the priests on the occasion of the Hebrew New Year festival. It certainly seems reasonable to suppose that the compilers of the Pentateuch had primarily in mind the cycle of the Jewish ecclesiastical year and the needs of public worship, perhaps the worship of the early synagogues. We first hear of the public reading and expounding of the Law in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah: 'So they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading' (Nehemiah 8.8). On any showing, the Pentateuch was finally arranged at a time when the needs of public worship, public teaching of the Law, and the preservation of the traditional seasonal festivals were primary considerations.

It is suggested, then, that the theory that the Pentateuch and Psalter were arranged for continuous use in a lectionary cycle is a reasonable one. It is supported by five items of internal evidence, namely:

1. The Pentateuchal dates.
2. The repetition of themes at the same point in the calendar in the three years of the cycle, and the insertions in the narrative.
3. Indications of two different cycles, one beginning in Nisan and the other in Tishri.

4. The portions of the regular cycle which fall to the festivals.
5. The arrangement of the Psalter.

1. *The Pentateuchal dates*

Most of the Pentateuchal dates fit a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan. Exodus 12, which would be read in Nisan of the second year of the cycle, describes the first Passover and is dated the *first* month of the year (Exodus 12.2). A date in the *second* month is given in Exodus 16.1; and Exodus 19.1, the seder for Shabuoth, is appropriately dated 'in the *third* month'. The third year of the cycle would commence with Numbers 6.22, and in Numbers 9, *in a passage which interrupts the sequence*, we find recorded a second institution of the Passover in the wilderness. Is it by accident that a passage dealing with the Passover has been inserted into the Book of Numbers in just the right position to ensure that it would be read at that same festival? In Numbers 33.38 we read that Aaron died in the *fifth* month, the very time when the passage would be read according to the triennial cycle. In Joshua 4.19 it is recorded that the people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, three days after the conclusion of the mourning for Moses, which lasted thirty days (Joshua 1.11, 3.2; Deuteronomy 34.8). Hence the death of Moses as recorded in Deuteronomy 34 must be dated the 7th Adar. Now this corresponds approximately with the time at which this chapter would be read in the triennial cycle, for, according to Büchler, the readings terminated on the 7th Adar or the last sabbath in Shebat, and the readings for the special sabbaths of Adar then began.

Three further examples should be added. Assuming that Genesis 1 was read on the 7th Nisan, Genesis 2.4 ff. on the 14th, 3.22 ff. on the 21st, and 5.1 ff. on the 28th, then Genesis 6.9 ff., which tells the story of the Flood, would fall to the second month. Now in Genesis 7.11 and 8.14 the dates for the beginning and the end of the Flood are given, both of them being dates for the second month. In the second year of the cycle there is evidence of considerable shifting of the sedarim of Exodus, but presumably (allowing a lunar year of 354 days) Exodus 11.1 ff. might be read on the 3rd Nisan, Exodus 12.21 ff. on the 10th, 12.43 ff. on the 17th, 13.17 ff. on the 24th, 14.15 ff. on the 1st Iyyar, 15.1 on the 8th, leaving chapter 16 to be read on the 15th of the second month. But Exodus 16.1 records that the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Sin on the 15th day of the second month, *precisely the day on which the passage would be read.* In the third year of the cycle Numbers 6.22, 7.48, 8.1, and 9.1 might be read on the four sabbaths of Nisan, leaving chapter 10 to be read in the second month. But chapter 10.11 is dated the 20th day of the second month. The seventh chapter of Numbers is a very long one, containing 89 verses, and if it is divided at verses 18, 42, and 66 (which would give sedarim of not less than

21 verses), then Numbers 10.11 would be read on about the 20th of Iyyar, the date mentioned in the chapter. In any case, the fact of three Pentateuchal datings of the second month being found in passages that would be read in the second month according to the triennial cycle seems to rest on something more than mere coincidence.

2. *The repetition of themes at the same point in the calendar*

With a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, the reading of the two law books, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, began just before Tishri in the second and third years of the cycle respectively. The reading of Leviticus was finished on about the first sabbath in Shebat, and by that sabbath the law code of Deuteronomy would also be finished, leaving the Song of Moses, the Blessing of Moses, and the account of his death to be read during the rest of Shebat and the first sabbath in Adar. Thus the two law codes were read during the same months, though in different years. Now it is unlikely that this coincidence in the lectionary system was achieved without a certain amount of adjustment of the material in the Pentateuch, and if this was so, we have perhaps an explanation of the fact that Exodus contains duplicate accounts of the making of the tabernacle, the second account in chapters 35–39 being nothing more than a tedious repetition of the first account. Is it possible that this second account is simply a piece of editorial padding for lectionary purposes, to ensure that the reading of Leviticus would correspond with the reading of Deuteronomy in the lectionary year?

Near the end of each of the two law books is found a section giving promises of blessing for obedience to the Law, and curses for disobedience (Leviticus 26, Deuteronomy 28). With a Nisan cycle, these chapters, read in the second and third years of the cycle respectively, would fall to exactly the same point in the calendar—the first sabbath in Shebat. If at any period a Tishri cycle was in use, then Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28 would be read early in Ab. Now the Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 9) mentions precisely these two chapters as readings for the 9th Ab, the month in which, according to Jewish tradition, the first and second destruction of the Temple took place. One further example of the repetition of themes in these books at the same point in the lectionary calendar may be mentioned: Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14, both of which give similar laws concerning meats regarded as unclean, would be read at approximately the same time—at the end of Tishri or the beginning of Cheshvan.

Next, we will examine the closing chapters of Genesis and Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 31.14 begins 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die', and the rest of the book tells of the Blessing of Moses on the twelve tribes, his death, and the thirty days' mourning made for him. According to Büchler's allocation of lections, these chapters would be read in the synagogues from about the middle of Shebat onwards.[1] Genesis 49–50 tells of Jacob's dying oracles on the twelve patriarchs, his death, and the seventy days' mourning made for him by the Egyptians. The sequence is exactly that found at the close of Deuteronomy —*oracles, death, specified period of mourning*—and the story would be read at the same time of the year—about the first sabbath in Shebat. Further, the two sets of oracles, Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33, are both obvious insertions in the narratives in which they occur, and the reason for the insertions now becomes plain: the oracles were added purely for liturgical reasons in order that the two books might end with an oracle of good omen for Israel such as 'Happy art thou, O Israel: Who is like unto thee, a people saved by the Lord' (Deuteronomy 33.29). We may compare the later practice of skipping certain verses when reading the haphtarah in order to conclude the reading with a happy ending. It has long been a problem of biblical criticism to determine the dates of these two sets of oracles and the light they throw on the history of the tribes, but only a consideration of the lectionary background shows the principle on which they have been allocated to their respective places in the Pentateuch.

[1] The *Mekilta* on Exodus 16.35 preserves two rival traditions as to the date of Moses' death—the 7th Adar or the 7th Shebat. The first tradition has been worked out from Deuteronomy 34.8 in combination with Joshua 1.11 and 4.19, which could be taken as showing that 33 days elapsed between Moses' death and the 10th Nisan; hence he must have died on the 7th Adar. This tradition, being simply worked out from Biblical dates, needs no explanation. But it is difficult to account for the second tradition (7th Shebat), which seems to disregard Biblical dates, except on the assumption that it arose from the practice of reading Deuteronomy 34 in the synagogue on that date. Büchler points out that with this arrangement, the reading of Genesis, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy would all be concluded on the 7th Shebat; hence this sabbath was at one time the end of the lectionary year, and the tradition found in the Mishnah (*Rosh Hashanah* i. 1) that one of the four 'New Years' was the 15th Shebat receives some lectionary support. Büchler's conjecture is, of course, possible, but there would seem to be a simpler explanation.

Deuteronomy 34.7 read in conjunction with Deuteronomy 31.2 leads to the conclusion that Moses died on his 120th birthday, and Jewish tradition holds to this view (cf. the Targum of Palestine on Deuteronomy 34). Now the passage that records his birth, Exodus 2, would be read in the first year of the cycle on the first sabbath in Shebat, which might lead to the tradition that he was born on the 7th Shebat: therefore, since he died on his birthday, he must have died on the 7th Shebat.

Hence *both* traditions receive support from the Pentateuch as read in a *Nisan* cycle.

Finally, Büchler's theory that the reading of the Pentateuch was brought to an end on the 7th Adar is by no means proved. The tradition to that effect preserved in the *Mekilta* simply reflects the dates given in the Book of Joshua, and thus does not *necessarily* reflect lectionary practice. But even if the tradition does reflect lectionary practice, it could just as well arise from the custom of reading *Deuteronomy 30.11 ff.*, not 34.1, on the 7th Adar. In this seder occur Moses' words 'I am an hundred and twenty years old this day' (31.2). Therefore, since he died on his 120th birthday, he must have died on the day on which these words were spoken, that is, on the 7th Adar. Deuteronomy 31.14 would then be read on the next sabbath, the 14th Adar, Deuteronomy 32.1 on the 21st, and 33.1–34.12 on the 28th; and there would still be a basis in the lectionary calendar for the tradition about the 7th Adar, even though the readings continued until the *end* of Adar.

3. *Indications of two different cycles*

Deuteronomy 32.48 ff. equates the death of Moses with the earlier death of Aaron: 'Get thee up . . . unto mount Nebo . . . and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people.' Now just as this passage would be read in Shebat in the third year of a *Nisan* cycle, so the account of the death of Aaron in Numbers 33.38 f. would be read in the same month, Shebat, in the third year of a *Tishri* cycle.

An examination of the lections for the *first* year of the two cycles shows the same repetition of theme: with a Nisan cycle, the reading for the first sabbath in Shebat is Genesis 49–50, telling of the sickness and death of Jacob; and with a Tishri cycle the reading for the same sabbath is Genesis 23, telling of the death of Sarah. The two passages have obvious affinities:

Genesis 23.2, 19, 20	*Genesis 49.33; 50.1, 3, 10, 13*
And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba . . . and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her. . . . And Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre. . . . And the field and the cave that is therein were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.	And Jacob . . . was gathered unto his people. And Joseph fell upon his father's face and wept upon him. . . . And the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten days . . . and he made a mourning for his father seven days. . . . And his sons carried him into the land of Canaan and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a buryingplace.

In certain years of a Tishri cycle, Genesis 23 would fall to the end of Tebeth, and the lections falling to Shebat would comprise Genesis 24–27. Again the same themes are apparent, for these chapters tell of the deaths of Abraham and Ishmael, and include two sets of oracles on Jacob and Esau. Thus if both a Tishri and a Nisan cycle are taken into account, we find four Pentateuchal passages telling of death and mourning rites falling to *Shebat*:

Using a Nisan cycle:

1st year.	Genesis 49–50.	Oracles on patriarchs. Mourning for Jacob.
3rd year.	Deuteronomy 33–34.	Oracles on the tribes. Mourning for Moses.

Using a Tishri cycle:

1st year.	Genesis 23–25.	Oracles on Jacob and Esau. Mourning for Sarah. Death of Abraham and Ishmael.
3rd year.	Numbers 33.	Death of Aaron.

If, however, a Tishri cycle were used for the first two passages and a Nisan cycle for the other two, then all four passages would fall to the beginning of *Ab*.

It is remarkable that although no specific period of mourning is mentioned in Genesis 25 in connexion with the death of Abraham, yet the Book of Jubilees does add this detail:

'And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. . . . And Ishmael . . . wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave near Sarah his wife, and *they wept for him forty days* . . . and the days of weeping for Abraham were ended.' (Jubilees xxiii. 5.)

Thus the mourning for Abraham is brought into line with the mourning for Jacob and for Moses.

The themes of the lections are just those that are best suited to the myths associated with Shebat and with Ab. Let us consider first of all the month Shebat. The early Assyrian name for this month was araḫ Ḫi-bur, month of the (river) Hibur, month of the river of death. A demon was thought to conduct men to the Hubur river, meaning that they are led to death; and Nergal, lord of the dead, is 'king of the Hubur'.[1] Further, in Shebat, according to an old Sumerian myth, there was danger from demons bringing sickness. Jewish mythology inherited this belief, and through the history of Judaism Shebat has always been considered to be a time when devils, demons, and all evil spirits are at large.[2] This theme of sickness and death appears not only in the Pentateuchal lections for Shebat but also in the Psalms that would fall to that month with a triennial cycle. Psalm 41, for example, seems to be the prayer of a sick man; Psalm 91 speaks of deliverance from plague and pestilence. It has been suggested that this latter Psalm is a polemic, in devotional form, against current methods of securing oneself against demons;[3] and certainly the contents of the Psalm, and its interpretation in Midrash *Tehillim*, are closely connected with the myths associated with Shebat. Verse 6, which speaks of 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday' is interpreted in the Midrash as referring to the demon Keteb (קטב) who rages at noonday, and Rabbi Huna says of him 'The poisonous Keteb is covered with scales and with hair, and sees only out of one eye, and the other is in the middle of his heart'.

The lections and Psalms seem equally suited to the month Ab. If Psalm 91, for example, is allocated to its place in the calendar with a Tishri cycle, it falls to the first sabbath in *Ab*; hence it is interesting to find in the continuation of the Midrash quoted above that Keteb stalks about from the 17th Tammuz to the 9th Ab, and that Rabbi Johanan commanded the schoolmasters not to whip the children at this time of the year. The fact that the themes of Shebat reappear in the lections for Ab is not surprising, for from early times we find indications of the desire to maintain an

[1] Cf. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, p. 38.
[2] S. Langdon, op. cit., p. 142.
[3] Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms in the Jewish Church*, pp. 230–54.

equality between the two halves of the year, and similarity between the myths of months which are opposite to each other in the cycle of the year. Hippolytus (*Philosophumen.* v. 13) tells us that the Chaldeans regarded those Signs which are exactly opposite to each other, e.g. Gemini and Sagittarius, as twin signs (δίσωμα); and this balance between the two halves of the year would follow naturally from the solstices and equinoxes. With regard to Ab, then, the 9th of this month in the Assyrian calendar is marked as the day when the souls of dead men are released from their confinement in the nether world. But it is just this day that is the great day of lamentation in the Jewish calendar. It was explained in the Rabbinic period as a day of remembrance for the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and for its destruction by Titus in A.D. 70. The Hebrew records in the Book of Kings place the fall of Jerusalem on the 7th Ab; Jeremiah says that it took place on the 10th; thus the later Jewish choice of the 9th Ab seems to have been taken directly from the Assyrian calendar.

If we bear in mind the sombre character of the myths associated with Ab, then the mourning rites mentioned in the lections that would fall to that month with a Tishri cycle (seventy days' weeping for Jacob, thirty days' for Moses) are of interest, since it seems possible that they have been influenced by some ancient mourning cycle among the Jews. Is such a mourning cycle to be found in the custom of weeping for Tammuz, the vegetation god who dies in the summer heat and sleeps in the underworld during the month Ab? The custom is mentioned by Ezekiel (8.14), and his vision of the women weeping for Tammuz in Jerusalem is dated the fifth day of the *fifth* month, Ab, according to the LXX.[1] Furthermore, one of the lectionary sequences that we have noted as falling to Ab with a Nisan cycle is Genesis 23–25. Immediately before, in Genesis 22, we read of the sacrifice of Isaac, the 'only son' (יחיד, one of the titles of Tammuz). Again, among the post-exilic fasts mentioned by Zechariah is one for the fifth month (Zechariah 7.3, 8.19).[2] However, this is mere speculation; whatever mourning rites may lie behind these Pentateuchal passages, it seems clear that their place in the Pentateuch is not accidental but has been determined for lectionary reasons.

Let us now look at some further examples of the way in which the Pentateuch reflects a double lectionary cycle. An obvious example is found in the two similar stories in Genesis 24 and Exodus 2. Both passages depict scenes beside a well. In the Genesis story, Rebekah drew water for Abraham's servant and became the bride of Isaac, whilst Exodus 2 tells how Moses encountered the seven daughters of the priest of Midian beside a well, assisted them to draw water for their flocks, and became the husband

[1] In the Hebrew text the vision is dated the *sixth* month.

[2] The fast is associated with ritual weeping: cf. Zechariah 7.3, 'Should I weep in the fifth month, separating myself, as I have done these so many years?'

of Zipporah. Exodus 2 falls to Shebat with a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, and Genesis 24 falls to Shebat with a cycle beginning in Tishri.

In Chapter 2 we allocated the lections of Exodus to a year in which the first sabbath of Nisan fell on the 3rd of the month, and found that Exodus 20.1 ff. would be read on Shabuoth, the 6th Sivan, Exodus 21.1 ff. on the 7th Sivan, and 22.4 ff. on the 14th. With a Tishri cycle, the lections from Deuteronomy that would fall to this same period, the first half of Sivan, would be Deuteronomy 14.1 ff., 15.7 ff., and 16.18 ff. The second of these lections contains the reading known as 'Seven weeks' (Deuteronomy 16.9), which the Mishnah (*Megillah* iii. 5) gives as the proper lesson for Pentecost, precisely the time when it would be read in the regular course with a Tishri cycle. If we now compare the two sets of lections, we find again the same similarity of theme as has already been noticed in other parts of the Pentateuch when a double lectionary cycle has been taken into account:

Exodus 21.1–23.19	*Deuteronomy 14.1–16.18*
21.2. If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing . . . (various extensions of the law concerning slaves).	*15.12.* If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee . . . (various extensions of the law concerning slaves, which closely resemble those in Exodus 21).
23.10. Six years thou shalt sow thy land . . . but the seventh year thou shalt *let it rest* (תשמטנה) and lie fallow, that the poor of thy people may eat. (שמט only here and in Deuteronomy 15 in the whole of the Pentateuch).	*15.1.* At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release (שמטה). And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release (שמוט) that which he hath lent unto his neighbour.
23.14–17. (The law of the three annual festivals.)	*16.1–17.* (The law of the three annual festivals.)
23.19. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.	*14.21.* Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

We have so far accounted for this constant repetition of themes by postulating a double lectionary cycle which would reflect the double New Year brought about by Hammurabi's innovation. However, another explanation can be found in what might be called the polarity of the Hebrew year, which is such that, even with a single lectionary cycle, the ideas connected with, say, the summer solstice, and reflected in the lections read at that time, are repeated in the lections that would fall to the winter solstice six months later. Whichever explanation is accepted, the cumulative evidence we offer cannot be merely accidental: it bears witness to a careful adaptation of the Pentateuch for lectionary purposes.

4. *The festival portions*

We now turn to the portions of the Pentateuch which would fall to festivals in the regular reading of the cycle.

(*a*) *Passover*. In the first year of the cycle, the portion read on the sabbath nearest to Passover would be the story of Cain and Abel, which in Jewish tradition (*Pirke R. Eliezer*) is associated with the Passover. The Targum of Palestine interprets the words מקץ ימים in Genesis 4.3 to mean the 14th Nisan, similarly linking the passage with the Feast of the Passover.

Is it possible that this story describes a more primitive form of the Passover than that found in the Priestly code? The Passover was the sacrifice of the firstborn. The redemption of the firstborn is closely connected with it in Exodus 13.11 ff., Deuteronomy 15.19, 16.1–8. This alone explains the last plague on the Egyptians in the story of the exodus: because Pharaoh prevented the Israelites from offering their firstlings, Yahweh took from the Egyptians their firstborn, whilst the firstborn of the Israelites were protected from 'the destroyer' by the ritual killing of a lamb. Although some of the Old Testament laws demand that an animal substitute should be offered in place of the human firstborn, there are passages which class human with animal firstlings as equally the property of God—'Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits and of thy liquors; the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen and thy sheep; seven days shall it be with its dam; on the eighth day shalt thou give it to me' (Exodus 22.29 ff.). It has therefore been suggested that the numerous bodies of children about eight days old found buried in jars at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo were bodies of firstborn children sacrificed at some more primitive form of the Passover before children were redeemed. The story of Cain and Abel seems intelligible if it is interpreted in terms of a primitive Passover. Abel rightly offers the firstborn of his flock, and his offering is accepted. Cain, the firstborn, brings an offering of the fruit of the ground, and by thus neglecting to bring the correct offering puts his life in danger: 'If thou doest not well, sin coucheth at the door, and unto thee is its desire.' Exodus 4.24 tells how Moses' life was endangered through some similar ritual neglect on his part. Professor Hooke (*In the Beginning*, p. 41) considers that the setting of a mark on Cain's forehead indicates that the murder was a ritual murder, the celebrant being divinely protected. The slaying of Abel, then, is a ritual murder and is Cain's attempt to avert from himself the danger that threatened him—or possibly, since he is the firstborn son, to redeem himself.

In the second and third years of the cycle the portions read on the sabbath nearest the Passover would be Exodus 13, the institution of the Passover, and Numbers 9, telling of a second institution of the Passover in the wilderness: 'And the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, *in the first month* of the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, Moreover let the children of Israel keep the Passover in its appointed season' (Numbers 9.1). In Exodus 13 the theme of the redemption of the firstborn appears: 'Sanctify unto me all the firstborn . . . both of man and beast: it is mine' (13.2). 'All the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem' (13.13). The same theme appears in Numbers 8—the Levites are given to God instead of the firstborn: 'For all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast. . . . And I have taken the Levites instead of all the firstborn' (8.17, 18). Thus of the three sedarim of the triennial cycle for the sabbath nearest to Passover, two speak of the institution of the Passover and the redemption of the firstborn, whilst the third, which tells of a time when the Passover had not yet been instituted, tells of Abel who offered the firstborn of his flock and of Cain who incurred guilt or perhaps danger by neglecting to do so.

(*b*) *Pentecost*. For the special festival lesson the Mishnah (*Megillah* iii. 5) cites Deuteronomy 16.9. Now this is precisely the lection that would fall to be read at Pentecost with a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri. With a cycle beginning in Nisan, the regular readings for the three years of the cycle would be Genesis 14.1 or 15.1, Exodus 19–20, and Numbers 17.16–18.32. The first two of these passages occur in the Pentateuch before the institution of the Feast of Harvest, and the third passage makes no specific allusion to it. However, we do find a remarkable similarity of themes in all three lections—the theme of the making of covenants and the King-Priest theme. In the first year of the cycle, Genesis 15 tells of the covenant made with Abraham 'between the pieces' and Genesis 14 tells of his meeting with the King-Priest Melchizedek. The seder for the second year tells of the covenant made on Mount Sinai whereby Israel was constituted 'a kingdom of priests', and the seder for the third year describes the 'covenant of salt' made with Aaron and his sons and their perpetual priesthood. The Book of Jubilees dates the covenant made with Abraham (Genesis 15) as 'the new moon of the third month', and further, breaks off from a description of Abraham's rescue of Lot (Genesis 14) to introduce, in a most abrupt manner, a passage based on the corresponding seder for the third year, Numbers 18.[1] Exodus 19, which tells of the covenant at Sinai, is also dated 'in the third month'.

Pentecost was celebrated shortly before the summer solstice, and Thackeray[2] points out a further common theme which runs through the two Prophetic passages cited by the Talmud as haphtaroth for Pentecost ('Habakkuk' or 'The Chariot'—Ezekiel 1) and the two Pentecost Psalms

[1] Cf. Jubilees xiii. 22–29. If, as Charles suspects, there is a lacuna at xiii. 25, then the impression of abrupt transition of thought may arise simply from this fact, and does not necessarily reflect a triennial cycle. However, it is clear that the author of Jubilees connects Pentecost with the making of covenants (cf. vi. 15, xv. 1).

[2] *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, p. 47.

29 and 68, namely, the theme of the divine chariot-drive or theophany in a thunderstorm, which he associates with the journey from one end of heaven to the other of the midsummer sun and the violent thunderstorms characteristic of that season. His remarks seem to apply also to the regular seder for the second year of the cycle, Exodus 19–20, where we read of the thunder and earthquake on Mount Sinai and (in 20.18) of הלפידם, which possibly means flashes of summer lightning. The word לפיד seems to be one of the key words of these Pentecostal lections. It occurs twice only in the Pentateuch, in the Exodus passage just mentioned and in Genesis 15.17, the seder for Pentecost for the first year of the cycle, where it is translated *torch*. It occurs also in one of the haphtaroth for Pentecost cited by the Talmud,[1] Ezekiel 1.13: 'And in the midst of the living creatures was an appearance like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of *torches*; it went up and down among the living creatures: and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.' Lastly, Judges 15.4, 5 may be mentioned, where the word is used of the firebrands that Samson tied to the tails of foxes to burn up the standing corn, it being *the time of wheat harvest* (15.1). The sedarim of the regular cycle that would fall to Pentecost are thus linked by a close similarity of theme.

(*c*) *The Day of Atonement.* With a cycle beginning in Nisan, the regular seder for the second year that would fall to the sabbath nearest the Day of Atonement would be Leviticus 8.1–10.7, which speaks of atonement made for Aaron and the people. With a cycle beginning on the 15th Shebat (the last of the four 'New Years' mentioned in the Mishnah) Leviticus 15.25–16.34 would be read. Now chapter 16 describes the ritual of the Day of Atonement. With the Shebat cycle, Genesis 41.38–42.17 would be read at this time in the first year, and Deuteronomy 14.1 ff. in the third.

It is interesting to find that with a triennial cycle of psalms beginning on this same 'New Year', the 15th Shebat, the psalm which would fall to the second sabbath in Tishri would be Psalm 32, the psalm used in the Jewish church for the close of the Day of Atonement. The opening verses of this psalm show its suitability for that day:

> Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered,
> Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity,
> And in whose spirit there is no guile.

In verse 6b appears the obscure sentence רק לשטף מים רבים אליו לא יגיעו which the R.V. renders 'Surely when the great waters overflow they shall not reach unto him'. The words have no relation to their context in the psalm, and would appear to be catchwords to the three Torah lessons of the regular cycle for this sabbath, Genesis 41.38 ff., Leviticus 15.1 or 25 ff., and Deuteronomy 14.1 ff.:

[1] b. *Megillah* 31a.

רק (or רע) = Lean, ill-favoured, a reference to the lean cattle of the Genesis lesson. This, however, would give rather a short seder for the preceding sabbath, and probably the seder for Psalm 32 began at Genesis 41.38 and ended at 42.17. If so, the catchword was more likely to have been 'Famine' (רעב), a word which aptly describes the contents of the seder and occurs in it six times.

שטף = To rinse, the catchword to the Leviticus lesson, Leviticus 15.1, with an alternative seder beginning at verse 25. The chapter deals with washings for various uncleannesses, and verses 11–12 run: 'And whomsoever he that hath the issue toucheth without having rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes. . . . And the earthen vessel, which he that hath the issue toucheth, shall be broken, and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water.' It is remarkable that in the whole of the Pentateuch the verb שטף occurs only here and in Leviticus 6.21.

ימים רבים = Many days, the catchword to the alternative reading starting at verse 25: 'And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days . . . .' Thus for the seder beginning at 15.1 the distinctive word was 'rinsed' (the verb occurring only twice in the Pentateuch), whilst for the seder beginning at 15.25 the first distinctive words were 'many days'.

לא תגעו = Ye shall not touch (Deuteronomy 14.8), the catchword to the Torah lesson for the third year, dealing with meats classed as unclean which are not to be touched.

The catchwords for the three years, with an alternative seder for the second year, would thus be 'רעב (or רע) — שטף or ימים רבים — לא תגעו': 'Famine—Rinsed, or Many days—Ye shall not touch.' At a later stage the alternative catchwords for the second year were evidently read as 'לשטף מים רבים' and the rubric was interpreted as part of the text.

We find, then, an intimate link between the Day of Atonement, the Psalm for that Day, and the lections of the regular cycle that would fall to the sabbath nearest that Day with a cycle beginning on the 15th Shebat.

(*d*) *The Feast of Tabernacles.* In the first year of a Nisan cycle Genesis 33 would fall to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles: verse 17 tells how Jacob journeyed to *Succoth* and built *booths* there. Thus a theme suitable for the feast is found in the lection that would be read at the time. In the Book of Jubilees the passage is understood to refer to Jacob's celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, a feast which the author considers was instituted by Abraham (cf. Jubilees xvi. 20–31, xxxii. 4–29). Deuteronomy 11.13 ff., which would be read in Tishri of the third year, gives a promise of seasonable rainfall and fruitfulness if Israel obeys the commandments, and a threat that the worship of other gods will be followed by the shutting up of heaven and cessation of the rain—again a theme suitable for Tabernacles.

(*e*) *The Feast of the Dedication.* With a cycle beginning in Nisan, the regular seder for the sabbath immediately preceding Hanukkah in the third year of the cycle would be Deuteronomy 20, verse 5 of which runs: 'What

man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it (ולא חנכו)? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle and another man dedicate it.' The verb חנך occurs here only in the Pentateuch. The seder for Hanukkah in the second year of the cycle would be Leviticus 24.1, which begins with a law about the golden candlestick, a suitable theme for the 'feast of lights'.

With a cycle beginning in Tishri, the sedarim for the second year that would fall to the period from immediately before to immediately after Hanukkah would be Exodus 25–27. In Exodus 27.20 the law of the golden candlestick is repeated in terms almost identical with those of Leviticus 24.1 ff.:

Exodus 27.20, 21	*Leviticus 24.1–3*
And thou shalt command the children of Israel that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, to cause a lamp to burn continually. In the tent of meeting, without the veil which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the Lord: it shall be a statute for ever throughout their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel.	Command the children of Israel that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, to cause a lamp to burn continually. Without the veil of the testimony, in the tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before the Lord continually: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations.

Further, Leviticus 24.5–9 gives the law for the shewbread. The same theme appears in Exodus 25.23–30.

It may be argued that since Hanukkah was not instituted until the time of the Maccabees, no trace of it ought to be looked for in the Old Testament. In Chapter 9, however, we shall argue that a feast of the winter solstice existed long before the institution of the Feast of the Dedication recorded in the Book of Maccabees, and that the purpose of the Book of Maccabees was to make this earlier pagan feast respectable by linking it with the restoration of the Temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes. Undoubtedly some earlier feast of the winter solstice existed which had scandalous associations, hence, perhaps, its omission from the list of festivals in Leviticus 23, the place of the omission being taken by the passage concerning the lighting of the lamp in the first verses of chapter 24.

5. *The arrangement of the Psalter*[1]

There is a certain amount of Talmudic and other evidence which points to the fact that there existed at one time in Palestine the custom of reading the Book of Psalms on sabbath afternoons in a triennial cycle corresponding

[1] I have discussed this subject in greater detail in 'Some Obscured Rubrics and Lectionary Allusions in the Psalter', *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1952, pp. 41–55.

to the triennial cycle of the Pentateuch. This evidence can be summarized as follows: the comparison of the five books of Moses with the five books of Psalms; the correspondence of the number of Psalms with the number of sabbaths in three lunar years; the fact that just as the Midrashim to the Pentateuch are homilies based on the pericopes of the Torah read during the triennial cycle, so an examination of Midrash *Tehillim* (which contains much old material) establishes beyond doubt that part of its exposition was influenced by the custom of reading the Psalms in a triennial cycle; and lastly the fact that the Midrashim to the Pentateuch, especially *Tanḥuma*, seem also to reflect a triennial cycle of Psalms.

It is suggested that this theory is supported by the internal evidence of the Psalter: certain obscure passages in some of the Psalms are really rubrics which have later been incorporated in the text of the Psalm, and when these rubrics are examined they are found to consist of strings of three words or phrases—the catchwords to the Torah lesson for each of the three years of the triennial cycle for the particular sabbath to which the Psalm was allocated.

We have first to consider the arrangement of the Pentateuch for lectionary purposes. Judging by later practice, each section of the Pentateuch was given a label, consisting of the first or the first distinctive word or words showing the general theme of the lesson.[1] This catchword was written in the margin against the corresponding lesson in the prophetic roll, enabling the reader to find the second lesson from the prophets with ease and speed. Mark 12.26, for example, indicates that the Torah lesson from Exodus 3 was called 'The Bush'. A string of three such catchwords written in the margin of a Psalm would indicate the three Torah lessons for the sabbath to which the Psalm was allocated, and might later be incorporated into the text through lack of understanding of its meaning. An interesting example of this process is to be found in Psalm 81.

Psalm 81. A Psalm for New Year's Day

Midrash *Tehillim* connects verse 3 of this Psalm 'Blow the shofar at the New Moon' with the tradition that it was on New Year's Day that Joseph came out of the prison house as recorded in Genesis 41. Here the Midrash seems to show the influence of the triennial cycle, as Genesis 41 would be allocated to the same Sabbath as this Psalm. The Torah lessons corresponding to Genesis 41 in the second and third years of the cycle would be Leviticus 14 and Deuteronomy 13, and the influence of all three Torah lessons can be seen in the Psalm:

Verse 6. 'He appointed it in Joseph for a testimony, when he went out over the land of Egypt (על־ארץ מצרים).' Cf. Genesis 41.45, 'And Joseph

[1] Cf. Thackeray, op. cit., p. 46,

went out upon the land of Egypt (עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם)'. The mention of Joseph and the phrase used make it clear that it is Genesis 41 and not Exodus 12 that is in mind.

Verses 10 and 11. 'There shall no strange god be in thee: neither shalt thou worship any strange god. I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.' Cf. Deuteronomy 13: 'If there arise in the midst of thee a prophet . . . saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them . . . that prophet shall be put to death, because he hath spoken rebellion against the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of bondage.' The warning against 'other gods which thou hast not known' is repeated three times in the Deuteronomy lesson, and is clearly echoed in the Psalm. It seems clear that the occurrence of the passage in the Psalm is due to lectionary association with Deuteronomy 13, and there is no need to suppose that it has been inserted by a Deuteronomist redactor.

Verse 13. 'So I let them loose after the stubbornness of their heart.' The same word is used of letting loose the living bird in Leviticus 14, the Torah lesson for the second year.

In verse 6b of the Psalm there occurs a string of words which the R.V. renders 'Where I heard a language that I knew not'. The context requires these words to be understood as the words of God, which is impossible, or else involves an awkward change to direct speech, and the passage runs much more smoothly if the words are omitted:

> He appointed it in Joseph for a testimony
> When he went out upon the land of Egypt:
> . . . . . .
> I removed his shoulder from the burden:
> His hands were freed from the basket.

It is suggested that the words which break the continuity of the passage are a lectionary rubric which has crept into the text, the catchwords to the three Torah lessons to which the Psalm corresponds in the triennial cycle: 'שְׂפַת: לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי: אֶשְׁמַע'.

The first word, 'Lip', is the first significant word of the Torah lesson for the first year (Genesis 41.1), which describes Pharaoh's dream of the seven cows that went down to drink upon the *lip* of the river (עַל־שְׂפַת הַיְאֹר).

The lesson for the third year, Deuteronomy 13, contains no particularly distinctive word by which the lesson might be known. What gives the passage its dramatic effect is the thrice repeated warning against any person whatever, prophet, brother, son, or wife, who seeks to turn Israel aside to the worship of other gods, the distinctive phrase being 'Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known', which is also repeated three times. 'Other gods' would seem a somewhat unedifying catchword for

a Torah lesson. There remains 'Which thou hast not known' as a kind of euphemism for 'Other gods', and it is suggested that this is the interpretation of the phrase in the Psalm, reading לֹא יָדַעְתָּ for לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי and supplying אשר from the LXX (γλῶσσαν ἣν οὐκ ἔγνω ἤκουσεν). In the modern Hebrew Bible a seder is marked before verses 7 and 13 of Deuteronomy 13 (6 and 12 in the R.V.), that is, before every verse in which this phrase occurs.

The lectionary catchword to the Torah lesson for the second year, Leviticus 14, was apparently אָשָׁם, 'trespass-offering', which word occurs eight times in the first half of the chapter and relates to the trespass-offering for the cleansing of the leper. The three catchwords would thus have been 'שְׂפַת: אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתָּ: אָשָׁם': *'Lip—Which thou hast not known —Trespass-offering.'* When later these catchwords were taken to be part of the text, the rendering of שְׂפַת as 'a language' seemed to demand some such verb as 'hearken', so אָשָׁם became אֶשְׁמַע, and by the omission of a yod in the second catchword the sentence that now stands in our Hebrew Bible was produced. Such misunderstandings could easily arise as soon as the triennial cycle went out of use.

In our discussion a triennial cycle starting on Nisan 1 has been assumed. If, however, all the other 'New Years' mentioned in the Mishnah (*Rosh Hashanah* i. 1) are taken as beginnings for the readings and Psalms, and allocating fifty Psalms to a year, we get the following results:

Beginning on Tishri 1. Psalm 81 would be for the second Sabbath in Iyyar, when, according to the Book of Exodus, the testing at Massah and Meribah took place. Exodus 16.1 gives the date as the fifteenth day of the second month. It is this very occasion that is mentioned in verse 8 of the Psalm: 'I proved thee at the waters of Meribah.'

Beginning on Elul 1. Psalm 81 would be for the second Sabbath in Nisan, the time of the exodus from Egypt. This would account for the allusion to the deliverance from taskwork in verse 7: 'I removed his shoulder from the burden, his hands were freed from the basket.'

Beginning on Shebat 15. Psalm 81 would be for the first Sabbath of Tishri, and the account of Joseph's release from prison in Genesis 41 would be read with it on New Year's Day, which corresponds with Rabbinical tradition and explains the allusion in verse 4: 'Blow the shofar in the New Moon.'

The conclusion would seem to be that the place of this Psalm in the Psalter was determined on the basis of a lectionary system beginning on the 15th Shebat, and it was thus a Psalm for New Year's Day, but that the existence of other systems was known. This is more probable than the supposition that all synagogues had one cut-and-dried system with no variations, and it accords better with the Mishnah tradition of four 'New Years'.

If these obscured rubrics have been rightly interpreted, they would seem to furnish early evidence for the sedarim of the triennial cycle.

Finally, if the Pentateuch and the Psalter are arranged for a triennial cycle, we find that the theme of any one Psalm is often echoed in its corresponding seder. Psalm 39, for example, would be read on the third sabbath in Tebeth. Verse 12 of this Psalm runs: 'For I am a stranger with thee, a sojourner, as all my fathers were.' Virtually the same words are found in Leviticus 25.23: 'For ye are strangers and sojourners with me'—which would be read on precisely the same sabbath in the second year of the cycle. A similar thought is expressed in Genesis 47.9, which would be read in Tebeth in the first year of the cycle: 'The days of the years of my sojournings are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their sojournings.' Further, the themes of the Psalm correspond with the themes of the Pentateuchal lections for the season Tebeth–Shebat—the brevity of life, the frailty of man, and the inevitability of death:

> Lord, make me to know mine end,
> And the measure of my days, what it is;
> Let me know how frail I am.
> Behold, thou hast made my days as handbreadths;
> And mine age is as nothing before thee:
> Surely every man at his best estate is altogether vanity.

Further links between Psalm and seder are to be found in Psalm 147.14 and Deuteronomy 32.14; Psalm 33.19 and Genesis 42 and 43; Psalm 11.6 and Genesis 19.24. We will quote one of these:

Psalm 11.6. Upon the wicked he shall rain snares; fire and brimstone and burning wind shall be the portion of their cup.

Genesis 19.24. Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.

In each case Psalm and seder would fall to the same sabbath. We might also note Psalm 110, which would be read on the first or second sabbath in Sivan. Verse 4, 'Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek', recalls Genesis 14.18, which would be read at that time. Psalms 90–100, which form one group, would be read during the last two months of the Jewish year. The whole group seems to have been influenced by the closing chapters of Deuteronomy, and in particular the title of Psalm 90, 'A prayer of Moses the man of God', recalls Deuteronomy 33.1, 'And this is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death'. We conclude that the Psalter, like the Pentateuch, shows evidence of having been arranged to suit a triennial cycle.

To recapitulate: The Pentateuchal dates suit the arrangement of the Pentateuch in a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan. This lectionary background explains instances of the repetition of themes (as, for example, the

two sets of oracles found in Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33) and shows the principle on which obvious insertions in the narrative have been allocated to their respective places. The themes of the lection that would fall to any one sabbath with a Nisan cycle are often repeated in the lection that would fall to that same sabbath with a Tishri cycle. The Pentateuchal portions of the regular cycle which fall to the festivals contain themes closely associated with those festivals. Finally, evidence is to be found in the Talmud, Midrash *Tehillim*, and the Midrashim to the Pentateuch that the Psalter also was read at one time in a triennial cycle, and the internal evidence of the Psalter itself confirms this view.

The conclusion seems to be that the Pentateuch in its final form shows internal evidence of having been adapted to suit a triennial cycle of lectionary readings, the material being arranged with considerable ingenuity to provide a quasi-chronological account of the origins and history of Israel from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, and at the same time to provide suitable readings for the sabbaths of the three-year cycle. Why then was Moses divided into five books rather than three? Presumably because the fivefold division was already sacrosanct when the final redaction was made. Alternatively, it may be that a threefold division would have made the scrolls much too big, and that five was the minimum number convenient. Then why not six? Perhaps because Genesis already existed in one scroll, and was suitable with very little redaction for the greater part of the first year of the cycle. Then on the assumption that the remaining material required at least four more scrolls, two books each for the second and third years would be the best possible arrangement.

In any case, it is not to be supposed that the Pentateuch was put together out of some loose fragments for use in a triennial cycle. When we say that the evidence points to its having been adapted for the cycle we mean that the existing five books came, by whatever process,[1] to be used over a period of three years, the cycle commencing in some places in Nisan, in others in Tishri, and that this liturgical use led to the addition of many dates, of catchwords that are virtually cross-references, and very likely of whole paragraphs which previously formed no part of the five books; and

[1] Perhaps a very tentative guess may be made as to this process. Before the final redaction of the Pentateuch, some earlier form of the three narrative books, Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, had already been arranged for consecutive reading in a liturgical cycle. Exodus 40.36–38 (the tabernacle and the cloud) was followed by some part of Numbers 9.17–23. The account of the appointment of Joshua (Numbers 27.12–23) is clearly intended to form a prelude to an account of the death of Moses, and the book originally concluded with a description of that event. Into this Triateuch the final editors inserted the two Law Books, Leviticus (in which the Holiness Code had already been combined with a collection of ancient rules from the Temple) and the Deuteronomic Code, transferring the account of Moses' death to the end of Deuteronomy and redacting the five books to suit a triennial cycle of lections. The insertion of Leviticus upset the arrangement of Numbers, where a new set of dates to suit a triennial cycle has clearly been superimposed on a more ancient system of dating.

further, that it led to a very considerable rearrangement of the material already present in the books. We may say, then, without exaggeration, that the *arrangement* of the Pentateuch as we have it is the effect of liturgical use: we do not say that such use *created* the Pentateuch. In short, the school of writers who finally adapted the Pentateuch had chiefly in mind the cycle of the ecclesiastical year and the needs of public worship, perhaps the worship of the early synagogues, and it may well be that the Jewish tradition which traces to Ezra much that pertains to the reading of the Law and the arrangement of the liturgy is a reliable one.

If this is so, then *the triennial cycle is as old as or older than the Pentateuch in its final form*. It follows that by the first century A.D. the Pentateuchal lections of the triennial cycle must have been already old-established and fixed: an examination of the writings of Philo suggests that by this time a traditional method of expounding these lections had grown up in the synagogues. The examination of the Fourth Gospel against the background of these lectionary readings that follows in Part II bears out these conclusions.

PART II

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

4

THE PATTERN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

1. *Theories of transposition and redaction*

IN the Fourth Gospel the main emphasis is on the teaching of Jesus, and the action is strictly subsidiary. Thus, as has been commonly recognized, the miracles are drawn into the discourses by way of illustration of the argument; the discourses take a primary and the miracles a secondary place. These discourses are nearly all given on the successive feasts of the Jewish year, and in each case the 'text' is taken from the lections read at the feast in question, whilst the purpose of the sermon is to set forth Jesus himself as the fulfilment of the things typified by that feast. The Evangelist, then, is primarily interested in *lectionary* time; and where it suits his purposes he is prepared to alter the traditional order of events, as he does, for example, in his account of the cleansing of the Temple, where he preserves the proper place of the incident in the lectionary calendar while departing from its historic time as preserved in the Synoptic tradition.

It is this feature of the Fourth Gospel that makes any attempt to harmonize its chronology with that of the Synoptics such an unrewarding task. Nevertheless, many of the theories of accidental displacement of parts of this Gospel, and of editorial redaction, seem to rest on a tacit assumption that the true order is that of St. Mark. To give an example, the words '*ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*' (John 14.31) are taken to be an echo of Mark 14.42, spoken not in the supper room but in Gethsemane immediately before the arrest; and it is then suggested that these words must conclude the Supper Discourses and that chapters 15 and 16 must therefore be read at some point before 14.31. This suggestion is supported by no external evidence whatever; and we shall, in fact, try to show that its adoption would spoil the exact liturgical sequence in which the Supper Discourses have been arranged. The same may be said of all the many conflicting theories of displacement and redaction, with one single exception, namely, the proposed transposition of chapters 5 and 6. This is the only transposition in the Gospel that has received wide critical support, and it is the only one

accepted in this book, as it is considered that in every other respect St. John's is the most orderly of the four Gospels. The reasons that have generally been found convincing for the suggested transposition are as follows:

(i) In its present position chapter 5 provides an interlude at Jerusalem which interrupts the Galilean ministry.

(ii) The opening words of chapter 6, 'After these things Jesus went away to the other side of the sea of Galilee', are perfectly natural if Jesus is at the moment of departure near the sea of Galilee, as he is in 4.54, but they are not appropriate after 5.47, which leaves Jesus in Jerusalem. Further, the opening words of chapter 7, 'And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Judaea, because the Jews sought to kill him', are not appropriate to the position at the end of chapter 6, when Jesus is in fact already in Galilee; but they would follow quite naturally after the account of the visit to Jerusalem in chapter 5, the reference to the attempt of the Jews to kill Jesus in 7.19–25 being then an echo of 5.18.

(iii) With the placing of chapter 5 after chapter 6, the two miracles of healing performed on the sabbath are no longer separated, but instead these sabbath healings, together with the account of the controversy with the Jews on the question of sabbath keeping, form a connected narrative comprising chapters 5, 7, 8, and 9.

(iv) If chapter 5 is left in its present position the unnamed feast referred to in that chapter must occur between Tebeth–Shebat (four months before harvest, cf. 4.35) and Nisan, the Passover of the following year (6.4), and must therefore be either a fourth and embarrassing Passover or else the feast of Purim. It seems unlikely that the Evangelist would place two Passovers in juxtaposition, one of them unnamed; and as for Purim, the character of the discourse in chapter 5 has no connexion with the thoughts of that festival.

2. *The arrangement of the Gospel*

With the transposition of chapters 5 and 6, the Gospel falls into three clearly marked divisions, together with a prologue and an epilogue:

Prologue	1.1–18
(1) The manifestation of the Messiah to the world	1.19–4.54
(2) The manifestation of the Messiah to the Jews	6, 5, 7–12
(3) The manifestation of the Messiah to the Church	13–20
Epilogue	21

The first division, 1.19–4.54, shows the impact of the manifestation of the Messiah on people of all conditions, Galileans, Jews of Jerusalem, the disciples of the Baptist, Nicodemus the Pharisee, Judaeans, Samaritans, and lastly a Gentile army officer. In the second division, by contrast, the

manifestation of the Messiah is made specifically to the Jews and the centre of preaching is Jerusalem. Jesus attends in order all the feasts of the Jewish year, and at each of them shows himself as the fulfilment of the things typified by the feast. The section ends with the Jews' rejection of him, which is explained by the Evangelist as the fulfilment of prophecy. In the third division the public ministry is at an end, and our Lord's teaching is given exclusively to his disciples.

At the end of each division (i.e. in chapters 4, 12, and 20) the belief or unbelief of the hearers is recorded. Thus at the end of the first section we read of the faith of the Galileans (4.45) and of the king's officer who 'himself believed, and his whole house' (4.53); whilst the contents of the whole section is aptly epitomized in the words of the Samaritans, 'Now we believe . . . and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world' (4.42). The second division ends with a record of the unbelief of the Jews in the teeth of signs: 'But though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him' (12.37). The third division ends with the confession of faith of Thomas the disciple, and the blessing pronounced on those who 'have not seen, and yet have believed'. Having finished his record of the acceptance or rejection of the revelation of God in Jesus, the Evangelist addresses his readers directly with the words 'Many other signs therefore did Jesus . . . which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his name' (20.30, 31).

This division of the Gospel is illustrated in Diagram 2, which is a plan of the Gospel arranged for three and a half lectionary years, working from the inner circle outwards. In the first two divisions of the book (inner and middle circles, chapters 1–12) liturgical and historical time correspond; in the third division, however, an entire lectionary year is traversed between chapters 13 and 20, though the historical events recorded in this section all took place in little more than a week. In short, the Johannine 'chronology' has been determined by liturgical rather than by historical considerations.

With regard to the first two divisions, chapters 1–12, the marks of time given in the Gospel appear to justify this arrangement. Where a particular feast is specifically mentioned there is, of course, no difficulty about dating the chapter, but where no particular month or feast is named we have to look for other less obvious marks of time. The second division of the book is particularly clearly dated, for it is based on the sequence of Jewish feasts from the Passover of chapter 6 to a time six days before the following Passover (12.1). Chapter 6 of this section, then, is dated Passover-time. Chapter 5 mentions a feast falling between the Passover of chapter 6 and the Tabernacles of chapter 7, and is therefore either Pentecost or the Feast of the New Year on the 1st Tishri, either of which dates would agree well with the fact that, at the time when the healing recorded in this chapter took

place, the sick lay in the open air under the shelter of porches. Chapters 7 and 8 are dated Tabernacles-time. The miracle of the healing of the blind man (chapter 9) is introduced by Jesus' words 'I am the light of the world' (9.5), which recall the saying of 8.12; thus the presumption is that chapter 9

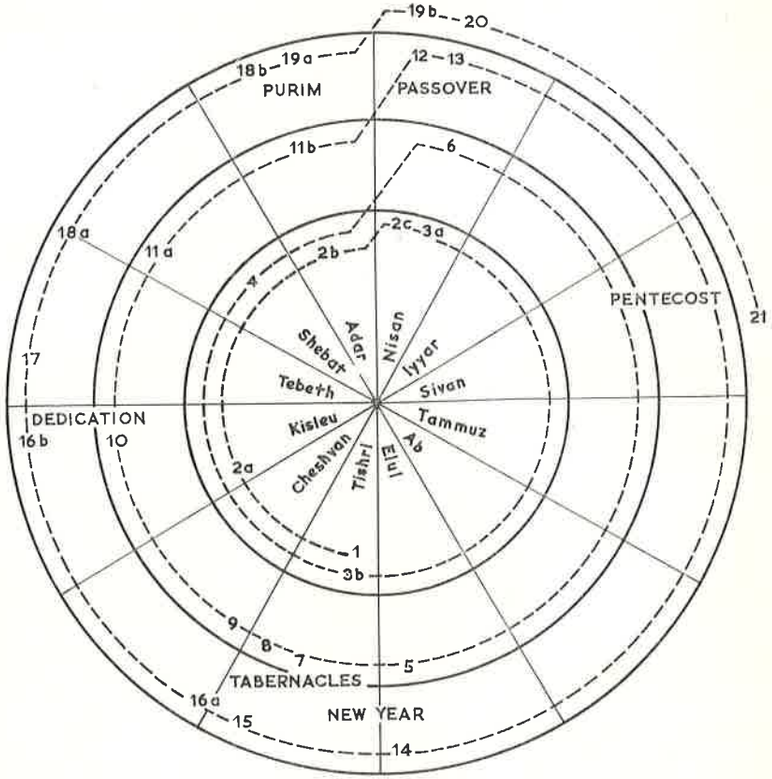


DIAGRAM 2

is to be dated Tabernacles-time or immediately afterwards. Further, the reference in 9.1 'as he passed by' is presumably to Jesus' passing out of the Temple (so the gloss on the previous verse, 8.59), in which case the events of chapter 9 would follow shortly after the controversy in the Temple recorded in chapter 8. Chapter 10 is dated the Feast of the Dedication. Chapter 11 lies between Dedication and Nisan (chapter 12), and thus falls in Tebeth, Shebat, or Adar. Chapter 12 is dated six days before the Passover, and thus completes the year's cycle.

We now turn to the first division of the Gospel, chapters 1–4. John 1 is unmistakably a Christian meditation on the first chapter of Genesis, the

account of the creation of the world—an event which was held by some to have taken place in Nisan, by others in Tishri.[1] John 2.13 mentions a time shortly before Passover, and 2.23 mentions the Feast itself. The discourse with Nicodemus follows without a break, and is based on lectionary readings for Nisan. No precise indication of time is given in 3.22–36. Chapter 4 can be dated by Jesus' words 'Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?' (verse 35). Barley began to ripen about the middle of Nisan, and Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks, marked the commencement of wheat harvest, and is called the 'feast of harvest' in the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 23.16). Four months to the beginning of wheat harvest would thus be early in Shebat, and in fact the chapter tallies remarkably closely with the lectionary readings for the first or second sabbath in Shebat.

The marks of time given in the Gospel, then, seem to justify the allocation of chapters shown on the diagram for the first two divisions of the Gospel. The same cannot be said of our third division, chapters 13–20, for the *historical* events recorded in this cycle begin on the day before Passover (13.1) and end with the appearance to Thomas a week after the resurrection. The claim that an entire *lectionary* year is traversed between chapters 13 and 20 of the Gospel rests on detailed and cumulative evidence that will be adduced later and that cannot easily be summarized here. For the present we must be content to make a bare statement of the claim and to offer the only evidence in support of it that is independent of detailed investigation of lectionary readings, namely, the evidence of language.

The claim, then, is that the third division of the Gospel recapitulates the second division; that in this way the themes of the succession of feasts found in the second division reappear in the Supper Discourses *in the same order*; and that this repetition of themes ultimately depends on the repetition of the lectionary cycle. The repetition of festal themes is as follows:

Passover	The themes of John 6 are repeated in John 13				
New Year	,,	,,	5	,,	,, 14
Tabernacles	,,	,,	7–9	,,	,, 15.1–16.24
Dedication	,,	,,	10	,,	,, 16.25–18.27
Purim	,,	,,	11b	,,	,, 18.28–19.27

Chapter 19.28 ff. returns to Passover and quotes the lection that would be read on the second sabbath in Nisan, Exodus 12.46.

The language of the third division seems to bear out this claim. The verb τρώγω appears only in chapters 6 and 13, and these chapters are further linked by the mention of Judas' betrayal of the Lord. The theme of the Second Coming appears in chapter 5 and is repeated in chapter 14; further, chapter 5 contains Jesus' promise of 'greater works' than those the Jews

[1] See further below, Chapter 12, pp. 173–5 and 177.

have already seen, and this promise is repeated to the disciples in 14.12: the words *μείζονα τούτων* (*ἔργα*) occur only in these two places in the Gospel. Chapter 15 begins 'I am the true vine'—words appropriate to Tabernacles, the season of the vintage. Chapter 9 tells how the man born blind was put out of the synagogue for his confession of Jesus as the Christ, and the theme reappears in chapter 16.2 with the words 'They shall put you out of the synagogues'. In chapter 10 the discourse on the Good Shepherd is called a *παροιμία*, and this word is used again only in 16.25, 29. The verb *σκορπίζω* of the scattering of sheep and the scattering of the disciples at the arrest occurs in 10.12 and 16.32 and nowhere else in St. John's Gospel. Chapters 16.25–17.26 contain no less than *ten* close verbal parallels with chapter 10. The words *αὐλή*, *θυρωρός*, occur only in chapters 10 and 18. The counsel of Caiaphas recorded in chapter 11.49 ff. is carried out in chapter 19.18. These may appear to be only slight literary parallels; but the chances against their occurrence twice in the same order by accident are enormous.

3. *The themes of the three divisions of the Gospel*

(*a*) *Chapters 1–4: The manifestation of the Messiah to the world.* The note of universalism sounds throughout this section. Jesus is 'the light which lighteth every man coming into the world' (1.9),[1] 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world' (1.29), 'the Saviour of the world' (4.42), and his incarnation is the expression of God's love for *all* men (3.16).

In these four chapters the history of the Christian Church from the call of the earliest disciples to the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles is recapitulated. Chapter 1 tells of the incarnation, the preaching of John the Baptist, and the formation of the new Church. Chapter 2 speaks in veiled language of the events of the Passion week—the destruction of the temple of Jesus' body and the resurrection. Chapters 2.23–4.54 relate incidents which foreshadow the later missionary activity of the Church and the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

The itinerary of chapters 2.23 ff. has evidently been carefully arranged on the basis of the promise in Acts 1.8: 'Ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' This passage sets the programme for the missionary work of the Church. 'The whole verse, including the promise of the Spirit, the gift of power, and the geographical instructions, forms a summary of the narrative of Acts; chapters 1–7 are placed in Jerusalem, 8–9 in Judaea and Samaria, and 10–28 take us step by step from Caesarea to Rome' (F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 71). Exactly the same order is followed in the Fourth Gospel. Our Lord teaches in Jerusalem (2.23), in Judaea (3.22), and in

[1] כל באי עולם is a common rabbinic expression for 'every man'; cf., for example, *Wayyikra Rabbah* xxxi. 6.

Samaria, where he sees in the faith of the Samaritans a foreshadowing of the harvest of the Gentiles (4.35, 39); and finally heals the son of a Gentile. The theme of the whole cycle is aptly expressed in the words of the Samaritans 'This is indeed the Saviour of the world'. Our Lord's itinerary sets the pattern for the later apostolic ministry, and his words and works are recounted in the light of that later ministry; hence the Evangelist seems sometimes to put on Jesus' lips the reflections of a later age: 'We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness' (3.11); 'No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man, *which is in heaven*' (3.13); and sometimes Jesus' words have a curiously retrospective ring: 'I sent you to reap that whereon ye have not laboured: others have laboured, and ye are entered into their labour' (4.38). The first cycle, then, reflects the later experiences of the Church in its missionary labours as related in the Acts.

The Evangelist sees the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles as coinciding with the passing away of the Jewish system of worship centred in the Temple at Jerusalem, hence the prominent place that he gives to the incident of the cleansing of the Temple. The Divine presence is no longer bound to the Temple, but to the person of Christ. Jesus therefore is the centre of all worship, which is henceforth 'neither in this mountain (Gerizim) nor in Jerusalem' but 'in spirit and in truth' (4.21, 23). The Evangelist therefore bases this first division of his Gospel mainly on those lections of the Jewish calendar which deal with the theme of the Temple, and shows how they are fulfilled in Jesus, the new Temple.

(*b*) *Chapters 6, 5, 7–12: The manifestation of the Messiah to the Jews.* The second cycle of the Gospel is set mainly in Jerusalem. Jesus attends in order all the feasts of the Jewish year, and at each of them shows himself as the fulfilment of the things typified by the feast. Thus at the Feast of the Passover he shows himself as the living bread that came down from heaven, of which the manna was a type. The fathers ate the manna and died, but he who eats the eucharistic bread shall live for ever. At the Feast of the New Year, when the thought of God's judgement of men would be in the minds of all, Jesus declares that the Father has committed all judgement to the Son. At Tabernacles, the feast of the sun and the rain, Jesus proclaims himself the light of the world and the giver of living water; thus the ritual of the feast, the water-pouring and the lighting of candelabra, is fulfilled in him. At the Feast of the Dedication, when the synagogue lectionary readings told of the coming Messiah, the Shepherd of Israel, Jesus calls himself the Good Shepherd. In Shebat, the mourning point of the lectionary, when the lectionary readings spoke of sickness and death, the Evangelist records Jesus' words 'I am the resurrection and the life'. Of the seven instances of *ἐγώ εἰμι* coupled with a predicate in the Gospel, five occur in this section (viz. 6.35, 8.12, 10.7, 10.11, 11.25). Finally, the second cycle of the Gospel

is brought to a climax with the raising of Lazarus and Jesus' presentation of himself to the Jews as Messiah. Their rejection of him in spite of the miracles they had witnessed is declared to have been the fulfilment of prophecy: 'But although he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on him, that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? . . . For this cause they could not believe, for that Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and he hardened their heart' (12.37–39). With this quotation from Isaiah and a final warning of the judgement that awaits those who reject the light, the Jewish section of the Gospel ends, and after this no more public teaching is recorded. Except for chapter 11, the Evangelist bases this section of the Gospel on the regular lections of the triennial cycle that would fall to be read at the successive feasts of the Jewish year.

(*c*) *Chapters 13–20: The manifestation of the Messiah to the Church.* In the third cycle of the Gospel, Jesus, having withdrawn from the world, devotes himself to the instruction of his disciples. Just as in chapters 5–12 the Jewish feasts were shown as fulfilled in him, so now the whole festal cycle is repeated and shown as fulfilled also in his Church, the true Israel. If Tabernacles, the feast of the vintage, points to him who is the true vine, it typifies also those who are the branches.[1] So close is the bond that unites our Lord and his disciples, that the events of his earthly life are re-enacted in the life of the Church, and the Supper Discourses abound with sayings illustrating this theme: 'If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you' (15.20); 'He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also' (14.12). At the Feast of Tabernacles (chapters 7–9) the man born blind was put out of the synagogue for confessing Jesus to be the Christ. In the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses (15.1–16.24) our Lord tells his disciples that history will repeat itself: 'They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God.' The theme of the Supper Discourses may aptly be given in the words 'As he is, even so are we in this world' (1 John 4.17). The things typified by the Jewish feasts, then, are fulfilled in Jesus and his Church, and of this the Christian eucharist is the outward expression. We have seen that an entire lectionary year is traversed between chapters 13 and 20, though the historical events recorded in this section all took place at a single Passover. Thus for the Christians all the Jewish feasts are fulfilled in the Passover, their only primitive annual feast, and the

[1] It is often suggested that chapter 15.1 'I am the true vine' refers to the wine of the Lord's Supper, and that this passage forms an exact complement to chapter 6.35 'I am the bread of life'. But there is nothing to prove that chapter 15 has any reference to the eucharist; hence there is no more reason to link the saying with 'I am the bread of life' than there is to link it with 'I am the light of the world' or 'I am the Good Shepherd'. It would seem that if the words do in fact refer to the eucharistic cup, they do so via the Feast of Tabernacles. See further below, Chapter 7, p. 118.

Christian eucharist, though it primarily fulfils Passover, is also the recapitulation of the whole Jewish festal system. The Evangelist, then, bases the first part of his third cycle, the Supper Discourses, on the same lections as were used for the second cycle for the Jewish feasts from Passover to Dedication. With regard to the remainder of the third cycle, chapter 18 is based on the lections of the sabbath following Dedication, and the themes of Dedication are continued. Chapters 18.28–20.31 are based on the lections for Purim and Passover, and chapter 21 on the lections for Pentecost. This last chapter is usually looked upon as an Epilogue, but since it tells how Jesus 'manifested himself again to the disciples', and deals with the missionary work of the Church in its aspects of evangelism and pastoral care, it may with equal reason be looked upon as the concluding chapter of the third division.

4. *The relation of the Gospel to the Jewish lectionary system*

The lectionary background of each chapter of the Gospel can be ascertained by noting the particular sabbath of the Jewish year to which it is allocated in Diagram 2, and then finding, from the list of sedarim on p. 234, what are the lections of the three years of the triennial cycle for that particular sabbath.[1]

The question is now raised whether St. John's allocation of the discourses to specific sabbaths of the Jewish year has a genuine historical basis or whether it is a mere literary device. We may reasonably assume that Jesus' synagogue sermons would be remembered, not as isolated units, but against the background of particular seasons or festivals of the Jewish liturgical year, and that the seder and haphtarah read before in the synagogue would be remembered along with the particular sermon. Thus the Evangelist would to a certain extent be bound by the historical tradition, for not only would the sermon be traditionally associated with a particular season of the year, but also the very themes of that sermon would be drawn from the Old Testament lessons read on the sabbath when Jesus preached it. However, the *year* in which any particular sermon is represented as having been preached probably depends simply on the Evangelist's arrangement of his material.

We shall now consider the repetition of themes that is so marked a characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. On the assumption that the lectionary readings have influenced the Gospel, we may expect to find the same themes dealt with at the same point in the calendar, and this will account for the internal parallelism or self-contained allusiveness of the Gospel. This point

[1] It should be noted that St. John's threefold division of his Gospel is not an imitation of the three years of the triennial cycle. Thus, for example, the account of the raising of Lazarus depends mainly on a lection read in Shebat in the *first* year of the triennial cycle, although this incident occurs in the *second* division of the Gospel.

is worked out in detail in the chapters that follow, and for the present we will give a single example only, namely, chapters 7–9 in the second division of the Gospel and 15.1–16.24 in the third division, both of which sections fall to the Feast of Tabernacles (see Diagram 2). One of the prophetic lections read at Tabernacles was Isaiah 66, verse 5 of which runs 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word: Your brethren that hate you, that cast you out for my name's sake, have said, Let the Lord be glorified.' The verses that follow speak of the travailing woman who brings forth a man child. St. John seems to have taken this Tabernacles lesson as a prophecy of the persecution of the Christian Church by the Jews, and we find allusions to it in both the Tabernacles sections of the Gospel:

Isaiah 66.5	*John 7.7*	*John 9.24, 34*	*John 15.18 ff.*
Your brethren that hate you, that *cast you out for my name's sake*, have said, *Let the Lord be glorified.*	The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth because I testify of it that its works are evil.	*Give glory to God*: we know that this man is a sinner. . . . The Jews had agreed, that if any man should confess him to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. *And they cast him out.*	If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you. . . . But all these things will they do unto you *for my name's sake.* . . . They shall put you out of the synagogues . . . whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God.

The passage in Isaiah goes on to speak of the travailing woman, and of the joy of those who see the nation reborn. This messianic passage lies behind the theme of the brief sorrow of the travailing woman and her joy at the birth of a man child in John 16.16 ff.; indeed, Isaiah 66.14 'ye shall see, and your heart shall rejoice' is virtually reproduced in John 16.22. This Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses begins 'I am the true vine', an appropriate saying for the feast which celebrated the harvest of the vine.

5. *The purpose of the Gospel*

A consideration of the arrangement and themes of the Fourth Gospel, and of the Evangelist's evident interest in Jewish worship, seems to lead to the conclusion that his purpose in writing was twofold:

(*a*) To set forth Jesus as the fulfilment of the whole Jewish system of worship.
(*b*) To preserve a tradition of Jesus' discourses and synagogue sermons in a form suitable for liturgical use in the churches.

Such glimpses as his Gospel affords us of the historical circumstances in which he wrote seem to show that such a twofold purpose was timely.

Part of his purpose, then, is to show Jesus as the fulfilment of Judaism. Thus the Jewish sacrificial system is shown as pointing to him who is the

'Lamb of God'; the visits of Jesus to Jerusalem to keep the Jewish festivals are recounted only to show how every feast foreshadows him (7.37–39); and the fulfilment of the Jewish scriptures in Jesus is one of the dominant themes of the Gospel (5.46, 12.37–41, 13.18, 19.24, 36). This is no novel teaching: variations on this theme appear throughout the New Testament. What is new in the Fourth Gospel is the Evangelist's emphasis on the corollary that in fulfilling Judaism Jesus makes it obsolete. With the coming of the new order of worship, that of Jesus and his Church, the old order, that of the Jewish Church, is not transformed but rendered void, and its exponents are treated as a part of 'the world', just like the Gentiles. Between Judaism and Christianity there can be no question of compromise: to be a follower of Jesus means, for St. John, irrevocable separation from contemporary Judaism.

The Evangelist *appears* to be led to this conclusion by the rigid logic of his thought. Entry into the new order means entry into eternal life, and is effected by the faith that unites the believer to Jesus, the source of life. Thus the Jews, who reject Jesus, are self-condemned by that very act to exclusion from eternal life: 'He that believeth not the Son shall not see life' (3.36). Further, rejection of Jesus, who speaks the truth that he hears from God, implies a hatred of evident truth that marks the Jews as being of their father, the devil, the 'liar, and the father thereof' (8.44, 45). It is precisely because they are not of God that they cannot understand Jesus' words (8.43, 47). If this line of reasoning is pursued to its logical conclusion it would seem to follow that the coming of Jesus into the world effects no *essential* alteration, but simply reveals who are the children of God and who are of their father the devil. It is significant that the verb μετανοέω, to repent, is not used in the Fourth Gospel. It might almost appear, then, that the basis of St. John's thought is a gnostic dualism. However, elsewhere in the Gospel we find expressed the belief that Jesus takes away the sin of the *world*, and that no one who comes to him will be rejected by him, so it would seem more likely that this tension of predestination and choice (which, of course, is not peculiar to St. John) appears in an acute form in his Gospel because of the particular circumstances of the Christian Church when he wrote. The sharpening of the controversy between Jesus and the Jews that is found in the Fourth Gospel may reflect some crisis in John's time in the relations between Christianity and Judaism. At times of crisis a Church will close its ranks, and the contrast between believers and unbelievers will thereby be sharpened. The Christian preacher will be inclined, under stress of the urgent situation, to present eternal issues in terms of black or white, salvation or perdition: the Jewish Rabbi will do likewise.

Three passages in the Gospel seem to reflect some such crisis in the Church of St. John's day, namely, 9.22, 12.42, and 16.2, which speak of

believers in Christ being put out of the synagogue because of their confession of him. The term used, ἀποσυνάγωγος, is peculiar to John in the Greek Bible. The closest parallel to the situation presupposed by St. John seems to be found in the twelfth of the Eighteen Benedictions, the so-called 'Heretic Benediction' (*Birkath ha-Minim*), which was composed by Samuel the Small at Jamnia in the time of Gamaliel II, *c.* A.D. 85, and which reflects the policy of the Pharisaic schools towards Jewish Christians during this period. In its earliest form this Benediction must have run somewhat as follows: 'For the excommunicate let there be no hope, and the kingdom of pride do Thou quickly root out in our days. And let the Christians (the Nazarenes—הנוצרים) and the heretics (המינים) perish as in a moment. Let them be blotted out of the book of life, and with the righteous let them not be written. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who subdueth the proud.'

The immediate result of the insertion of such a 'Benediction' into the liturgy would be to make it impossible for Jewish Christians to take part in the worship of the synagogue. The three passages in St. John's Gospel already mentioned may be connected with such a result, and would show how the Christians understood the benediction to operate against them. But there is evidence that the inclusion of this Benediction in itself proved to be insufficient; and it was found necessary to add a further regulation to the effect that, though it did not greatly matter if the synagogue reader left out certain passages in the service, nevertheless if he left out *this* denunciation of the *minim* he must go back and repeat it, under penalty of being suspected of Christianity or some other variety of *minuth* (j. *Berachoth* v. 3). The conclusion would seem to be that among the readers of the Fourth Gospel were Jewish Christians who had been put out of the synagogue, being regarded, reasonably enough, as apostates from Judaism. Moreover, the fresh regulation enforcing the recital of the Benediction seems to show that the very leaders of the synagogue worship were open to suspicion of Christian leanings, and that many Jewish Christians saw no compelling reason to break away from Judaism, and clung to the synagogue and its worship as long as they were able to do so. The severing of the links with their own people and their traditional worship must have been painful, and many of them must have been tempted to revert to Judaism.

Such a situation would explain St. John's twofold emphasis on Jesus as the fulfilment of Judaism and on the impossibility of compromise with Judaism. It would also explain a somewhat puzzling feature of the Fourth Gospel, namely, that although the Evangelist's Jewish origin comes out in every word of his writings, although he is in no doubt that 'salvation is from the Jews', and although his Gospel is woven on the framework of the Jewish lectionary system, yet he treats his own people as a part of 'the world', and his very use of the term 'the Jews' has a curious note of detachment.

Finally, St. John may have wished to preserve a tradition of Jesus' synagogue sermons, and to present it in a form which would be familiar and acceptable to Christian Jews who had been recently excluded from the synagogue, and who perhaps missed the exposition of the scriptures which they had heard there sabbath by sabbath. Schlatter, indeed, suggests that the Fourth Gospel was written for liturgical use: it was to be read in the congregation.[1] If so, this would point to the development of a Christian liturgy designed at first to supplement the liturgy of the synagogue, and finally, as the rift with Judaism widened, to take its place.[2] This is by no means to suggest that St. John intended his Gospel to be read, snippet by snippet, in a three-year lectionary cycle, since, to go no further into the matter, the long discourses do not lend themselves to such a treatment. But he may well have wished to provide sermons for the great occasions of the Christian year which would in fact be Christian commentaries on the relevant Old Testament lections of the triennial cycle. Thus our third division, chapters 13–20, might well be designed as a Paschal lection; and the fact that it is based on the regular lections of the triennial cycle for the feasts of the entire Jewish year would simply add point to the Evangelist's theme that for the Christians all the Jewish feasts are fulfilled in the Passover, their only primitive annual feast (though represented by every Lord's Day), and that the Christian eucharist, though it primarily fulfils Passover, is also the recapitulation of the whole Jewish festal system.

[1] A. Schlatter, *The Church in the New Testament Period*, p. 300.

[2] Early Christian worship seems to have assimilated itself to Jewish synagogue worship, and elements of this assimilation still persist in Christian liturgy today. The early lectionary system of the Syriac-speaking Churches, for instance, shows striking affinities with the triennial cycle. It would seem possible that at some stage in the development of Christian liturgy readings from the Gospels and Epistles were added to the sedarim and haphtaroth of the triennial cycle. Time would sometimes have to be made for this additional material by cutting short some of the readings, just as, for example, Psalm 119 is 'cut' in the Anglican Church: hence Justin's remark about the readings being continued 'as time permits' (*Apology* i. 67).

5

THE FEAST OF THE PASSOVER

THE exposition of St. John's Gospel that follows is based on the conclusions of Part I, namely, that a triennial cycle of lectionary readings beginning in Nisan was already well established by the first century A.D., and that the allocation of sedarim, at any rate, to the sabbaths of this three-year cycle may be known with a fair degree of accuracy. With regard to the haphtaroth found in Geniza lists, Midrashic sources, and so on, the Fourth Gospel itself provides decisive evidence that many of these lections were in use as early as the first century.

We shall begin with the first chapter of the second division, John chapter 6, continue to the end of the Gospel, and then conclude with an examination of the first division, John chapters 1–4. Such an arrangement is not wilful obfuscation, but has been determined simply by the fact that the second division, John 6–12, best illustrates the relation of discourse to lection, since it is based on the firmly-dated sequence of festivals from the Passover of chapter 6 to the Passover of chapter 12. The third division up to the end of the Supper Discourses (John 13–17) will be examined at the same time, partly to save tedious repetition (e.g. in restating what were the lections for any particular festival), and partly because by this method the dependence on the lectionary system of the repetition of festal themes in the second and third divisions of the Gospel can be shown most clearly.

This will bring us to the end of the Supper Discourses. The third division will next be completed; and last of all we shall examine the first division, John 1–4. The first division has been left until the last for several reasons: it is the shortest; it is based on selected lectionary readings which deal mainly with the theme of the Temple, not on the whole festal cycle; it includes a passage (3.22–36) which contains no mark of time; and, finally, it presents an interesting complication which can more easily be demonstrated when the pattern of the second and third divisions of the Gospel has been clearly established.

We begin, then, with St. John's second Passover. In John 6 the two miracles of the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea are related in substantially their traditional form, but in such a way as to develop more clearly their symbolic allusion to the events of Passion week—the last supper, the crucifixion, and the resurrection. The feeding symbolizes the last supper; the Lord's withdrawal from his disciples, when

they enter the boat, represents his separation from them by his death and burial; and the walking on the sea denotes his return to them in the resurrection. In the account of the feeding, the sacramental atmosphere of the scene is intensified by St. John's use of the solemn word εὐχαριστήσας (cf. 1 Corinthians 11.24) in place of the more common word εὐλόγησε used by the Synoptists (Mark 6.41 and parallels), and only in the Fourth Gospel is it recorded that when the multitude had been fed, Jesus said to the disciples 'Gather up the broken pieces (κλάσματα) which remain over, that nothing be lost' (6.12), thus emphasizing the sacredness of the sacramental bread. Further, in the discourse that follows, the bread that Jesus gives is his *flesh*, and the movement of thought from *bread* to *flesh* is almost unintelligible unless the reference in verse 4 to the Passover anticipates the last Passover and the thought of the last supper governs the whole narrative. The Evangelist undoubtedly intends his narrative of the distribution of the loaves to be understood as symbolic of the eating of Christ's flesh in the eucharist.

The eucharistic theme underlying the whole discourse provides the explanation of the paradox of the two sayings 'Except ye munch the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves' (6.53) and 'The flesh profiteth nothing' (6.63); and also the sudden mention of Judas in 6.70 f., 'One of you is a devil. He spake of Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; for it was he that should betray him, being one of the twelve.' The exact parallel occurs in 13.10 f. (the Passover section of the third cycle of the Gospel): 'Ye are clean but not all. For he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, ye are not all clean.' Judas took part in the life-giving meal, yet afterwards he went out and betrayed the Lord. Hence the mere partaking of the flesh does not of itself guarantee eternal life. Judas appears in chapter 6 as an example to illustrate that faith is essential in the eucharist, and the words of verse 63 apply especially to him: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life. But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning . . . who it was that should betray him.' As confirming this interpretation it is interesting that the verb τρώγω is used outside this chapter only in 13.18 in the Fourth Gospel, and there it is used of Judas: 'He that muncheth my bread lifted up his heel against me.' It is the possession of the Spirit that is the guarantee of eternal life, and the gift of the Spirit is to those who eat in faith. Without such faith, the mere physical act of eating is useless; and of this Judas is the supreme example.[1] Thus the theme of the eucharist and the last supper underlies the whole discourse in chapter 6.

Just as the feeding symbolizes the last supper, so the walking on the sea denotes the return of the Lord to his disciples in the resurrection. Jesus

[1] Cf. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 101.

withdrew into the mountain alone; the disciples crossed the sea to Capernaum. At this point the Evangelist introduces the theme of darkness: 'And it was now dark, and Jesus was not yet come to them.' The theme of the darkness that follows the withdrawal of the Light of the World is one that occurs in all Passover sections of the Gospel. In 2.19 Jesus predicts his own death, and there follows immediately the account of how Nicodemus came to him *by night*; the withdrawal of Jesus in 12.36 follows the warning 'Yet a little while is the light among you. Walk while ye have the light, that darkness overtake you not'; in 13.30 the Evangelist tells how Judas left the upper room to betray the Lord, and immediately adds 'and it was night'; and in 20.1 he describes the visit of Mary Magdalene to the tomb 'while it was yet dark'. We may compare Matthew 27.45, 'Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour'.

It is noteworthy as confirming this interpretation of the walking on the water that Luke omits the parallel account in Mark, but transfers material from that account, and from the account of the feeding of the five thousand, to a resurrection appearance and eucharistic meal in chapter 24 of his Gospel. Mark 6.48 'and he would have passed by them' is echoed in Luke 24.28 'he made as though he would have gone further'. Mark 6.49, 50 'they supposed that it was an apparition, and cried out, for they all saw him, and were troubled' is similarly echoed in Luke 24.37 'they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld a spirit'. *Bread* figures in the account of the meal taken with the two disciples who were walking to Emmaus, and *fish* in the account of the appearance to the eleven, while the phrase 'the breaking of the bread' (verse 35) may have a eucharistic significance (cf. Acts 2.42).

The two miracles of chapter 6, then, symbolize the last supper and the death and resurrection of the Lord. Exactly the same sequence is found in the next Passover section of the Gospel, chapter 12, where the supper at Bethany is followed by the anointing of Jesus' feet, which he interprets as the preparation of his body for burial, and by a discourse on the theme of death and resurrection. This repetition of themes in the Passover sections of the Gospel is directly related to the lectionary background. Jesus' crucifixion was at Passover time; hence his death was interpreted in the light of the lessons read in the synagogue at that time, and because of this association of ideas the fact that at the crucifixion his legs were not broken is considered as the fulfilment of the ritual direction concerning the Passover lamb found in the lectionary readings for the second and third years of the cycle, 'neither shall ye break a bone thereof' (Exodus 12.46, Numbers 9.12).

We now turn to a consideration of John 6 in the light of the lectionary background. The notes of time in this chapter raise certain difficulties. In verse 59 we learn that the two miracles of the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea were interpreted by our Lord in a sermon

preached at Capernaum 'in synagogue', or, to use an equivalent expression, 'in church', on which occasion he apparently followed the usual practice of basing his discourse on the synagogue lectionary readings for the day. *Codex Bezae*, two manuscripts of the Old Latin version, and St. Augustine add that the occasion was a sabbath day. Earlier at verse 24 we learned that the crowds had sought and found Jesus at Capernaum, but the discourse with its many interruptions and questions ('Rabbi, when camest thou hither?—What doest thou for a sign?', and so on) suggests a less formal occasion than a synagogue sermon. Further, although the miracles recorded in verses 1–21 took place shortly *before* the Passover, and the discourse was given next day, yet the lections on which Jesus' sermon is based are those that would be read towards the *end* of Nisan. Possibly the Evangelist has conflated an informal discussion held at Passover-time with a synagogue sermon preached shortly afterwards.

The lections we must consider, then, are those for the second half of Nisan, especially those for the last sabbath in that month, Genesis 6.9 ff., Exodus 15.1 or 22,[1] and Numbers 11. The lections for the second year of the cycle tell of the crossing of the Red Sea and the gift of the manna; hence the two miracles are just those that would be most appropriate for Passover-time, and the theme of Jesus' sermon precisely that which would drive home to the crowd assembled in the synagogue the lesson of the Old Testament passage already read. The two signs, symbolizing the last supper and the death and resurrection of the Lord, are thus related to the lectionary background as follows:

> The feeding of the five thousand: The eucharist, seen in terms of (*a*) the gift of the manna (Exodus 16 and Numbers 11), and (*b*) the contrast between the eating that brought death into the world (Genesis 3) and the eucharistic bread that brings eternal life.
>
> The walking on the sea: The conquest of death and Satan by the crucifixion and resurrection, seen in terms of the overthrow of Pharaoh at the Red Sea (Exodus 15).

We turn first to the feeding of the five thousand. In the Johannine account the diminutive *ὀψάριον* is used for *fish* where the Synoptists use *ἰχθύς*. The former word is not found in the LXX, but a similar word is used in Numbers 11.22. In John 6 the bread of life is the flesh (*σάρξ*) of Jesus. In all other New Testament passages which refer to the Lord's Supper the word used is not *σάρξ* but *σῶμα*. It is often suggested that the reason for the use of *σάρξ* is to be found in the strongly anti-docetic interest in the Fourth Gospel; but a sufficient explanation is found in the lectionary background of John 6: Israel in the wilderness asked for *flesh* to eat

[1] The regular seder as listed in the Geniza fragments was from 14.15 to 16.27, but there is Midrashic evidence for a fresh seder here as well as for one at 15.22.

(Numbers 11.4, 13, 18, 21, 33; Exodus 16.3, 8, 12). There are close similarities of thought and language between John 6 and Exodus 16, Numbers 11:

Numbers 11 (LXX)	*Exodus 16 (LXX)*	*John 6*
v. 1. And the people murmured sinfully before the Lord.	*v. 2.* All the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron.	*vv. 41, 43.* The Jews therefore murmured concerning him.... Jesus answered and said unto them, Murmur not among yourselves.
vv. 21, 22. And Moses said, The people among whom I am are six hundred thousand footmen, and thou saidst, I will give them flesh to eat.... Shall sheep and oxen be slain for them and shall it suffice (ἀρκέσει) them? or shall all the fish of the sea (πᾶν τὸ ὄψος τῆς θαλάσσης) be gathered together for them, and shall it suffice them?	*v. 18.* He that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered less had no lack.	*vv. 7, 9.* Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them (οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς) that every one of them may take a little.... There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two fishes (ὀψάρια), but what are these among so many?
v. 13. And Moses said unto the Lord, Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh that we may eat.	*v. 12.* Towards evening ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be satisfied with bread.	*vv. 51, 55.* I am the living bread which came down out of heaven ... yea and the bread which I will give is my flesh .... For my flesh is true meat, and my blood is true drink.

A clue to the link between the accounts of the giving of the manna in Exodus 16 and Numbers 11 and the seder for the first year of the cycle, Genesis 3, is given by the remark in Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers 11.7, 'And the manna was like coriander seed, and the appearance thereof as the appearance of bdellium', on which the Midrash comments, 'Namely, like the bdellium of the garden of Eden' (of which it is said, Genesis 2.12) 'And the gold of that land was good, there is bdellium'; that is to say, the manna was the food of Paradise. The association of ideas found in the Midrash may depend on the occurrence of the word *bdellium* or may possibly reflect the triennial cycle. Phrases from the Genesis seder are interwoven with the discourse on the manna in John 6, and this accounts for the way in which the theme of eternal life is linked with the theme of the heavenly bread:

Genesis 3	*John 6*
v. 3. Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.	*v. 50.* This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die.
v. 22. And now lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever (LXX ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).	*v. 51.* I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever (ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).
v. 25. So he drove out the man (LXX καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὸν Ἀδάμ).	*v. 37.* Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out (οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω).

In the eucharist the curse is undone and paradise restored. Instead of the eating that brought death there is offered the eating that brings eternal life. The thought of the eucharistic bread as the antidote to the forbidden fruit of Genesis 3 appears in St. Gregory of Nyssa's Catechetical Oration: 'When we had tasted of that which brought dissolution to our nature, of necessity we needed in turn something to reunite the severed elements, in order that such an antidote passing into us might by its own proper counteracting influence repel the mischief already introduced into the body by the poison. What then is this? It is nothing else than that Body which was shown to be superior to death and which became the source of our life' (*The Great Catechism* xxxvii, Library of the Nicene Fathers, p. 504).

Our Lord's sermon, then, is based on the sedarim that would be read towards the end of Nisan. We now turn to one of the lessons from the Prophets that would be read at that time, namely, Isaiah 54.9–55.5, a passage which all authorities agree in allocating as haphtarah to Genesis 6.9.[1] Interesting parallels are found in John 6:

Isaiah 54.9–55.3	*John 6*
55.2. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live.	*v. 27.* Work not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you. *v. 63.* The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life.
54.13. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord.	*v. 45.* It is written in the prophets, And they shall all be taught of God.

Thus the true food of the soul is the word of God. Now it is precisely this interpretation that Philo gives when he discusses these Passover sedarim: witness, for example, his curious exegesis of Exodus 16.15, 16, whereby he interprets οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἔδωκε Κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν. Τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα (ὃ συνέταξε Κύριος) as meaning that the bread given to the Israelites to eat was 'this word' (τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα).[2] Earlier in the same tractate Philo not only links together Genesis 3 and Exodus 16, but also explains that the manna symbolizes the word of God. Commenting on Genesis 3.14, 'Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life', he says that there are two things of which man consists, soul and body; the body fashioned out of earth has food akin to it which the earth yields, while the soul is fed on divine food,

[1] Cf. the Geniza fragments at the Bodleian, Cat. Neubauer 2822[7d], where this haphtarah is listed as containing 14 verses (Isaiah 54.9–55.5). However, in Cat. Neubauer 2727[3] only 3 verses are listed (54.9–11); and MS. 2103 of the Adler Collection (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York) consists of 9 verses (54.9–17).

[2] *Legum Allegoria* III. lx.

for it is fed by knowledge and not by meat and drink. Philo then continues: 'That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the sacred word, "Behold I rain upon you bread out of heaven". You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such words as God shall have poured like rain out of that lofty and pure region of life to which the prophet has given the title of heaven.'[1] So the food of the soul is the knowledge or instruction given by the word of God. The same thought is contained in the Isaiah haphtarah already cited, which begins with the promise 'All thy children shall be taught of the Lord' and continues with the thought of the instruction that nourishes the soul as with wine and milk (Isaiah 54.13, 55.1 ff.). The Targum of Isaiah on this passage runs: 'Ho, every one that wishes to learn, let him come, and learn . . . come, hear and learn, without price and without money, instruction that is better than wine and milk.'

Feeding on the manna, then, symbolizes hearing the life-giving word of God, which nourishes the soul as bread does the body. It is remarkable that the Isaiah haphtarah is actually quoted in John 6.45, and it is likely that our Lord was following a line of exegesis that had already become traditional when he said, 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life' and 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life'.

One further theme is contained in the account of the feeding of the five thousand and the discourse which follows, namely, the theme of *faith*. In considering the story of the manna and its application to the eucharistic bread, it was suggested that Judas is mentioned in John 6.70 as an example to illustrate that without faith the mere physical act of eating the bread is worthless. Professor O. Cullmann, indeed, seems to suggest that the repeated emphasis on the necessity for faith found in our Lord's sermon springs directly from the problem presented by Judas, who was present at the last supper and yet betrayed the Lord.[2] It would seem rather that this theme of faith comes directly from the lectionary readings for Nisan, in particular Exodus 14.31, 'And Israel saw the great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the Lord: and they believed in the Lord, and in his servant Moses'. The same theme of faith is developed in the homilies in *Shemoth Rabbah* on Exodus 15.1 ff.[3] and its haphtarah Isaiah 26.1 ff., 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever'.

It is possible that when Jesus preached his sermon on the bread of life,

[1] *Legum Allegoria* III. lv, lvi.

[2] O. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 101.

[3] *Shemoth Rabbah* xxiii, and *Tanḥuma Beshallaḥ*, §§ 11–15, contain sections to אז ישיר (Exodus 15.1), each of which ends with a peroration, thus testifying to its being a unit to a given Torah reading.

this theme of trustful confidence in God's provision had already become a traditional theme in the exposition of the lectionary readings for Nisan. Philo, commenting on Exodus 16.4, *Sifre* on Numbers 11, and *Mekilta* on Exodus 14.31, all mention faith as the central lesson to be learned from the story of the gift of the manna. Whereas by the decree of Genesis 3.19 ('in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread') the earthly bread had to be earned by man's own efforts, the manna was the gift of God, bread from heaven provided without toil, and all that was required of Israel was faith in the goodness of God, who would give every day sufficient for the needs of the day. The cardinal sin of Israel in the wilderness was the sin of unbelief, as is shown in Numbers 14.11, 'How long will this people despise me? and how long will they not believe in me, for all the signs which I have wrought among them?'. This theme of unbelief appears in the sedarim for Nisan in all three years of the cycle. In the Exodus seder, it appears in the distrustful prudence of the Israelites who sought to lay by some of the manna against the needs of the following day; in the Numbers seder, in the question 'Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt for nought'; and in the Genesis seder in the discontent of Eve with the provision made by God. Philo,[1] commenting on Exodus 16.4, 'Behold, I rain upon you bread out of heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather the day's portion for a day', says:

> He that would fain have all at once . . . lacks hope if he expects that now only, but not in the future also, will God shower on him good things; he lacks faith if he has no belief that both in the present and always the good gifts of God are lavishly bestowed on those worthy of them.

Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers 11.6 says:

> R. Shimeon says: Why did not the manna come down on Israel once a year? In order that their hearts should be turned to their Father which is in heaven. Here is a parable. Unto what can it be likened? It is like unto a king who decided to supply his son with food once in a year, for the whole year. The son did not meet his father except at that time when he received from him the allowance. Then the father changed his mind, and decided to feed his son once a day. And the son said, If I shall meet my father once a day, it is enough. So in Israel a man having five boys or girls would sit and keep watch, saying: 'Woe unto me! perhaps the manna will not come down tomorrow and we shall die of starvation! May it be thy will that it *should* come down.' And thus their hearts were turned to heaven.

Mekilta similarly quotes a saying of R. Eleazar of Modiim (first century): 'He who has enough food for to-day and yet says "What shall I eat to-morrow?" belongs to those who are of little faith.'

Thus the lesson which early Jewish exegetes drew from the lectionary readings for Nisan was the lesson of faith.

[1] *Legum Allegoria* III. lvi. 164 ff.

Finally, mention should be made of the homilies on אז ישיר (Exodus 15.1) found in *Shemoth Rabbah* xxiii, which develop this theme of faith; for example:

> Another explanation of *Then sang Moses.* It is written: *Then believed they his words; they sang his praise* (Psalm 106.12). R. Abbahu said: Though the people had already believed while still in Egypt, as it is said *And the people believed* (Exodus 4.31), yet they afterwards lost faith, for it says, *Our fathers in Egypt gave no heed unto thy wonders* (Psalm 106.7). As soon as they came to the sea and saw the might of God . . . and how he drowned the Egyptians in the sea, then at once *They believed in the Lord.* It was on account of this faith that the Holy Spirit rested upon them and they recited the Song; hence does it say, *Then sang Moses and the children of Israel* . . . .

An examination of these homilies leads Dr. Mann[1] to the conclusion that they reflect the haphtarah Isaiah 26.1 ff., with which they tally linguistically. He finds, for example, that the Petiḥta on Psalm 93.2, נכון כסאך מאז מעולם אתה tallies with צור עולמים in Isaiah 26.4; and the next Petiḥta on Psalm 106.12 (quoted above), ויאמינו בדבריו ישירו תהלתו, is also clearly to be correlated with this haphtarah. He points out that this whole theme of Israel's faith, developed in the homilies, is reflected in the haphtarah verse 2, cited expressly in *Mekilta.* Verses 3 and 4 continue the theme: 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever.' It would seem that in Jewish exegesis the theme of faith has been constantly associated with the lections for the second half of Nisan; hence it is more likely that this theme as it appears in John 6 comes from the lectionary background than that it springs directly from the problem presented by Judas.

The miracle of the walking on the water must now be briefly considered. This miracle seems to symbolize the death and resurrection of the Lord, seen in terms of the crossing of the Red Sea. The theme of death and resurrection is found in all Passover sections of the Fourth Gospel. The first mention of Passover is followed by the prophecy of the death and resurrection of the Lord: 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up'; the third mention is followed by the discourse on the grain of wheat whose fruitfulness springs from death (a figure used by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 15.36 as analogous to the resurrection of the body); and in the sermon in chapter 6, delivered near Passover-time, Jesus repeatedly declares that he will raise up at the last day those who believe in him (verses 39, 40, 44, 54).

Once again this theme is directly related to the lectionary background. The miracle of the walking on the water seems to reflect the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 15). The theme of death and resurrection is found in the

[1] J. Mann, op. cit., pp. 435–9.

first-year seder Genesis 2.4 ff. and its haphtarah Isaiah 51.6–16.[1] We have also to consider the haphtarah to Exodus 15.22, which from the Midrashic data seems to have been Isaiah 63.11.[2]

To deal first with the Genesis seder, this tells the story of the Fall and the sentence pronounced on Adam, 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return' (Genesis 3.19). The haphtarah contains the same theme of mortality, but combines with it the promise that God's salvation shall be for ever: 'For the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner, but my salvation shall be for ever' (verse 6). Verse 12 likewise speaks of 'man that shall die, and the son of man which shall be made as grass'. Commenting on this Genesis seder, one of the Geniza fragments edited in the Hebrew section of Dr. Mann's book (op. cit., Hebrew section, pp. 53–55) concludes with a reference to the resurrection in the hereafter, citing Isaiah 26.19 'Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise', which according to Mann is clearly to be connected with the haphtarah from Isaiah 51.6–16 by reason of verse 14, 'The captive exile shall speedily be loosed and he shall not die and go down into the pit'. The relation of this Genesis seder to the theme of the eucharistic bread that brings eternal life in John 6 has already been mentioned (p. 62).

The haphtarah Isaiah 51.6–16 and the haphtarah to Exodus 15.22, Isaiah 63.11 ff., show similarities of thought and language with John 6:

Isaiah 51.6 ff.	*Isaiah 63.11 ff.*	*John 6*
v. 9. Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord. . . . Art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?	*v. 11.* Then his people remembered the ancient days of Moses, saying, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea . . . that caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses? that divided the water before them to make himself an everlasting name? that led them through the depths?	*v. 14.* This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world [i.e. the prophet like *Moses*].
v. 12. I, even I, am he that comforteth you (LXX *Ἐγώ εἰμι, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ παρακαλῶν σε*).		*v. 18.* And the sea was rising by reason of a great wind that blew. When therefore they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they behold Jesus walking on the sea . . . and they were afraid. But he saith unto them, It is I (*Ἐγώ εἰμι*); be not afraid.
v. 15. For I am the Lord thy God, which stilleth the sea when the waves thereof roar.		

Thus the Johannine account of the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the water is intimately related to the synagogue lectionary readings for Nisan; and the Evangelist interprets these lections in the light

[1] The beginning of the haphtarah is given in lists of triennial cycle haphtaroth in the Taylor–Schechter Collection, Cambridge, and the conclusion in the Bodleian Collection of Geniza fragments 2822[78].

[2] Cf. J. Mann, op. cit., p. 441.

of the events of Passion week, and the problem raised in the Church by Judas' participation in the last supper. Similarly the sermon preached by our Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum is based not merely on general Passover *themes*, but on specific *lections*—those that would fall to the last sabbath in Nisan—and it seems probable that he quoted Isaiah 54.13 not from arbitrary choice but because it was the set haphtarah. Finally, it can reasonably be surmised that the theme of *faith* developed in the sermon was already present in the tradition of homiletic exposition of these Nisan lections in Jesus' time.

6

THE FEAST OF THE NEW YEAR

In John 5 we read how Jesus visited Jerusalem to attend an unnamed feast and healed a paralytic on the sabbath day. The evidence for the identification of the unnamed feast is very slight. It is unlikely that it was one of those which the Evangelist elsewhere specifies by name (Passover, Tabernacles, or Dedication). The tradition of the early Greek Church identified it with Pentecost. Some modern commentators, arguing from a comparison of 4.35 and 6.4, suppose it to be the feast of Purim, but the discourse is not in the least suited to such an occasion. If the correct order of chapters is 4, 6, 5, 7 (and this is the sole transposition that has received any wide critical support),[1] then the unnamed feast lies between the Passover of chapter 6 and the Tabernacles of chapter 7, and is thus either the Feast of Pentecost or else Rosh Hashanah, the Feast of the New Year, celebrated on the 1st Tishri and named in the Priestly Code 'a memorial of blowing of trumpets'. The fact that at the time when the healing took place the sick lay in the open air, under the shelter of the porches, accords well with a summer or early autumn festival, and it also agrees with 7.21, where it appears that our Lord had not visited Jerusalem between this unnamed feast and the Feast of Tabernacles, and that the healing performed was fresh in the minds of the people at the later visit.

Was the unnamed feast Pentecost or New Year? Three pieces of evidence have to be weighed: (1) The mention in 7.1 of a stay in Galilee. (2) The evidence of the lectionary readings. (3) The evidence of the Mishnah and Rabbinic writings.

(1) If the feast was the Feast of the New Year, we have to suppose that Jesus left Jerusalem on the 1st Tishri because of the attempt to kill him, and returned 'when it was now the midst of the feast'—the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. 7.14)—that is, about the 18th–19th Tishri, or the 20th at the latest. Allowing six days for the two journeys, this would give a stay in Galilee of a fortnight at the most. But the words *περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ* seem to indicate a more prolonged stay. Thus, although it is by no means impossible that the feast was the Feast of the New Year,[2] the words of 7.1 suit better a withdrawal to Galilee from *Pentecost* to Tabernacles.

[1] See above, chapter 4, p. 45 f.

[2] Jesus may have visited Jerusalem some time before the Feast of the New Year (for the words of 5.1 would bear that interpretation), and his withdrawal to Galilee may have been before the 1st Tishri.

(2) The discourse in John 5 corresponds more closely with the lectionary readings for New Year than with those for Pentecost. Here, however, we encounter a further difficulty, for *the themes of the Pentecostal lections are repeated at New Year:*

With a cycle beginning in Nisan, Genesis 15, Exodus 19–20, and Numbers 17–18 would be read at Pentecost in the first, second, and third years of the cycle respectively, the common theme of the sedarim being the theme of the making of covenants. At New Year, Genesis 30.22, Leviticus 4.1, and Deuteronomy 4.25 would be read. It will be seen that the theophany to Abraham recorded in Genesis 15 is repeated in the theophany to Jacob at Bethel recorded in Genesis 28, read just before New Year. In Genesis 13.7 we read of the strife between Abraham's herdsmen and Lot's herdsmen, and in Genesis 26.20 of the strife between Isaac's herdsmen and the herdsmen of Gerar. The promises made to Abraham 'All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth' (Genesis 13.15, 16) are repeated to Jacob 'The land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth' (Genesis 28.13, 14). Moses' appointment of judges (Exodus 18.13–27), the events of Sinai, when the voice of God was heard from the midst of the fire, and the giving of the Decalogue (Exodus 19–20), lections which would be read at Pentecost, are repeated in Moses' speech in Deuteronomy 1–5, where he tells of the appointment of judges (Deuteronomy 1.9–18) and of the giving of the Law and the Decalogue in Horeb (Deuteronomy 4–5). Thus the lections for New Year recapitulate those for Pentecost, and the correspondence is so close that it is not to be wondered at that Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus II.* xxxi. 188 ff.) associates the Law-giving with the Feast of the New Year, and says that the trumpet of the New Year denotes that of Sinai (Exodus 19.16), though later Rabbinic tradition associates the Law-giving with the Feast of Pentecost.[1] In both the Exodus and the Deuteronomic account it is recorded that the people were terrified when they heard the voice of God, but in Deuteronomy it is emphasized that they 'saw no manner of form' but simply heard the voice speaking out of the midst of the fire. Finally, the themes of Numbers 15, read shortly before Pentecost, are repeated in Leviticus 4, read at New Year: cf. Numbers 15.22–29 and Leviticus 4.2; Numbers 15.25, 28 and Leviticus 4.20; Numbers 15.27 and Leviticus 4.27; Numbers 15.24–26 and Leviticus 4.13.

The evidence of the lectionary readings, then, is not conclusive for John 5. However, John 5 seems on the whole to correspond more closely with the lections for New Year than with those for Pentecost; while in John 14 (the section of the Supper Discourses that repeats the themes of Chapter 5—

[1] The Samaritans combine the Pentecost and the New Year traditions, and they recite the Decalogue at both festivals.

see Diagram 2) the similarity of thought and language with the New Year lectionary readings is extremely close.

(3) Finally, a consideration of the evidence of the Mishnah[1] and later Rabbinic writings seems decisive for identifying the unnamed feast as New Year. The main thought of the discourse of chapter 5, the future resurrection and judgement of every man according to his works, seems to have been the central theme of Rosh Hashanah. On this day, according to the Mishnah (*Rosh Hashanah* i. 2), God holds a judgement of men, who pass before him like flocks of sheep that he may consider all their works: compare John 5.22, 27–29, 'For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgement unto the Son . . . and he gave him authority to execute judgement, because he is Son of man. Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.' Further, another important theme of John 5, that of *witness*, also appears in the Mishnah tractate (*Rosh Hashanah* i. 7; ii. 1, 6, 8), where it is ruled that a father and his son do not together constitute a valid pair of witnesses about the new moon, but that either of them may be included to make a pair with some other witness. The correspondence with John 5 seems to be something more than coincidence. The witness of Jesus alone is invalid (5.31). But the Father also bears witness (5.37). One would suppose that the Father and the Son together would constitute the pair of valid witnesses required by the Law, but in fact Jesus goes on to cite a further pair, John the Baptist and Moses in the scriptures. Finally, the judgement of the New Year looked forward to the last great Day of Judgement, the Day of the Lord; and this eschatological tension between the present Feast and the future Day seems to be reflected in John 5.25, 28, 'The hour *cometh, and now is*, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God . . . the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice and shall come forth'. The theme of the second advent appears also in the section of the Supper Discourses that falls to the Feast of the New Year, John 14,[2] but with a marked difference of emphasis: believers will not come into judgement (5.24), so for them our Lord's second coming means that they will be received into the Father's house.

We conclude, then, that the unnamed feast of chapter 5 was the Feast of the New Year, Rosh Hashanah, and that chapters 5 and 14 have been influenced by the themes and the lections of that feast. However, the chronology of John 7.1–14 and the words of 5.1 make it likely that Jesus visited Jerusalem shortly *before* the Feast; and this is confirmed by the fact that the lections that form the background of John 5 are those that would

[1] The evidence of the Mishnah is, however, one-sided, since it contains a tractate for Rosh Hashanah but none for Pentecost. [2] See above, Chapter 4, Diagram 2, p. 48.

normally fall to approximately the third sabbath in Elul. It is suggested, then, that our Lord went up to Jerusalem between the 15th and 21st Elul, but because of the threat to kill him withdrew to Galilee for about a month, returning to Jerusalem in the middle of the Feast of Tabernacles.

It ought to be added that an examination of several New Testament writings, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mark 8.27 ff., Acts 22.1 ff., leads to the conclusion that the season Pentecost–Rosh Hashanah and the lections read during that season may well have formed the background of a piece of Christian didache, possibly known as 'The Way', or 'In the Way', the theme of which was the journey through life following after Jesus to the Father's house; and that the Fourth Evangelist, wishing to include in his Gospel a section covering the main themes of this piece of didache, deliberately telescoped the themes of Pentecost and Rosh Hashanah (the lections for which in any case duplicate each other) and omitted the name of the feast of chapter 5. This is much too large a digression to be included here, but it may be remarked that the theme of Jesus the forerunner in the 'new and living way' to heaven is prominent in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that the early chapters of that Epistle seem quite clearly to be based on the lectionary readings for Pentecost, Genesis 14.18–15.21, Exodus 19, and Numbers 18, while in chapter 12 *the lections of Pentecost and New Year are telescoped* to illustrate the contrast between the old and new covenants, and the themes of New Year are brought out: 'Ye are come unto mount Zion . . . to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are *enrolled in heaven* [i.e. in God's book], and to *God the Judge of all*, and to the spirits of just men made perfect' (Hebrews 12.22, 23).

To recapitulate: With the placing of chapter 5 after chapter 6 the unnamed feast must be either the Feast of Pentecost or the Feast of the New Year. The mention in 7.1 of a stay in Galilee suits better a withdrawal to Galilee from *Pentecost* to Tabernacles. On the other hand, the evidence of the lectionary readings, though somewhat ambiguous owing to the duplication of Pentecostal themes in the lections that would fall to New Year, suggests that the feast is New Year rather than Pentecost; whilst the evidence of the Mishnah seems also to point to New Year. The possibility that the Evangelist deliberately telescoped the themes of Pentecost and New Year ought, however, to be borne in mind. Finally, it may be added that the feast of the New Year fell on the 1st Tishri, and the Feast of Tabernacles on the 15th Tishri, the seventh month. It seems fitting that the seventh or sabbath month should form the background of the two sabbath healings and the account of the controversy with the Jews on the question of sabbath-keeping found in chapters 5, 7, 8, and 9.

We shall now consider the following points: (1) The ideas associated with the Feast of the New Year. (2) The lectionary readings for that feast. (3) John chapters 5 and 14.

1. *The ideas associated with the Feast of the New Year*

The earliest reference to the 1st Tishri is to be found in Ezekiel 45.20 (LXX), where it is a day of atonement and expiation. In the Priestly Code, the 1st Tishri ceases to be mentioned as a day of sadness and remorse, and is described as a day of trumpet-blowing for a memorial before God, while the 10th Tishri has now become the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 23.24 ff., Numbers 29.1 ff.). Dr. Snaith[1] argues, however, that the association of the 1st Tishri with sorrow and remorse appears in Nehemiah 8.9, where it is recorded that the people mourned and wept at the reading of the Law, and that the sorrow shown on this particular 1st Tishri was not because of the special occasion but was rather the survival of a former and ancient custom. This, he says, is confirmed by the ideas of the Samaritans who separated from the orthodox Jews of Jerusalem sufficiently early for them to have avoided any possible innovations from the time of Ezra onwards. Among the Samaritans the Feast of Trumpets of 1st Tishri is the beginning of the great penitential period of the year. The ideas associated with the whole period from the 1st Tishri to the 10th Tishri are sorrow, penitence, remembrance, and as a background to it all there is the idea of judgement in connexion with the turn of the year.

The original significance of the 1st Tishri as a day of judgement and penitence goes back to Babylonian belief, according to Langdon, who says of it:

> In the late Hebrew calendar the 1st day of Tishri was a day of judgement; so Psalm 81.4, 5: 'On the day of the new moon blow up the trumpet (and) at the full moon on the day of our feast; for this is a law unto Israel, a (day of) judgement (משפט) of the God of Jacob.' The Talmud, Targum, and the whole of Jewish tradition connect this passage with Tishri. The myth of a general judgement of souls goes back to the Babylonian belief based upon the passing of the sun beyond the equator and the beginning of his descent into the lower world, when Libra rises heliacally. According to the Talmud, from Tishri 1st to the Day of Atonement (10th) is a period of the condemnation of the doubtful, and the Mishnah describes Tishri 1st as a day of judgement. These are the ten terrible days of the world's judgement in Jewish tradition. Then are written the three books of the good, the doubtful, and the damned, a myth undoubtedly inherited from Babylonia and latterly transferred to the first eleven days (epact) of Nisan by the Babylonians. The same belief is preserved in Arabic tradition, being attached to the ninth month, Ramadan, when Allah decides the fate of spirits, men, animals, and birds. According to Sumerian tradition a goddess kept the tablets of fate in Arallû.[2]

An examination of Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud, Targum, and Midrash confirms this impression. One main theme emerges: the 1st Tishri is a day

[1] *The Jewish New Year Festival*, p. 151.
[2] Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, p. 100.

of Divine judgement. We have already seen that according to the Mishnah it is at this season that God holds a judgement of men. In the Talmud (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 16b) it is said that the trumpets were blown at this season to confuse Satan when he is accusing Israel before the Divine Judge. Commenting on the Mishnah's statement the Talmud, in a Gemara in the name of Rabbi Joḥanan (second generation of Palestinian Amoraim), adds that on New Year's Day three books were opened, the book of life for those whose works had been good, another of death for those whose works had been thoroughly evil, and a third for those whose case was to be decided on the Day of Atonement, the delay being granted to give time for repentance. An ancient prayer attributed to Rab, the chief Babylonian Amora of the first generation of Amoraim or 'Interpreters', says: 'On this day . . . each separate creature is visited and recorded for life or for death. Who is not visited on this day? for the remembrance of all that hath been formed cometh before thee.' The Targum of Palestine on Numbers 29 says that the voice of the trumpets is to disturb Satan, who comes to accuse Israel.[1] In the Midrashic literature, one of the very earliest of the Midrashim, Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers, seems to connect the sounding of trumpets with the last judgement. In this Midrash (which in its original form possibly goes back to the earlier part of the second century A.D.) the blowing of trumpets receives an apocalyptic significance—the trumpets are to be blown at the war with Gog and Magog, which, it is implied, will be the last war, for it will establish the universal kingdom of God: 'And the Lord will be king over the whole earth' (Zechariah 14.9, quoted in Midrash *Sifre* on Numbers 10.9).

This theme of judgement is reflected in the homilies for Rosh Hashanah found in the *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana*. The *Pesikta* is a work consisting of homilies on the lessons from the Law or the Prophets selected for use on the principal feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar. It is undoubtedly old, being ranked by some critics among the oldest Midrashim which we possess, and is at any rate based on very ancient material; indeed, the main body of the work may be earlier in origin than *Bereshith Rabbah*. The extracts given below are taken from Piska XXIII, a homily for New Year's Day, and Piska XXIV, a homily designed for the period between the 1st and 10th Tishri, in preparation for the Day of Atonement; and show how the New Year theme of *judgement* is combined with the themes of *creation* and of *the ascent to God* (or the vision of God).

Piska XXIII (for the 1st Tishri)

'In the seventh month, on the 1st of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation' (Leviticus 23.24).

[1] Satan appears as the accuser in Job 1.6 ff., whilst the theme of the seventh great trumpet which disturbs Satan's accusation is found in the Apocalypse 11.15–12.10.

Beginning with Psalm 119.89 'Forever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven', Rabbi Eliezer taught: On the 25th day of the month Elul the world was created. . . . In the New Year prayer composed by Rab we read: This day is the beginning of thy works (that is, this is the day on which thou didst begin the creation of the world), a memorial of the first day.

Rabbi Naḥman began with Jeremiah 30.10: 'Fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord; neither be dismayed, O Israel.' The Prophet spoke of Jacob, of whom it is written (Genesis 28.12) 'And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth.' This ladder, said R. Samuel b. Naḥman, represented the princes of the peoples of the world. . . . From this we learn that God has shown to our father Jacob the prince of Babylon ascending seventy steps, the prince of Media ascending fifty-two steps, the prince of Greece ascending one hundred and eighty steps, and the prince of Edom (Rome) ascending, but it is not known how many steps.[1] . . . R. Berekiah and R. Ḥelbo, and R. Simeon b. Yoḥai in the name of R. Meir said: From this we learn that God has shown to our father Jacob the princes of Babylon, Media, Greece and Edom ascending and falling. God spoke to Jacob: So you shall ascend. In this hour Jacob was afraid and thought: Perhaps I too shall fall as they did. Then God spoke to him: Fear not, Israel. If you ascend, you shall never fall. He believed not God, and therefore he did not ascend.

Judah son of R. Naḥman . . . began with Psalm 47.6: 'God is gone up with a shout of joy, the Highest with the sound of the trumpet.' In the hour when God ascends and seats himself upon the throne of judgement, he ascends with (strict) judgement, as it is written, 'God ascends with a glad shout.' And in the hour when the Israelites take the shofar and blow it, then he rises up from the throne of judgement and seats himself on the throne of mercy, as it is written, 'The Highest with the sound of the trumpet.' He shall be filled with mercy for them and he shall take pity on them and he will in mercy diminish the amount of punishment for them. When? In the seventh month.

. . . R. Levi in the name of R. Ḥama son of R. Ḥanina said: It may be compared to the case of a king's son who was to be tried before his father. His father said to him: If you wish to be acquitted by me in judgement this day, appoint such-and-such a man as advocate and you will be acquitted. . . . So God spoke to Israel: My children! If you wish to be acquitted by me in judgement on this day, you should recall the merits of the Patriarchs and you will be acquitted by me in judgement. . . . And when are you to recall the merits of the Patriarchs? . . . In the seventh month.

Piska XXIV

This homily begins with citations from Isaiah 55.6, 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found' and 1 Chronicles 16.11, 'Seek ye the Lord and his strength, seek his face for evermore', which are expounded as follows: 'Why is it written, Seek his face for evermore? In order to teach you that God is sometimes visible and sometimes invisible, that sometimes he hears and sometimes he does not hear, sometimes he is sought and sometimes he is not sought, sometimes he is found and sometimes he is not found, sometimes he is near and sometimes he is far

[1] The steps represent the regnal years of the kingdoms mentioned.

away.' This is then illustrated by the citation of apparently contradictory verses: Exodus 33.11 says 'And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face', yet verse 18 of the same chapter records Moses' prayer 'Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory', [and God's reply 'Thou canst not see my face and live.'] Similarly in Exodus 24.10 it is written 'And they saw the God of Israel'; but in Deuteronomy 4.15 'For ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire', and in verse 12 of the same chapter 'Ye heard the voice of words but ye saw no form'. Exodus 2.24 'And God heard their groaning' is then contrasted with Deuteronomy 1.45 'But the Lord hearkened not to your voice, nor gave ear unto you'. The homily continues: 'At the time when the Israelites repent God is to be found, as it is written (Deuteronomy 4.29) "If from thence ye shall seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search after him with all thy heart and with all thy soul". But at the time when they are not repenting, then it is written (Hosea 5.6) "They shall go with their flocks and with their herds to seek the Lord; but they shall not find him: he hath withdrawn himself from them"'.

Judgement—Resurrection—Witness: these, then, are the main ideas associated with Rosh Hashanah. The theme of *judgement* is primary, but it includes, by a natural association of ideas, the thought of the resurrection of the dead in order that they may be judged, and the ideas of penitence, mercy, the forgiveness of sins, and the change of fortune at the New Year. Since all judgement was 'at the mouth of witnesses', the themes of judgement and witness are inevitably linked. At this critical time it was desirable to find a favourable witness, an advocate to plead one's cause. Good deeds could act as advocates and evil deeds as accusers, as is shown by the saying attributed in the Mishnah (*Pirke Aboth* iv. 11) to R. Eliezer b. Jacob, a disciple of R. Akiba: 'He that performs one precept gets for himself one advocate (פרקליט), but he that commits one transgression gets for himself one accuser (קטיגור).' The merits of the Fathers might also be pleaded as a ground for God's forgiveness—a theme prominent in the Zikronoth.[1] The earlier *Pesikta* seems to preserve also the theme of *Creation* (for the 1st of Tishri was the Day of Creation),[2] and the theme of the *vision of God*, which apparently depends on the lections of the regular cycle that fell to New Year.

2. *The lectionary readings of the regular cycle for New Year*

As in the *Pesikta* homilies, the main themes of the regular lections for

[1] On New Year's Day certain passages of scripture were recited, consisting of three groups: first, the Malkiyyoth, passages in which there is a reference to the Kingship of Yahweh; secondly, the Zikronoth, passages which refer to God's remembrance of Israel; thirdly, the Shofaroth, passages in which the blowing of the shofar is mentioned. The earliest reference to the recitation of these passages is found in the Mishnah (*Rosh Hashanah* iv. 5), but Snaith (op. cit., p. 183) shows that there is considerable evidence to suggest that the Malkiyyoth were not originally included in the prayers for Rosh Hashanah, but were introduced during the second century A.D.

[2] This was not a unanimous tradition: see above, Chapter 2, p. 11, n. 3.

New Year are *judgement* and *the ascent to God*. We shall examine the sedarim and haphtaroth for the second half of Elul and for New Year's Day in the three years of a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan:

	First year	*Second year*	*Third year*
16 Elul	Genesis 28.10	Exodus 39.33	Deuteronomy 1.1
23 ,,	,, 29.31	Leviticus 1.1	,, 2.2
1 Tishri	,, 30.22	,, 4.1	,, 3.23

(*a*) *The theme of Judgement*

This theme is prominent in the New Year lections, where it is linked with the themes of repentance, forgiveness of sins, and the change of fortune at the New Year. In the second year of the cycle Leviticus 4.1 would fall to New Year's Day, and to this seder the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] allocates Ezekiel 18.4–17 as haphtarah. The keynote of the seder is found in the words 'If any one shall sin . . . and he shall be forgiven'; and the appropriate offerings for sin for the anointed priest, the whole congregation of Israel, a ruler, or one of the people of the land are enumerated. Ezekiel 18 speaks of God's judgement of the individual: 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. . . . Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord God. *Return ye, and turn yourselves* from all your transgressions.'

The same theme is found in the lections for the third year of the cycle. Deuteronomy 1.16 speaks of Moses' appointment of judges: 'And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgement, ye shall hear the small and the great alike . . . for *the judgement is God's*.' Büchler allocates as haphtarah Jeremiah 30.4, which tells of the coming Day of the Lord, the time of Jacob's trouble, and gives the promise 'Therefore fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, neither be dismayed, O Israel: for . . . I will not make a full end of thee: but *I will correct thee with judgement*, and will in no wise leave thee unpunished. . . . Behold, I will *turn again* the captivity of Jacob's tents.' As we have seen, this passage is cited in the *Pesikta* homily for New Year. One further prophet lection may be mentioned, Joel 2.1, which the Karaites read at the New Year, and which Büchler thinks was the Palestinian haphtarah for 1st Tishri in the third year of the cycle. The haphtarah speaks of repentance, punishment, and forgiveness: 'Blow ye the trumpet (שופר) in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain . . . for the day of the Lord cometh. . . . Yet even now, saith the Lord, *turn ye* to me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and rend your heart and not your garments, and *turn* unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious

and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. . . . Who knoweth whether he will not *turn* and repent?' (Joel 2.1, 12–14). This haphtarah tallies with the seder by means of verses 12 and 13, which correspond with Deuteronomy 4.29–31: 'But if . . . ye shall seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search after him with all thy heart and with all thy soul. When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, if in the latter days thou *return* to the Lord thy God, and hearken unto his voice: for the Lord thy God is a merciful God; he will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers.' It is possible that the third-year seder and haphtarah Deuteronomy 1.1 and Jeremiah 30.4 were the synagogue lections referred to in Acts 13.14. Certainly Paul's whole discourse turns on the double sense of 'raise up' in verse 9 of the haphtarah, and his allusion to the judges, unique in the New Testament, echoes the theme of Deuteronomy 1.16–18.

In the first year of the cycle the seder Genesis 30.22 ff., which begins 'And God remembered Rachel', would be reached in the regular course of reading by the 1st Tishri. This fact probably accounts for the tradition found in the Talmud (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b) and in the Book of Jubilees xxviii. 24, that Rachel was 'remembered' on New Year's Day. The Bodleian MS. 2727[3] cites 1 Samuel 1.11 as haphtarah. The opening verse of the haphtarah records Hannah's prayer that God would 'remember' her and give her a son, which tallies with the opening verse of the seder. At the New Year God 'remembered' both Rachel and Hannah, and changed their fortune.

The Hebrew phrase that expresses this change of fate is שוב שבות, 'to turn a turning' or restore a former condition of prosperity. It occurs in verse 18 of Jeremiah 30 (haphtarah to Deuteronomy 1), and also in verse 3 of the same passage: 'For lo, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will *turn the turning* of my people Israel and Judah, and I will *cause them to return* to the land that I gave to their fathers.' This change of fate is consequent upon repentance and *turning* from sin: cf. Ezekiel 18.21 ff. 'If the wicked *turn* from all his sins . . . he shall surely live. . . . Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked, and not rather that he should *return* from his way, and live? . . . *Return ye, and turn yourselves* from all your transgressions.'

(*b*) *The theme of the vision of God*

In the first year of the cycle the Genesis sedarim tell of the double flight of Jacob, first to Laban in Haran for fear of his brother Esau, and then from Laban to his father's house. Genesis 28 tells of the ladder set up to heaven and the angels of God ascending and descending on it. Jacob calls the place the house of God and the gate of heaven, and says (35.7) that there God was revealed unto him. Thus the ladder formed a means of communication between Bethel, the earthly sanctuary, and the true heavenly temple, the

house of God, to which it was the gate. We may compare the Babylonian idea of the temple-tower as the means of ascent to the dwelling place of the gods in heaven. Dr. Lehrman remarks[1] that formerly the loaves for the festival of the New Year used to be baked in the shape of *ladders*. In Genesis 32 we read how Jacob passed over the ford Jabbok and there strove with God, calling the name of the place Peniel, or *the Face of God*, because there he saw God face to face. Thus the main thoughts of these sedarim are the ladder to heaven and the vision of God, Jacob's journeyings and the perils encountered in the way, and God's promise to be with him.

In connexion with this theme of the ascent to God and the ladder to heaven, it is interesting to note that with the arrangement of the Psalter for a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan the group of Psalms known as the Songs of the Steps (120–34) began to be recited just before New Year, occupying the sabbaths between the beginning of Elul and Hanukkah. These songs are associated in tradition with the ascent of the pilgrims who brought up the first fruits to the Temple in the season after Pentecost until not later than the 25th Kisleu (cf. *Bikkurim* i. 3, 6). King[2] quotes a Jewish tradition (b. *Sukkah* 51b, and cf. b. *Middoth* 35a) that the fifteen Songs of the Steps correspond with the fifteen steps between the Court of the Women and the Court of Israel, and refers also to the ideal temple of Ezekiel, which describes a flight of seven steps to the outer court and another flight of eight steps to the inner court (Ezekiel 40.22, 26, 31, 37), giving fifteen steps divided into seven plus eight. He traces this tradition to the use of these Psalms during Temple-processions which imitated the apparent motion of the sun in his yearly course; for the movements of the heavenly bodies suggested to the worshipper, as afterwards to Dante, man's pilgrimage to God.

In the third year of the cycle the Deuteronomy sedarim that would fall to New Year deal with precisely the same themes—firstly, God's encouragement of Israel to set forward on their journey to the promised land and his promise to be with them, and secondly the theme of the vision of God. Cf. Deuteronomy 1.6: 'Ye have dwelt long enough in this mountain: turn you, and take your journey . . . go in and possess the land'; and 1.30 ff. 'The Lord your God who goeth before you, he shall fight for you, according to all that he did for you in Egypt . . . and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that the Lord thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye went, until ye came to this place. Yet for all this ye did not believe the Lord your God, who went before you in the way to show you by what way ye should go'; cf. also 2.7: 'The Lord thy God . . . hath known thy walking through this great wilderness'; and 2.27: 'Let me pass through thy land: I will go by the way, by the way, I will neither turn unto the right

[1] S. M. Lehrman, *The Jewish Festivals*, p. 121.
[2] E. G. King, *The Psalms in Three Collections*, Part III, p. xv.

hand nor to the left.' With this theme of Israel's journeyings in the way is connected the theme of the vision of God: 'And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no form. . . . Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, for ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb . . . lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image' (Deuteronomy 4.12 ff.): 'The Lord spake with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire . . . and ye said, Behold, the Lord our God hath shewed us his glory . . . and we have seen this day that God doth speak with man, and he liveth' (5.4, 24).

In the second year of the cycle, Exodus 34 might on occasion be reached by the first sabbath in Elul.[1] The Massoretic Text shows a seder at 34.1; the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] gives the commencement of the seder as 34.27, but from *Tanḥuma* and *Shemoth Rabbah* it appears that there was an old seder at 33.12. Here again we find the theme of the vision of God: 'And (Moses) said, Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory . . . and (God) said, Thou canst not see my face, for man shall not see me and live' (Exodus 33.18, 20); 'And when Moses had done speaking with them (Israel), he put a veil on his face. But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out' (34.33, 34). Thus Moses was not allowed to see the face of God, but instead God made to him an exposition of the Name—'I will make all my goodness pass before thee and will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee' (33.19). In 33.11, however, we read 'The Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend'. Jacob's journeyings and God's promise to be with him as recorded in the Genesis sedarim find a parallel in the Exodus seder: 'And Moses said unto the Lord, See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me. . . . Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, show me now thy ways, that I may know thee . . . . And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest. And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence' (33.12 ff.).[2]

[1] A tradition preserved in *Seder Olam* vi says that Moses ascended Mount Sinai with the tablets of stone, as described in Exodus 34, on the 29th Ab. However, there have evidently been numerous shiftings of the sedarim in this part of Exodus, and the allocation of seder to sabbath for these last chapters of Exodus can only be approximate.

[2] The previous seder (Exodus 32.15 ff.) contains also the theme of *judgement*, for here we read of the book in which men's deeds are recorded, and of Moses' prayer for Israel: 'Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written' (32.31, 32). The Talmudic saying (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 16b) about the three books of the good, the doubtful and the damned whose names are entered up at New Year is based on this passage in Exodus together with Psalm 69.29: 'Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.' With a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, both Psalm and seder would fall to approximately the third sabbath in Ab, perhaps rather too early for them to be considered New Year lections.

Thus the main themes of the lections for New Year are precisely those elaborated in the New Year homilies in the *Pesikta*.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the Psalms that would fall to the end of Elul and the beginning of Tishri with a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan are extremely appropriate to the thoughts of New Year. In the first year of the cycle, Psalm 23 would fall to the same sabbath as Genesis 28, and we find a striking similarity between this Psalm and Jacob's request to God in Genesis 28.20–22. The group of Psalms that would fall to Elul in the first year of the cycle are full of the thoughts of New Year—God's judgement of men; his guidance in the way; seeking the face of God. The same theme of God's judgement occurs in the Elul Psalms for the second year of the cycle, while in the third year the Songs of the Steps commence immediately before Elul, and here again we find the theme of going up to the house of the Lord (Ps. 122.1) and of God's presence with his people, guarding their going out and their coming in (Psalm 121.8): for these are pilgrim songs, associated in tradition with those who brought up the firstfruits to the Temple. These Psalms will be considered in connexion with John 14, and it will be sufficient here to draw attention to the theme of the ascent to God—walking in God's way to God's house, seeking the face of God—as it appears in Psalms 24 and 25, which would fall to the last two sabbaths in Elul, and 26 and 27, which would fall to the beginning of Tishri:

Psalm 24. Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?
And who shall stand in his holy place?
He that hath clean hands and a pure heart . . .
This is the generation of them that seek after him,
That seek the face of the God of Jacob.

This Psalm also contains the New Year theme of *creation* (verses 1 and 2).

Psalm 25. Show me thy ways, O Lord,
Teach me thy paths. . . .
Remember, O Lord, thy tender mercies and thy lovingkindnesses . . . .
Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions . . . .
Good and upright is the Lord,
Therefore will he instruct sinners in the way.
The meek will he guide in judgement:
And the meek will he teach his way.

Verse 6 is rendered in the LXX *Μνήσθητι τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου, Κύριε, καὶ τὰ ἐλέη σου*. Compare Exodus 34.6 and Joel 2.13 LXX; also Deuteronomy 4.31, all of which are New Year lections. The next two Psalms are similarly full of allusions to going up to the house of the Lord and seeking his face, and also to the theme of judgement:

Psalm 26. Judge me, O Lord, for I have walked in mine integrity . . . .
For thy lovingkindness is before mine eyes;
And I have walked in thy truth. . . .
Lord, I love the habitation of thy house,
And the place where thy glory dwelleth. . . .
But as for me, I will walk in mine integrity,
Redeem me, and be merciful unto me.

Psalm 27. One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after,
That I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life,
To behold the beauty of the Lord and to enquire in his temple. . . .
And I will offer in his tabernacle *sacrifices of trumpet-sound,*
I will sing, yea, I will sing praises unto the Lord. . . .
Seek ye my face; my heart said unto thee,
Thy face, Lord, will I seek. . . .
Teach me thy way, O Lord,
And lead me in a plain path . . . .

Thus the lectionary readings, the Psalms, the Mishnah, the *Pesikta* homilies, and other Rabbinic writings, all give the same testimony about the themes of Rosh Hashanah. Now it is just these themes that appear in our Lord's discourses recorded in John 5 and 14.

3. *John chapters 5 and 14*

After this preliminary examination, we now turn to John 5 and to the section of the Supper Discourses that falls to the Feast of New Year, namely, John 14.

John 5 records the healing of a man who had suffered thirty-eight years from his disease. The healing is followed by a discourse of which the main theme is the theme of the resurrection and final judgement—a theme prominent in the New Year lections. St. John's thought seems to have been influenced by the early chapters of Deuteronomy:

Deuteronomy	*John 5*
2.13. Now rise up, and get you over the brook Zered. And we went over the brook Zered. And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years.	*v. 5.* And a certain man was there, which had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity . . . Jesus saith unto him, Arise . . . and walk.
1.16. And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother. . . . Ye shall not respect persons in judgement: ye shall hear the small and the great alike . . . *for the judgement is God's.*	*v. 22.* For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgement unto the Son . . . and he gave him authority to execute judgement, because he is the Son of man.

Deuteronomy	*John 5*
4.12. And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no form. . . . Take ye therefore good heed to yourselves; for ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you.	*v. 37.* The Father hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his form.
3. 24. O Lord God, thou hast begun to show thy servant thy greatness . . . for what God is there in heaven or in earth that can do according to thy works, and according to thy mighty acts?	*v. 20.* For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth: and greater works than these will he show him, that ye may marvel.

Since it is recorded in Deuteronomy 2.14 that before they entered the Promised Land the Hebrews had wandered thirty-eight years in the desert, the thirty-eight years during which the crippled man had lain helpless by the pool of Bethesda have been taken by some commentators as a symbol of Jewish unbelief. After thirty-eight years the Hebrews were commanded 'Rise up, take your journey': similarly, after thirty-eight years, the cripple obeys our Lord's command 'Arise and walk'.

The main themes of John 5 are those found in the Mishnah tractate *Rosh Hashanah*—the theme of God's judgement of men at the New Year and the theme of witness—themes naturally associated, since according to the Law judgement must be at the mouth of two or three valid witnesses (cf. Numbers 35.30—a passage that would be read early in Elul). The judgement of the New Year looked forward to the final great Day of Judgement, and, as we have seen, this eschatological tension between the present Feast and the future Day seems to be reflected in John 5.25: 'The hour *cometh, and now is,* when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God.' Judgement is a present judgement, and will be ratified in the future Day. It is on the grounds of acceptance or rejection of Jesus and his word, and, through him, of the Father: 'He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgement, but hath passed out of death into life' (v. 24). The Jews rejected Jesus' claims in spite of the witness borne to him by his own mighty works, John the Baptist, and the Father (verses 31–37). It is not completely clear how the allusion to the Father's witness is to be understood, but presumably what is meant is his witness through Old Testament prophecy,[1] in particular through Moses, who wrote of Jesus (verses 39, 46). In rejecting Jesus, therefore, the Jews were also rejecting the witness of Moses: hence Moses, their chosen advocate, would become their accuser before the Father: 'Think not that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on

[1] This is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the allusion to the Father's witness is made in the past tense.

whom ye have set your hope. For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?' (verses 45–47). The words evidently refer to the final judgement, cf. 12.48.

Jesus, then, is Judge; and the accuser, ironically enough, is Moses. Now this theme of judgement at the turn of the year and of the witness of Moses is the very theme of a pair of New Year lections from Deuteronomy. With a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan, *Deuteronomy 1* would be read in Elul, and, as we have seen, the theme of judgement is found in verses 16 ff. of this chapter, where it is declared that '*the judgement is God's*'. With a cycle beginning in Tishri, *Deuteronomy 30 or 31* would fall to this same sabbath. The themes of Deuteronomy 1 and 31 are very similar, and in the LXX the verb δειλιάω is found in these two chapters only in the whole of the Pentateuch—*μὴ φοβοῦ, μηδὲ δειλία* (Deuteronomy 31.8, and cf. 31.6 and 1.21).

Deuteronomy 30–31 provides a close parallel to John 5. The key phrase of chapter 30 is 'the Lord thy God will *turn thy captivity* (ושב יהוה אלהיך את־שבותך)', an expression which seems to be connected with the *turning of fortune* at the New Year. We may compare the New Year Psalm 126: 'When the Lord *turned the turning* of Zion (בשוב יהוה את־שיבת ציון) we were like them that dream. . . . Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams in the south.' The theme of Deuteronomy 30, then, is that when Israel *turns* (verses 8, 10), then God will turn their fortunes. Life and death, good and evil, blessing and cursing, are set before them, and they are besought to choose life, that they may live. Here, then, are all the themes of the critical days of New Year. In Deuteronomy 31 appears the theme of *God as Judge*, who decides for life or for death, and of *Moses' witness against Israel*: 'Now therefore write ye this song . . . that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel. . . . And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall testify before them as a witness' (verses 19, 21). 'Moses commanded the Levites, saying, Take this book of the law and put it by the side of the ark, that it may be there for a witness against thee' (verses 25, 26). Again we read in 30.19: 'I call *heaven and earth* to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death', and in 31.28: 'Assemble unto me all the elders of your tribes . . . that I may speak these words [i.e. the words of the Song] in their ears, and call *heaven and earth* to witness against them.' Moses then addresses these two witnesses in the words of the Song: 'Give ear, *ye heavens*, and I will speak, and let *the earth* hear the words of my mouth' (32.1). The witnesses summoned by Moses against Israel, then, are heaven, earth, the words of the Song, and the Book of the Law. Thus Moses, who wrote the Law, is the witness against Israel. Now this is precisely the theme of our Lord's words in John 5.45–47. Lastly, in

Deuteronomy 32 God is set forth as Judge: All his ways are judgement (verse 4); he will judge his people (verse 36); his hands take hold on judgement (verse 41), and it is he alone who decides a man's fate:

> See now that I, even I, am he,
> And there is no god with me:
> I kill, and I make alive,
> I have wounded, and I heal. (32.39).

The Massoretic division apportions Judges 2.7 as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 31.14: the haphtarah tells of the *judges* whom God raised up for Israel. As we have seen, other New Year haphtaroth also tell of the judgement of God, for instance Jeremiah 30.11, 18, 'I will correct thee with judgement . . . Behold, I will turn again the captivity of Jacob's tents', and Ezekiel 18.30, 'Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord God. Return ye, and turn yourselves'.

Finally, we must notice that in John 5 the theme of judgement is linked with the theme of the resurrection of the dead, and of God the giver of life:

> For as the Father raiseth the dead and *quickeneth* them, even so the Son also *quickeneth* whom he will. . . . Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath *life in himself*, even so gave he to the Son also to have *life in himself*. . . . Marvel not at this: for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto *the resurrection of life*; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.

Similarly in John 14 Jesus declares 'I am *the life* . . . because *I live*, ye shall live also'. Now this theme of the living God who raises the dead is found in the New Year lections. The Bodleian MS. 2727[3] cites Hosea 12.13 ff. as haphtarah to Genesis 28.10: Hosea 13.14 'I will ransom them from the power of the grave, I will redeem them from death' may be compared with John 5.28. An even closer parallel is found in Isaiah 26.19 LXX 'The dead shall rise, and *they that are in the tombs shall be raised*,' which may have formed part of an alternative haphtarah to Genesis 30.22, read on New Year's day.[1] For the thought of the Father who has life in himself we may compare Deuteronomy 32.39, 40: 'I kill, and *I make alive* . . . *I live for ever*', and Deuteronomy 30.19, 20: 'I have set before thee life and death . . . therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed: to love the Lord thy God . . . and to cleave unto him, for *he is thy life*, and the length of thy days.'

The lections on which John 5 principally depends, then, are Deuteronomy 1–2 with a Nisan cycle, and Deuteronomy 31–32 with a Tishri cycle. This lectionary background throws some light on the problem of the

[1] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 248.

position of chapter 5 in the Gospel. If, originally, this chapter *followed* chapter 6, how did the present transposition come about? We suggest that John 5 was seen to depend mainly on Deuteronomy 31–32, which, although it would fall to Elul with a Tishri cycle, would fall to the middle of *Adar* with a Nisan cycle, and would thus coincide with Purim. Hence chapter 5 had to be inserted in the Gospel so as to fall to Purim, and before 7.1, which refers back to 5.18. The obvious place would then appear to be its present position in the Gospel: John 4.35 is dated four months before harvest, and 6.4 is dated Passover, and Purim is the only feast that falls between these two points of time.[1]

Why did the Evangelist leave the feast unnamed? The central thought in the traditions associated with New Year is the thought of God as Judge, but as Dr. Snaith points out, from the first century onwards there was undoubtedly a closer connexion between the Kingdom of God and Rosh Hashanah than between the Divine Kingdom and any other festival: at the New Year God is both Judge and King.[2] Now if the 1st of Tishri was the feast of the Kingdom of God, it might well have been inexpedient for the Evangelist to include any mention of it. Thus a consideration of the lectionary background seems to explain much that is puzzling in John 5.

John 14

The New Year themes of the vision of God, the resurrection, and the second coming, appear again in the familiar words of John 14. The themes are the same, the lectionary readings on which they depend are the same, but the emphasis is changed. Our Lord's public ministry is at an end. In the raising of Lazarus the seventh and last sign to the Jews has been given, and their rejection of their Messiah has been recorded as the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy (John 12.37–41). From this point it is to the disciples that Jesus' final teaching is given, so although the same themes based on the same lections emerge, all now is related to the Church and its mission to the world. Thus the theme of the second coming appears here as in chapter 5, but the words of 5.28 'All that are in the tombs . . . shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement' become in chapter 14 'I come again, and will receive you unto myself . . . I will not leave you orphans: I come unto you . . . because I live, ye shall live also'. The main thought is that of the journey to heaven and the final vision of God. We have seen how this is foreshadowed in the New Year lections and Psalms—in the Songs of Ascents

[1] If Deuteronomy 31–32 fell to Purim in the regular cycle, then Büchler's conjecture that the lections terminated on the 7th Adar does not hold good for the first century A.D. The lections must have continued until the end of Adar, and the four special sabbath readings were obviously intended for an *intercalated* Adar. See above, chapter 3, p. 28, n. 1; and below, Appendix, pp. 236–42.

[2] Cf. Snaith, op. cit., pp. 192–4. The main emphasis is on God as Judge at the New Year—the order is Judge and King rather than King and Judge.

and other New Year Psalms, with their thought of going up to the house of God and seeing the face of God; in Moses' prayer to see God's glory and that God's presence might go with Israel on their journey; in Jacob's

John 14	*New Year Lectionaries*	*New Year Psalms*
In *my Father's house* are many mansions. . . . I go *to prepare a place for you*. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will *receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also.*	*Gen. 28.* This is none other but *the house of God*, and this is the gate of heaven. . . . If God will be with me . . . so that I come again to *my father's house* in peace. . . .	*Ps. 23.* The Lord is my shepherd, *I shall not want.* . . . He guideth me in the paths of righteousness . . . . And I will *dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.*
	Deut. 1. The Lord your God who went before you in the way *to choose you a place* to pitch your tents in . . . to shew you *by which way ye should go*	*Ps. 26.* Lord, I love *the habitation of thy house.*
	Deut. 2.7. Thou hast lacked nothing.	*Ps. 27.* One thing have I asked of the Lord . . . that I may *dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life*, to behold the beauty of the Lord.
And whither I go, ye know the way. Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; *how know we the way?* Jesus saith unto him, *I am the way* . . . no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.	*Gen. 28.* Behold, a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached unto heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.	*Ps. 73.* Nevertheless *I am continually with thee.* . . . Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterward *receive me to glory.*
		Ps. 122. I was glad when they said unto me, *Let us go unto the house of the Lord.*
	Is. 35. And an high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called, *The way of holiness*; the redeemed shall walk there.	*Ps. 25.* Shew me *thy ways*, O Lord; teach me *thy paths.*
Lord, *shew us the Father* and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you and dost thou not know me, Philip? *he that hath seen me hath seen the Father*	*Ex. 33.18. Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory.* (LXX ἐμφάνισόν[1] μοι σεαυτόν.) And he said, *Thou canst not see my face*, for man shall not see me and live.	*Ps. 24.* This is the generation of them that seek after him, *that seek thy face, O God of Jacob.*
Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself (ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτόν) unto us and not unto the world?	*Deut. 4.15.* Ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire.	*Ps. 27.* When thou saidst, Seek ye my face; my heart said unto thee, *Thy face, Lord, will I seek.*
	Deut. 5.24. The Lord our God hath *shewed us his glory.* *Gen. 32. I have seen God* face to face.	

[1] Only here in Pentateuch.

John 14	*New Year Lectionaries*	*New Year Psalms*
If ye love me, keep my commandments. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. . . . If a man love me, he will keep my word.	*Deut. 4.40.* And thou shalt *keep . . . his commandments.* *5.29.* O that there were such an heart in them that they would fear me and *keep my commandments.* *5.33.* Ye shall walk in all the way which the Lord your God hath commanded you. *6.2.* . . . keep . . . his commandments. *6.5.* Thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart.	
Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be fearful (μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω). Δειλιάω nowhere else in the New Testament.	*Deut. 1.21.* Fear not, neither be dismayed. (LXX μὴ φοβεῖσθε, μηδὲ δειλιᾶσθε) – *Deut. 1.29.* Dread not, neither be afraid. *Deut. 31.3, 6 LXX.* And it shall be Joshua that goes before thy face . . . fear not, neither be cowardly (μὴ φοβοῦ, μηδὲ δειλιάσῃς . . .).	*Ps. 27.* The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? . . . of whom shall I be afraid? (LXX τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω;).
Arise, let us go hence (ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν).	*Deut. 2.13 LXX.* Now then arise and depart (ἀνάστητε καὶ ἀπάρατε ὑμεῖς). *Deut. 2.24.* Now then arise and depart. *Ex. 33.1.* Depart, go up hence (LXX ἀνάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν). *Ex. 33.15.* If thy presence go not with me, carry us up not hence (LXX μή με ἀναγάγῃς ἐντεῦθεν).	

vision of the ladder to heaven at Bethel and the face of God at Peniel; and in the repeated exhortations to Israel in the early chapters of Deuteronomy to go up and possess the land, since God himself would go before them in the way—'*In the way*' being almost a key phrase of these particular lectionary readings. All these allusions, familiar no doubt to the disciples through the worship of the synagogue, are now crystallized for them in our Lord's words 'I am the way . . . no man cometh unto the Father but by me'. The relation of John 14 to its lectionary background is shown above.

One or two points call for attention. Are the words 'Arise, let us go hence' in verse 31 simply an echo of Mark 14.42, marking a formal pause in the discourse rather than a change of scene, or are they to be taken literally? No theory of rearrangement or interpolation satisfactorily solves the problem. Cyril of Alexandria interpreted the words to mean 'Arise, let us remove from death unto life, and from corruption unto incorruption', and this admirably suits the themes of the whole chapter and of the Feast of New Year—the journey to heaven, the Father's house; Jesus as the forerunner, the Way; his promise to come again and receive his disciples to himself. It seems possible that the words owe something to the influence of the New Year lections from Exodus and Deuteronomy. In Exodus, Moses pleads for God's presence with his people as they set out on their journey to the promised land. In Deuteronomy, the people are encouraged to arise and depart, and Joshua (Jesus) is the chosen leader who will go before them and cause them to inherit the land (Deuteronomy 3.28). It would seem that the words depend on the theological thought and the lectionary background rather than on any historical reminiscence.

Secondly, does the connexion of John 14 with the themes of New Year throw any light on the meaning of παράκλητος? Philo uses παράκλητος in the sense of *advocate* or intercessor, and the word is used in much the same way in *Aboth* iv. 11: 'Rabbi Eliezer b. Jacob says: He that performs one precept gets for himself one advocate (פרקליט), but he that commits one transgression gets for himself one accuser. Repentance and good works are as a shield against retribution.' A similar use of παράκλητος as meaning an advocate is found in early Christian writings. The word has therefore often been interpreted as meaning advocate, counsel, one who pleads, convicts, and convinces, and the thought of the Holy Spirit as Paraclete in this sense is paralleled in the argument of Romans 8.26–34. On the other hand, the verb παρακαλέω is used in the LXX in contexts expressing God's comfort and consolation of Israel, and Aquila and Theodotion used παράκλητος of Job's comforters in Job 16.2; hence Wyclif's translation of the word in the Gospel by *comforter* gains support.

It is suggested that if the liturgical background of John 14 is the Feast of the New Year, the primary meaning of παράκλητος is *advocate*. It is true that παρακαλέω is used of God's consolation of Israel (often his consolation in the coming Messianic Age), but an examination of such usage shows that it is often consolation on a background of God's *judgement*, as for example in Isaiah 40.1 ff. 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people. . . . Speak ye comfortably unto Jerusalem and cry unto her . . . that *her iniquity is pardoned;* that she hath received of the Lord's hand *double for all her sins*'; and these words are addressed to a people who are saying 'My way is hid from the Lord and *my judgement is passed away from my God*', in a passage which speaks of God who 'maketh the judges of the earth as vanity'. The same can be said

of Psalm 135.14, 'For the Lord shall *judge* his people and repent himself [LXX comfort himself] concerning his servants'; also of Isaiah 61.2 'To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord and *the day of vengeance of our God*; to comfort all that mourn', and of Isaiah 66.13, where the promise 'As one whom his mother comforteth so will I comfort you' is again given in a context which speaks of God's judgement of evildoers, of the undying worm and the fire that is not quenched. Especially does this argument apply to Job 16.2, for the scene of the Book of Job is the heavenly court, with Satan accusing Job before God. Job's complaint is that since his friends have proved 'miserable comforters', he has no one to take his part before God: 'For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement. There is no umpire betwixt us that might lay his hand upon us both' (Job 9.32, 33).

Further, even though before Talmudic times Rosh Hashanah is never *specifically* referred to as the Day of Judgement, we have seen how the theme of God's judgement of men at the New Year appears not only in the Rabbinic writings, not only in the ideas of the Samaritans who separated from the orthodox Jews of Jerusalem sufficiently early to have avoided any innovations from the time of Ezra onwards, but in the New Year lectionary readings themselves, which were in full force by the first century A.D., at least as far as the Pentateuchal lections are concerned. The Machzor Vitry, a liturgical compilation of the school of Rashi, says in explanation of the word 'בכסה' in Psalm 81.4 (the special Psalm for the 1st Tishri) that the beginning of Tishri is 'hidden', since on the first day of the month the moon is still hidden from view. Hence Satan is deprived of one of the two witnesses (the sun and the moon) who could prove the guilt of the Israelites in connexion with the making of the golden calf. By the time the middle of the month is reached and the moon can be cited as an additional witness, Yom Kippur is already passed and Israel has obtained the Divine forgiveness. It may be argued that this is a comparatively late piece of exegesis[1] which can give us no insight into ideas about Rosh Hashanah in New Testament times. But is not exactly the same theme found in the Apocalypse? It is after the blowing of the seventh and last trumpet that Satan is cast down and the heavenly voice proclaims 'Now is come . . . the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accuseth them before our God day and night'; and the trumpets of the Apocalypse, surely, are distinctive symbols of New Year. Now in John 14 the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit is given against this background of the New Year, the second coming, and the final judgement; and, as we have seen, it is based on the lections of the regular cycle that would fall to New Year. It would follow that in this chapter the Holy Spirit is thought of not as *comforter* but as *advocate*, in antithesis to

[1] The Machzor Vitry was put forth in the year 1208 by Rabbi Simcha of Vitry.

the thought of Satan as *accuser*,[1] and an examination of the use of παρακαλέω in the LXX seems, if anything, to support this.

One further point remains to be noticed. Many New Testament passages which speak of the second coming of Christ associate with that event the sounding of a great trumpet. Three examples will suffice: 'They shall see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds' (Matthew 24.30, 31); 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed' (1 Corinthians 15.51 f.); 'For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God' (1 Thessalonians 4.16). In the Apocalypse God is described by the threefold title 'which is and which was and which is to come', but in Apocalypse 11.17, *after the seventh and last trumpet has sounded* and the time of the dead to be judged has arrived, he is addressed by the four-and-twenty elders as the Almighty, 'which art and which wast'. That is to say, the seventh trumpet ushers in the final judgement, and after it has sounded the Lord is no longer 'the coming one' because his advent has now taken place.

May we conclude that the second advent was expected at the season of the Feast of Trumpets? Probably not, since there are repeated warnings that it is not for the disciples to know times or seasons—the Day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night. But if already in Jewish thought the idea of God's judgement of mankind was associated with the Feast of Trumpets, then it would follow that, since all judgement had been committed to the Son, the Feast of New Year would be linked with the thought of the judgement-seat of Christ, and hence with his second coming. This would explain why the theme of the Parousia is prominent in John chapters 5 and 14, passages which seem to be based on New Year lections. So, just as the Church remembered at Passover time our Lord's Passion, at Pentecost his ascension, and rather belatedly made up its mind to celebrate his birth at Christmas (Hanukkah), so at the Feast of the Blowing of Trumpets it remembered his promise to come again.

[1] There may be a conscious antithesis between the Law and the Spirit in John 5 and 14. In John 5 Moses, the law-giver, is the accuser, the קטיגור: in John 14 the Holy Spirit is the advocate or פרקליט.

7

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES: WATER AND LIGHT

In John 7.2 we read: 'Now the feast of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles, was at hand.' The Feast of Tabernacles—the feast of Sukkoth or 'Booths'—celebrated the autumn ingathering of fruits, in particular the fruit of the vine. The festival seems to have had its origin among the Canaanites, at the time when Israel was settling down to an agricultural life. In the time of Abimelech we read of the men of Shechem who celebrated the completion of the vintage by a festival at the temple of their god, and there was a similar vintage festival held every year at Shiloh, when the young women came out to dance in the vineyards. *Sukkah* is the word used in Isaiah 1.8 for 'a booth in a vineyard', and the feast probably took this title from the custom of the grape-pickers of living in improvised shelters made of branches while the grapes were harvested. Professor S. H. Hooke[1] sees in the booths of greenery a connexion with the New Year ritual of the sacred marriage, the booth representing the wedding chamber. If his conjecture is accepted, it may account for the advice given to the men of Benjamin that they should obtain wives for themselves on the occasion of the dance of the young women at the vintage festival in Shiloh (Judges 21). The feast, then, marked the end of the agricultural year, and, according to Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* II. xxxiii. 204) synchronized with the autumnal equinox.

The Priestly editors ignore these agricultural associations and interpret the dwelling in booths as a memorial of the hut-dwelling during the wanderings in the wilderness. They assign a definite date to the feast—the fifteenth day of the seventh month—and add an eighth day as a concluding festival (Leviticus 23.34–36, 39–43). But although the agricultural associations disappear in the Priestly Code, they are preserved in the ritual, and the ceremonies of the water-pouring and the illumination of the women's court of the Temple bring before us the two dominant ideas of the festival—*water* and *light*. This pouring out of water is undoubtedly a survival of nature-worship and is to be regarded as a piece of sympathetic magic to ensure the rainfall of the coming year. The Tosefta (*Sukkah* iii. 3) connects this libation with the miraculous waters which, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel 47, will in future days issue from under the threshold of the Temple, bringing healing and life wherever they come. A saying attributed

[1] *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, p. 54.

to R. Akiba says, 'Pour out water at Tabernacles, for it is the rainy season, that the rains may be blessed to thee'. Of the illumination of the women's court of the Temple with its accompanying solemn disclaimer of sun-worship made by the priests at cock-crow Thackeray says: 'The illuminations, I have no doubt, commemorate the autumnal equinox; they mark the beginning of the descent to the long winter nights, and were in their origin a charm or prophylactic against the encroaching powers of darkness', and he concludes that the ritual points to the fact that the feast was originally a primitive Canaanitish feast of the sun and the rain, the two factors, under God, in the ripening of the harvest.[1]

In the New Testament the only undoubted references to the festival are in the Fourth Gospel, but the word σκήνωμα is used metaphorically of the body as the *tabernacle* of the soul in 2 Peter 1.13, 14—'Knowing that the putting off of my tabernacle cometh swiftly'. St. Paul in 2 Corinthians 5.1 calls the earthly body a σκῆνος, and it seems likely that his thought here is influenced by the Feast of Tabernacles. According to the Priestly Code the booths of the festival represent the hut-dwelling during the wanderings in the wilderness: hence, just as the Israelite dwelt in a booth for a time before he attained to a more permanent dwelling in the promised land, so the Israelite celebrating the feast dwelt for a short time in a frail booth of branches, and so the Christian dwells first in the booth of the mortal body in 'the wilderness of this world' before attaining to the heavenly courts of the New Jerusalem and to the house not made with hands, the resurrection body that God has prepared for him. Similarly, St. John uses the figure of booth-dwelling to describe the incarnation of Jesus: 'The Word became flesh and *tabernacled* among us.' In a discourse of R. Mani found in *Wayyikra Rabbah* xxx. 14 the branches of which the festal wreath was made are explicitly compared with the human body: 'The rib of the *lulab* symbolises the spine of man; the myrtle symbolises the eye; the willow symbolises the mouth, and the *ethrog* the heart.'

The key-notes of the festival, then, are the water-pouring, the illumination, the dwelling in a booth and the harvesting of the vine. All these themes appear in the Tabernacles sections of the Fourth Gospel, chapters 7–9 and 15.1–16.24. The themes of the water-pouring and the illumination are taken up in Jesus' discourses 'If any man thirst, let him come to me. . . . I am the light of the world', and in the account of the healing of the blind man, who, significantly enough, is sent to wash in the pool of Siloam, the place whence the waters for the libation poured out at the feast were drawn. In performing this miracle, Jesus repeats his claim to be the light of the

[1] H. St. John Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, p. 64. The emphatic disclaimer of sun-worship is found in the Mishnah *Sukkah* v. 4: 'Our fathers when they were in this place turned with their backs towards the temple of the Lord and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped the sun towards the east; but as for us, our eyes are turned towards the Lord.'

world (9.5). The theme of hut-dwelling becomes the theme of the incarnation, and the theme of the vintage is taken up in the opening words of chapter 15, 'I am the true vine'.

The lectionary readings for the Feast of Tabernacles echo the key-notes of the festival. For the special lections the Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) cites two passages, Zechariah 14 and 1 Kings 8, and in both the themes of water and light appear. Zechariah 14 is a prediction of a combined assault of the nations against Jerusalem, the descent of Yahweh to the mount of Olives to deliver his people, and the ushering in of an age of blessedness, when a perennial stream of living waters would issue from Jerusalem, and there would be continuous daylight. All nations would come up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, and those who did not do so would be punished by the withholding of rain. The promise of a day of miraculous light is given in verses 6–7, which Professor Mitchell in the International Critical Commentary interprets: 'There shall be no more cold and frost; it shall be one day (that is, one *continuous* day) which is known unto the Lord,[1] not day and night (alternating): yea, at evening time there shall be light.' The same tradition of a day of miraculously prolonged light appears in Philo's description of the Feast of Tabernacles (*De Specialibus Legibus* II. xxxiii. 210): 'The beginning of this feast comes on the fifteenth day of the month . . . in order that the glorious light which nature gives should fill the world not only by day but also by night, because on that day the sun and moon rise in succession to each other with no interval between their shining, which is not divided by any borderland of darkness.' Zechariah 14, with its themes of an unfailing water-supply, perpetual daylight, and the world-wide observance of the Feast of Tabernacles, would seem to be an obvious choice for a Tabernacles lection.

An alternative lesson to the Zechariah haphtarah was found in 1 Kings 8 (the dedication of Solomon's Temple). Here again appear the themes of water and light. The theme of light is found in the stanza of poetry which is put into Solomon's mouth:

> He manifested the sun in the heaven:
> The Lord said he would dwell in darkness.
> (3 Kings 8.53 LXX.)

Thackeray[2] suggests, with a slight emendation of the underlying Hebrew text:

> The sun of glory is beclouded in the heavens; Yahweh hath said he will dwell in darkness,

[1] The saying in Zechariah 14 that the Day of the Lord is 'a day which is known (only) to Yahweh' may lie behind Mark 13.32: 'But of that day . . . knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.' This seems all the more likely when it is considered that these words were spoken from the Mount of Olives, the scene of the apocalyptic coming of God described in Zechariah 14. [2] Op. cit., p. 78.

which calls up a picture of a solar obscuration in keeping with the associations of the feast of the autumnal equinox, when the hours of darkness begin to encroach upon the day.

The theme of the rainfall appears in Solomon's prayer (verse 35):

> When heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray toward this place . . . then hear thou in heaven . . . and send rain upon thy land.

There appears also the theme of God dwelling with men:

> But will God in very deed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded! (verse 27).

Nevertheless, God did indeed come to dwell with Israel, for we read that when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven and the glory of the Lord filled the house. It is also recorded that on this occasion Solomon kept a seven-day feast. This feast can have been none other than the Feast of Tabernacles. Not only is it described as '*the* feast', but also after seven days had been kept an eighth day was observed as a 'closing festival', the term used for the eighth day of Tabernacles in the Priestly Code (Leviticus 23.36); and it commenced on the fifteenth day of the seventh month (2 Chronicles 7.8–10). On the twenty-third day the people 'went unto their tents (לאהליהם) joyful and glad of heart' (1 Kings 8.66). Here the LXX renders אהל as σκήνωμα or *tabernacle*. The whole passage seems eminently suitable to be chosen as a lectionary reading for the Feast of Tabernacles.

From the special readings we turn to the regular readings of the triennial cycle that would fall to Tabernacles. John 7.14 is dated 'the midst of the feast', and 7.37 mentions the last day of the feast, but from this point there is an unbroken slide to 10.22, two months later. Chapters 7–8, then, must be allocated to the second half of Tishri, chapter 9 either to the end of Tishri or to the beginning of Cheshvan, and chapter 10 to the Feast of the Dedication (Kisleu–Tebeth). For convenience, we reproduce from the list of sedarim on page 234 an extract showing the lessons from the Law that would fall to the period from the last sabbath in Elul to the first in Cheshvan in the three years of the cycle:

24 Elul	Gen.	30.22	27 Elul	Lev.	5.1	23 Elul	Deut.	2.2
2 Tishri	,,	31.3	5 Tishri	,,	6.12	1 Tishri	,,	3.23
9 ,,	,,	32.4	12 ,,	,,	8.1	8 ,,	,,	4.25
16 ,,	,,	33.18	19 ,,	,,	10.8	15 ,,	,,	6.4
23 ,,	,,	35.9	26 ,,	,,	12.1	22 ,,	,,	7.12
30 ,,	,,	37.1	3 Chesh.	,,	13.29	29 ,,	,,	9.1
7 Chesh.	,,	38.1	10 ,,	,,	14.1	6 Chesh.	,,	10.1

In the first year of the cycle, Genesis 30.22 would fall to the last sabbath in Elul, or in some years to the first day of Tishri. It was no doubt the custom of reading this particular passage immediately before or at New Year that gave rise to the tradition that Rachel was 'remembered' on New Year's Day. In the third year of the cycle, Deuteronomy 2.2 would fall to the last sabbath in Elul, 3.23 to New Year's Day, and 4.25 ff.–9.1 ff. to the remaining four sabbaths of Tishri. In some years, however, when there happened to be five sabbaths in Elul and four in Tishri, Deuteronomy 4.25 ff. might fall to New Year, and thus the Decalogue would be read on that day, just as it was at Pentecost, when Exodus 20 would be reached in the cycle. Deuteronomy 6.4, 7.12, 9.1, and 10.1 would then be read on the four sabbaths of Tishri, and 11.10 on the first sabbath of Cheshvan. Büchler allocates to Tabernacles Genesis 34 for the first year of the cycle, Leviticus 9–10 for the second and Deuteronomy 8–9 for the third, which approximately corresponds with our list.

The lections that would form the background of John 7–9, then, would be those that fall to the period 19th Tishri ('the midst of the feast') to 7th Cheshvan, namely Genesis 35.9, 37.1, and 38.1 for the first year, Leviticus 10.8, 12.1, and 13.29 for the second, and Deuteronomy 7.12, 9.1, and 10.1 for the third.

One or two points seem worth mentioning in connexion with these Torah lessons. The Targum of Palestine connects Genesis 35.9 ff. with the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles, and comments on verse 14, 'And Jacob erected there a pillar of stone . . . and he poured out upon it a libation of wine and a libation of water, because thus it was to be done at the Feast of Tabernacles'. Further, certain common themes run through these lections for all three years of the cycle: Leviticus 12, for example, contains the theme of the birth of a man child, and the births of Joseph, Benjamin, and the twin boys Perez and Zerah are recorded in Genesis 30.22, 35.16, and 38.27 respectively. The older *Pesikta* connects the eighth day of Tabernacles with Leviticus 12 (the lection allocated to about that time in our list) by means of verse 3, which gives the law of circumcision on the eighth day after the birth of a male child. Now this theme of circumcision is found also in the first-year lection Genesis 34 and the third-year lection Deuteronomy 10. Finally, with the arrangement of the Psalter to suit a triennial cycle the Asaph Psalms (73–83) begin just before Tishri: thus the *Joseph* stories (the name being derived from the root *Asaph*) and the *Asaph* Psalms both begin in the *Asiph* month.

With regard to the haphtaroth, the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] cites Isaiah 43.1–21 as haphtarah to Genesis 35.9, and Isaiah 32.18–33.15 as haphtarah to Genesis 37.1. As haphtarah to Genesis 38.1 Büchler[1] suggests 2 Samuel

[1] A. Büchler, op. cit., vi. 2–3. The Mishnah (*Megillah* iv. 10) enumerates certain passages from the Pentateuch which it was permitted to read in public but not to translate,

11.2, which agrees well with the seder as to subject-matter, and which contains an allusion to *booths*: 'And Uriah said unto David, The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in booths (בסכות).' Mann, however, considers that the Yelammedenu sermon in *Tanḥuma, Wayyesheb*, § 8, presupposes a haphtarah which began with Hosea 12.1 and concluded at 14.9. With regard to the second-year haphtaroth, Büchler allocates Isaiah 66 to Leviticus 12, with which it tallies by means of the reference to the birth of a man child (זכר) in verse 7. This verse is introduced in a homily on Genesis 38 in *Bereshith Rabbah* lxxxv. 1, where it is applied to the birth of the Redeemer. To the seder Leviticus 13.29 which gives the law for the cleansing of a leper, Büchler allocates 2 Kings 5, which tells of the healing of the leper Naaman—an obvious choice of haphtarah. With regard to the third-year haphtaroth, Büchler allocates Isaiah 4.6, the Karaite haphtarah for Tabernacles, to Deuteronomy 8,[1] and Jeremiah 2.1 to Deuteronomy 9.[2] The Massoretic division apportions Jeremiah 9.22–24 to Deuteronomy 8, and 2 Kings 13.23 to Deuteronomy 10. According to Mann,[3] the listed haphtarah for this last-named seder began with 1 Kings 8.9.

and at the same time records a discussion by the sages of the end of the first century on the question whether or not certain sections from the Prophets might be read as haphtaroth. The Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 31) cites several more of such passages.

Büchler argues that the discussion recorded in the Mishnah proves that by the end of the first century these prophetical passages had already been allocated to their respective Pentateuchal lections; and further, that it is possible to determine, from similarity of subject-matter, how the various Pentateuchal and prophetic portions to which this prohibition applied had been paired off. On this basis he allocates Judges 19 as the prophet portion for Genesis 19, and 2 Samuel 11.2 as the prophet portion for Genesis 38.

[1] A. Büchler, op. cit., vi. 25–26. Büchler considers that the prophet readings for Tabernacles enumerated in b. *Megillah* 31a (Zechariah 14 and 1 Kings 8) and the Karaite haphtarah Isaiah 4.6 together make the three haphtaroth which correspond to the three years of the triennial cycle, and which can therefore each be apportioned to a Pentateuchal seder for Tabernacles. Büchler continues: 'In the first year Genesis 32 seq. or 34 formed the reading for Tabernacles. . . . We must assign Zechariah 14 as the haphtarah for the first year, since the beginning of this chapter is appropriate to the contents of Genesis 34. . . . To the seder of the third year, Deuteronomy 8–9, Isaiah 4.6 must be annexed as haphtarah on account of their obvious connection with each other. The second haphtarah, which describes the inauguration of the Temple of Solomon, must accordingly be coupled with the consecration festival described in Leviticus 9–10.'

Now the connexion between Zechariah 14 and Genesis 34 seems rather tenuous, and the 'obvious connection' between Deuteronomy 8–9 and Isaiah 4.6 is difficult to find. Isaiah 4.6 speaks of the booth (סכה) in which the righteous shall shelter. Apart from specific allusions to the Feast of Tabernacles itself (in Leviticus 23, Deuteronomy 16, and Deuteronomy 31.10), the noun סכה is found in the Pentateuch only in Genesis 33.17; hence Isaiah 4.6 is more suitably allocated to this seder than to Deuteronomy 8–9. Zechariah 14.17 corresponds with Deuteronomy 11.17, and Zechariah 14.8 with Deuteronomy 11.24. 1 Kings 8.14 tallies with Leviticus 9.22 and, as Büchler notes, both passages describe a consecration festival. On the other hand, 1 Kings 8.9 echoes Deuteronomy 10.5, and 1 Kings 8.27 tallies closely with Deuteronomy 10.14 by means of the phrase 'the heaven, and the heaven of heavens', so there would seem to be no special reason for allocating this prophet portion to Leviticus 9 rather than to Deuteronomy 10.

[2] Op. cit., vi. 37.

[3] Op. cit., p. 526.

These third-year haphtaroth seem to be well suited to the season of Tabernacles. Jeremiah 2 alludes to Israel as a vine, and to Yahweh as the fountain of living waters. Isaiah 4 speaks of the cloud of glory and says, 'And there shall be a tabernacle (סכה) for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a refuge and for a covert from storm and from rain'. The Targum says that the promised protection shall be the Shekinah, which will cover Mount Zion as with a canopy. The *Pesikta* expounds this verse as meaning that he who keeps the rules concerning the festival booth will be sheltered by God from the heat of the coming Day of the Lord. The Isaiah passage continues with the Song of the Vineyard, a suitable theme for the season of the vintage. Thus the Tabernacles themes of water, light, and the vintage all appear in the prophetic lections.

We can now examine John 7–9 and 15.1–16.24 (the Tabernacles sections of John—see Diagram 2, p. 48) against the background of these lectionary readings. A lengthy section of the Gospel is involved, and one that contains what seems at first glance a bewildering variety of themes. However, it is possible to integrate all these different themes if we notice that they all relate to the main features of the feast—the water-pouring, the illuminations, the vintage, and the custom of dwelling in booths. The first two seem to have been taken by the Evangelist as symbols of Christian baptism, which conveyed the gift of the Spirit and enlightenment; the theme of the vintage appears in the discourse in John 15 in which Jesus as the true vine is contrasted with Israel, the fruitless vine; while the theme of dwelling in a booth is developed in relation to the incarnation of the Word who tabernacled among us. We shall divide the material into four sections, John 7.1–52, 8.12–59, 7.53–8.11 (the *Pericope Adulterae*), and finally 15.1–16.24.

JOHN 7.1–52

Two main themes appear in this section, the theme of the mystery of Jesus' identity, and the theme of the living water.

(*a*) *The mystery of Jesus' identity*

In the enigmatic conversation between Jesus and his brothers he announces: 'Go ye up unto this feast: I go not up unto this feast, because my time is not yet fulfilled' (7.8); but some time later, in the midst of the feast, he goes up in secret to Jerusalem. The contradiction is usually explained in terms of John 2.1–11, where the Mother of Jesus desires him to use his miraculous powers for the benefit of the wedding guests, and is rebuked with the words 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come.' Loisy says: 'As it is not fitting for the incarnate Word to do his first miracle . . . at the invitation of his mother according to the flesh,

so also it is not fitting for him to inaugurate the purely Judaean ministry at the instigation of his brothers.'

This explanation does not account for the fact that although there are many allusions in the Fourth Gospel to the Lord's *hour* not having yet come, only here is the word *καιρός* used. In St. John the *hour* is the hour of Jesus' death. In 7.30 and 8.20 the threat of arrest is averted because the hour is not yet come. In 12.23 the declaration that the hour *is* come is followed by a prediction of death: 'Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit'; and similarly in 13.1 we read that Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world. It looks as if in 7.8 a different form of words *ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὔπω πεπλήρωται* is used deliberately and in distinction to *οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου*. If the *hour* is the hour of his death, what is meant by the *time*? The words of 7.8 bring instantly to mind the Markan summary of the Lord's preaching *Πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός, καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* (Mark 1.15). 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand' stood already in the Q tradition as the message to be proclaimed by the disciples (Matthew 10.7 and Luke 10.9), and 'The time is fulfilled' seems to be an echo from St. Paul 'When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law' (Galatians 4.4). In Luke 12.56 the multitudes are rebuked for not knowing how to interpret the time, and in 19.44 our Lord weeps over Jerusalem because she did not know the time of her visitation.

The time, then, is the time of the coming of the Messiah predicted by the prophets; and when the predicted time is fulfilled, God sends his Son into the world. It can be used either of the actual time of his birth, or of the whole period of his incarnate ministry, but in St. John's Gospel it seems to be used more specifically of the birth. Commenting on the erection of booths at the Feast of Tabernacles, Hoskyns[1] says: 'Perhaps to the writer of the Gospel the significance of the busy erection of tabernacles is first fully seen in the arrival, in the midst of the feast, of Jesus in whom the Word of God veritably tabernacled in the midst of his people.' At the birth of our Lord, God came to tabernacle with men, and the words of Solomon 'But will God in very deed dwell on the earth?' came to pass.

Against this reckoning we have the traditional fixing of Christmas as the 25th December, corresponding approximately with the Feast of the Dedication, but this tradition is not found until the fourth century. In the time of Clement of Alexandria Christmas was taken by some to be in April, by others in May, and the very lateness in fixing this festival bears witness to the lack of any certain knowledge of the date of our Lord's birth. The festivals of the Christian calendar that were fixed early (Easter

[1] Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, p. 310.

to Whitsuntide) were precisely those about which there was no uncertainty because specific points of time had been fixed for them, for the Gospels give the date of the passion, and Acts (1.3, 5, 9) gives the date of the ascension and the gift of the Holy Spirit. But apart from these dates the Gospels are curiously vague about chronology. Neither Matthew nor Luke gives any indication of the month in which the nativity took place, though Luke does indeed mention that shepherds were in the fields keeping watch over their flocks, and this, though by no means conclusive, rather bears against December.

It seems probable that the date of the nativity was not known, or if it was known the knowledge was kept secret and was early lost. In default of precise knowledge of the time of any particular event in Jesus' life its place in the Christian calendar would be settled on purely theological grounds, with, of course, the risk of the clash of rival theological opinions. This is best illustrated by the New Testament teaching regarding the ascension and heavenly session. St. Luke records that the ascension took place forty days after the resurrection, i.e. shortly before Pentecost. Hence the meaning of the ascension was interpreted in the light of the Jewish associations that clustered round Pentecost. The doctrine that when Jesus ascended to heaven he sat down at the right hand of God was evidently taken from Psalm 110, not simply at random, but because, with a triennial cycle of Psalms, *Psalm 110 would regularly be reached by Pentecost*. Similarly, this doctrine as it appears in the Epistle to the Ephesians, 'When he ascended on high he led captivity captive and received gifts for men' is based on Psalm 68, the special Psalm for Pentecost according to both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic Rituals and which would fall to Pentecost with a triennial cycle of Psalms beginning in Shebat. Thus the liturgical use of the synagogue has in part determined the theology of the ascension, just as the ritual of the Passover lamb has influenced the theology of the passion. In the same way, if the date of our Lord's birth was not known, it would probably come to be associated with that Jewish festival on which the thought of God's coming to dwell with his people was prominent, namely, the Feast of Tabernacles.

The lectionary readings of the regular cycle that would fall to Tabernacles are thoroughly suited to the theme of the incarnation. In Genesis 35.9 ff. we read of the birth of a son to Rachel 'in the way to Ephrath (the same is Bethlehem)'. In Genesis 38 we read of the birth of sons to Judah, the ancestor of the Messiah. In the second year of the cycle Leviticus 12, telling of the birth of a man child, was read, and with it Isaiah 66, which contains the theme of the travailing woman who brings forth a man child; and it is remarkable that in *Bereshith Rabbah* lxxxv. 1 Isaiah's oracle is taken as a prediction of the birth of the Redeemer.

Further, it is striking that two New Testament passages which tell of the

Lord's birth, Revelation 12 and Luke 2, seem to depend on Genesis 37, Leviticus 12, and Isaiah 66, all of which are lectionary readings for Tabernacles. Luke 2 combines 'Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart' (an allusion to Genesis 37.11) with a reference to the law of circumcision as it is given in Leviticus 12. In Revelation 12 the mention of the sun, the moon, and the twelve stars recalls Joseph's dream, in which he saw his parents as the sun and the moon and his brothers and himself as the twelve stars. In Revelation 12.4 the dragon waits for the woman to be delivered so that he may devour her child (*ἵνα, ὅταν τέκῃ, τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ*). In Genesis 37 Jacob says when he sees Joseph's blood-stained coat, 'An evil wild beast has devoured him, a wild beast has snatched away Joseph' (LXX *θηρίον πονηρὸν κατέφαγεν αὐτόν, θηρίον ἥρπασε τὸν Ἰωσήφ*). In the Apocalypse, the child is snatched away (*ἡρπάσθη*) to God, and to his throne. The passage also tallies with Leviticus 12 and with its haphtarah, Isaiah 66, by means of verses 2 and 5: 'And she crieth out, travailing in birth, and in pain to be delivered. . . . And she was delivered of a man child.' This passage follows the blowing of the seventh and last trumpet (11.15), with its theme of judgement (verse 18); and in chapter 12 we pass from the Feast of the Blowing of Trumpets to the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. verse 12, 'Therefore rejoice, O heavens, and ye that *tabernacle* in them').

There remains one more nativity story—that of St. Matthew—which has so far not been discussed. It is suggested that this story also is based on lections that would be read at Tabernacles; in particular, on Genesis 35.9 ff., which tells of Rachel's death in childbirth at Ephrath, or Bethlehem. The exposition of this passage found in Midrash *Bereshith Rabbah* lxxxii. 10 seems worth quoting at this point, since it shows interesting parallels with the Matthean nativity story:

And Rachel died, and was buried . . . in the way to Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem. R. Jannai and R. Jonathan were sitting together when a sectarian came and asked them, What is the meaning of the verse, *When thou art departed from me today, then thou shalt find two men by the tomb of Rachel, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah* (1 Samuel 10.2). But surely . . . Rachel's tomb is in Judah, for it is written, *And was buried in the way to Ephrath—the same is Bethlehem*; while it is written, *But thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah, which art little among the thousands of Judah* (Micah 5.1)? Said R. Jannai, Take away my reproach. . . . [R. Jonathan settles the difficulty.]

And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath. What was Jacob's reason for burying Rachel in the way to Ephrath? Jacob foresaw that the exiles would pass on from thence, therefore he buried her there so that she might pray for mercy for them. Thus it is written, *A voice is heard in Ramah . . . Rachel weeping for her children. . . . Thus saith the Lord: Refrain thy voice from weeping . . . and there is hope for thy future* (Jeremiah 31.15).

Here we find Micah 5.1 linked with Jeremiah 31.15, just as it is in the Matthean nativity story. Is it possible that in the first century Jeremiah 31.15 ff. was read as haphtarah to Genesis 35.9?

If, then, the influence of these lectionary readings for Tabernacles can be seen in Luke 2, Revelation 12, and Matthew 2, all of which passages deal with the birth of Christ, it would seem possible that the nativity was in early times connected with the season of Tabernacles—partly, no doubt, from association of ideas (the thought of God's coming to tabernacle with men), and partly from the suitability of the themes of the lections read at that season, some of which tell of the birth of men children. If so, we might expect to find the same theme emerging in the Tabernacles sections of the Fourth Gospel, and we might also expect allusions to the same lectionary readings. Now this is exactly what we do find: allusions to the Tabernacles lections Leviticus 12, Isaiah 66, and Genesis 37 appear with unmistakable clarity. Leviticus 12, which begins with the theme of the birth of a man child, is referred to in John 7.22 ff. The theme of the travailing woman contained in Isaiah 66 (haphtarah to Leviticus 12) appears in John 16.21 ff., where the words of the LXX are virtually reproduced; and the theme of persecution (taken from an earlier verse in the same haphtarah) appears, as we shall see, in John 7–9, and in chapter 15.

There are also allusions to Genesis 37. The hatred shown to our Lord by his own people and the unbelief of his brothers (7.5) bring to mind the treatment of Joseph by his brothers, who refuse to believe in him or his dreams, and plan to kill him. In their murderous intention they become the agents of the devil, and Jacob's lament over Joseph, 'An evil beast (LXX *θηρίον*) hath devoured him' would no doubt convey a double meaning to a first-century Christian. In John 8 the attitude of the Jews to Jesus and their attempts to kill him prove them to be the successors of Joseph's brothers, doing the works of their father, the devil, the 'murderer from the beginning'. Their attempt to stone the Lord is foiled, for 'Jesus was hidden' (8.59); thereupon they persecute the man born blind who confesses Christ, casting him out of the synagogue. The theme of Revelation 12 is the same. Cheated of his murderous designs on the man child, the dragon turns against the Church: 'And the dragon waxed wroth with the woman, and went away to make war with the rest of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and hold the testimony of Jesus' (Revelation 12.17). Through his agent, the beast (*τὸ θηρίον*) he persecutes the saints (13.7). The theme of persecution is taken up again in the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses. 'If the world hateth you' says our Lord 'ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you. . . . If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you' (John 15.18, 20). 'They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God' (16.2).

To recapitulate: The traditional fixing of the date of Christmas is not found until the fourth century, which suggests that the date of the nativity was either kept secret or was not known. The Lukan and Matthean accounts of the birth of Jesus give little or no indication of date. However, the Lukan story of the presentation of Jesus in the Temple is based on lectionary readings that would fall to Tabernacles, which would suggest a date for the birth shortly before Tishri.[1] It is possible that the Matthean account similarly makes use of Tabernacles lections. Revelation 12, which tells of the birth of the man child, is based on Genesis 37, Leviticus 12, and Isaiah 66—all lectionary readings for Tabernacles; and further, the birth takes place immediately after the sounding of the seventh and last trumpet, which marks the end of the Feast of the Blowing of Trumpets. When we turn to the Fourth Gospel we find an account of a visit to Jerusalem on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles based on these same lections. Jesus refuses to manifest himself openly at the feast, but goes up in secret, and the enigmatic conversation that he holds with his brothers suggests that there is a mystery connected with the event. Finally, a connexion between the Feast of Tabernacles and the incarnation may be reflected in the words of John 1.14, 'And the Word became flesh, and tabernacled (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) among us'.

If, then, the *καιρός* of John 7.8 is understood as signifying the time of the incarnation, the foreordained season when God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, into the world, then our Lord's action in avoiding a public manifestation of himself at the feast and going up *in secret* has perhaps a symbolic force. The mystery of God made flesh is revealed only to faith, and 'neither did his brethren believe on him'. In John 7 the reader overhears, as it were, discussions about Jesus amongst the crowd, the officers, and the Pharisees. From whence does Jesus come? Is he a deceiver or a good man? Is he the Christ? or the prophet? To outward appearance he

[1] Three further reasons may be suggested for connecting the Lukan nativity story with the season New Year–Tabernacles:

(1) Justin and some of the apocryphal gospels say that the child was laid in a cave, not in a manger. The LXX rendering of Isaiah 33.16, 17, is 'He shall dwell in a high cave of a strong rock. . . . Ye shall see a king with glory', and this was supposed to point to a birth in a cave. Thus the tradition that the nativity took place in a cave may be a supposed prophecy turned into history. According to both Büchler and Mann, Isaiah 32.18 ff. is the haphtarah to Genesis 37, one of the three passages on which Luke 2 seems to depend. Hence, if the haphtarah extended to 33.16, the mention of the cave would occur in one of the regular lectionary readings for Tabernacles.

(2) There are points of contact between Luke 2 and John 8. In John 8.12 our Lord calls himself 'the light of *the world*'. In Luke 2.32 the child is declared to be 'a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel'—a light for all mankind. Further, there is an allusion to *not seeing death* in John 8.51 and Luke 2.26, and to *not tasting death* in John 8.52. In the Gospels, this phrase is confined to these instances and the Transfiguration narrative, which probably belongs to the season New Year–Tabernacles.

(3) The mention of shepherds keeping watch over their flocks out of doors suits October better than December.

is simply a Galilean, unlearned in the Law, about whose paternity there is doubt, and even scandal (8.41); for the Evangelist seems to be aware of current Jewish attacks upon the virgin birth as, in fact, a birth of fornication. Repeatedly in this section, allusions are introduced to a peculiarity concerning the birth of Jesus (7.27, 28; 8.19, 41). Against the background of the Tabernacles lectionary readings we now see the force of the Evangelist's irony. The Jews claim that, unlike Jesus, *they* were not born of fornication, despite the fact that Genesis 38, read at the very season when the words were spoken, tells of the irregular relations of Judah and Tamar, the ancestors of David, and its haphtarah 2 Samuel 11.2 tells of David's sin with Bathsheba. In John 9 the Pharisees deny any knowledge of our Lord, and remark contemptuously to the man born blind, 'As for this man, we know not whence he is'. They thus unconsciously fulfil yet another Tabernacles lectionary reading which, since it was the sabbath, may have been read on that very day, namely, Jeremiah 2.8: 'The priests said not, Where is the Lord? and *they that handle the law knew me not.*' So to unbelief the incarnation is a scandal, and the only person at the feast who recognizes our Lord is the man born blind. But the physically blind, as the Evangelist shows, may yet have the mystery of the person of the Lord manifested to them, while those who see may remain blind in unbelief. With a kind of poetic fitness, the same accusation as is brought against Jesus is brought also against the only one who believes in him—'Thou wast altogether born in sins' (9.34), and the disciples themselves discuss the probability of the man's parents having sinned before his birth. Finally, in 7.41, 42, there is a discussion about the predestined birthplace of the Messiah—Bethlehem. Now in Genesis 35.19, one of the sedarim of the regular cycle for Tabernacles, Bethlehem is mentioned as the place where Rachel died after the birth of Benjamin.

(*b*) *The gift of the living waters*

From the theme of the incarnation we turn to the theme of the living water: he who was born of the Spirit gives the Spirit. Just as the hut-dwelling of Tabernacles symbolized for the Evangelist the incarnation of the Word who tabernacled among us, so the two main features of the ritual of that feast, the libation of water and the illuminations, are interpreted as symbolizing Christian baptism. Baptism brought with it illumination and the life-giving Spirit—light and life. The theme of *light* is elaborated in John 8.12–59 and in the account of the healing of the man born blind. At present we are concerned with the theme of the life-giving water. In John 7.37–40 we read:

> Now on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come unto me; and let him drink that believeth on me.

> As the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.[1] But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive, for Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified.

It is not clear precisely what Old Testament passage is cited, nor how it is applied, nor whether the living waters are to flow from the Messiah or from the believer, but an examination of certain of the lectionary readings for Tabernacles already discussed seems to throw some light on all three problems. The relevant passages are as follows:

> *Isaiah 43* (*haphtarah to Genesis 35.9*). I give waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen (v. 20).
> (*If the haphtarah extended to 44.3*). For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.
> *Jeremiah 2* (*haphtarah to Deuteronomy 9*). For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water (v. 13).
> *Zechariah 14* (*cited as a Tabernacles haphtarah in b. Meg. 31a*). And it shall come to pass in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem (v. 8).
> *Deuteronomy 8.11*. Beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God . . . who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint.

In all these lections it is God who gives the living water, and in Isaiah 44.3 water and the Spirit are equated by means of the Hebrew parallelism, just as they are in John 7.39. This would support the interpretation that it is the Messiah rather than the believer from whom the living waters are to flow. But the form of the Old Testament citation presents a difficulty because though the singular *the scripture* points to a particular passage rather than to the general theme of several passages, the words 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water' are not to be found in the Hebrew Bible or in the LXX. It has been suggested that the words are a paraphrase of the prophecy of Zechariah 14.8, 'living waters shall go out from Jerusalem', substituting for the name of the Holy City the pseudonym *ṭabūr* or 'navel'. Like Delphi to the Greek, so Jerusalem to the Jew was the ὀμφαλός or centre of the universe.[2] The Tosefta, commenting on the libation of water at the feast, contains a passage which seems to support this interpretation:

> Whence is the name 'Water Gate'? It is so called because through it they take the flask of water used for the libation at the feast. R. Eliezer ben Jacob[3] says of it, 'The waters are trickling forth' (Ezekiel 47.2), intimating that water oozing out and rising as if from this flask, will in future days come forth from under the

[1] Cf. the colometry of the Old Latin manuscripts *d* and *e*, and the interpretation of the passage by Cyprian (*Ep.* lxxiii. 11).
[2] I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, i. 11.
[3] A tanna of the third generation.

threshold of the Temple; and so it says, When the man went forth eastward with the line in his hand, he measured a thousand cubits, and caused me to pass through the waters. . . . And so it is said, And it shall come to pass in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem (Zechariah 14.8). (*Sukkah* iii. 3, 8.)

It seems likely, then, that the Old Testament scripture alluded to was Zechariah 14.8, and that the living water flows from the Messiah, the new Temple, rather than from the believer: it is Jesus himself who gives the Spirit.

Linked with the theme of the living waters is the theme of *circumcision*. The waters of Tabernacles symbolize Christian baptism, which brought with it illumination and the life-giving Spirit; and baptism, the sign of the Christian covenant, is set in apposition to circumcision, the sign of the Jewish covenant. In Colossians 2.11 baptism is called 'the circumcision of Christ'—'In whom ye were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with him in baptism.' The Jewish ordinance is the 'circumcision made with hands' (Ephesians 2.11); baptism, the circumcision of Christ, is a spiritual circumcision or putting off of the body of the flesh, a matter of the *heart*. Thus a discussion on the subject of circumcision between Jesus and the Jews leads up to Jesus' offer of the living waters: 'For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision . . . and on the sabbath ye circumcise a man. If a man receiveth circumcision on the sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken, are ye wroth with me because I made a man every whit whole on the sabbath?' (John 7.22).

Here the Evangelist seems to be dependent on the seder Leviticus 12, which begins with the theme of the birth of a man child and continues with the law of circumcision. It is striking that the Evangelist found this very theme of circumcision in the sedarim that would fall to Tabernacles in all three years of the cycle, namely, in Genesis 34, Leviticus 12, and Deuteronomy 10. Verse 16 of this last seder runs, 'Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked'. The same theme is found in Jeremiah 9.22–24, which the Massoretic division allots as prophet portion to Deuteronomy 8, 'All the house of Israel are uncircumcized in heart'—a passage which may have been in St. Paul's mind when he wrote 'For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart' (Romans 2.28, 29). It is therefore appropriate that after the discussion of the seal of the old covenant in John 7.22 ff. our Lord promises the seal of the new covenant, the Spirit (verse 37): and in John 8 the theme, Who are the true children of Abraham, the true Circumcision? is taken up.

Baptism also conveyed spiritual enlightenment, the gift of *light*, and this theme is elaborated in our next division of the Gospel.

JOHN 8.12–59

The discourse opens with the words 'I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the light of life'. The metaphor of light is taken up in the account of the healing of the blind man in chapter 9, where the words 'I am the light of the world' are repeated, and which forms a commentary on those words; but it is not quite true to say, as Hoskyns does, that the exposition of this saying is deferred till chapter 9. The exposition begins already in John 8, in which chapter *light* is used as a metaphor for *truth*, as in 1 John 1.6 where to lie and *not do the truth* is equivalent to walking in the darkness. The same metaphorical use of *light* is made in Psalm 37.6, 'He shall make thy righteousness to go forth as the light, and thy judgement as the noonday'. Repeatedly in John 8 we find allusions to *the truth*: 'My witness is true' (verse 14); 'My judgement is true' (verse 16); 'The witness of two men is true' (verse 17); 'He that sent me is true' (verse 26); 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free' (verse 32); 'But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth' (verse 40); 'He [the devil] stood not in the truth, because there is no truth in him' (verse 44); 'If I say truth, why do ye not believe me?' (verse 46).

In the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses there is the same emphasis on truth. Our Lord is the *true* vine (15.1); the Paraclete is the Spirit of *truth* (15.26). In John 8 our Lord declares that his teaching is true because he speaks what he hears from the Father, and the Father is true: 'He that sent me is true. . . I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things' (8.26, 28). In John 16, just as the teaching of the Son is derived from the Father, so the Spirit shall declare only what he shall hear, the identity of the teaching of the Son and the Spirit being assured by an identity of origin: 'When he, the *Spirit of truth*, is come, he shall guide you into *all the truth*: for he shall not speak from himself; but what things soever he shall hear, these shall he speak, and he shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he taketh of mine, and shall declare it unto you' (16.13–15).

In John 8, then, light is used metaphorically for truth, and there is a special emphasis on Jesus as a true witness. The main dependence of the chapter is on Isaiah 43, which the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] lists as haphtarah to Genesis 35.9, read on the first sabbath of Tabernacles.[1] Just as in John 8 the Father and the Son together form the two witnesses required by Jewish law to establish any matter, so in this haphtarah (verse 10, LXX) the witnesses are the Lord God and his chosen servant. In this haphtarah, too,

[1] Bodleian 2727[3] lists verses 1–21 as the extent of the haphtarah.

occurs the *I Am* found three times on our Lord's lips in John 8. The influence of the same haphtarah is to be seen in what is said about the Spirit of truth in the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses. The Targum of Isaiah 43.12, 13, if it preserves an early tradition, is of interest in connexion with the problem of John 8.56. It is also worth noting that the allusion to spiritual blindness in verse 8 of this haphtarah, 'Bring forth the blind people that have eyes and the deaf that have ears', is paralleled in John 9.39, 'For judgement came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind'.

John 8	*Isaiah 43.1 ff. LXX*
v. 17. Yea and in your law it is written, that the witness of two men is true. *I am he that beareth witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.*	*v. 9.* Who will declare to you things from the beginning? let them bring forth their witnesses and be justified, and let them hear and declare the truth. Be ye my witnesses, and *I am a witness, saith the Lord God, and my servant whom I have chosen:* that ye may know, and believe, and understand that I am.
v. 28. When ye have lifted up the Son of man, *then shall ye know that I am. v. 24.* Except ye *believe that I am, ye shall die in your sins. v. 58.* Before Abraham was, *I am.*	*v. 10. That ye may know, and believe,* and understand *that I am. v. 25. I am, I am,* that *blots out thy transgressions and thy sins.*
v. 25. They said therefore unto him, Who art thou? Jesus said unto them, From the beginning [I am] what I even tell you (*Τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν*).[1]	*v. 12.* I am the Lord God even from the beginning (*Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*).
v. 44. Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do. He was a murderer from the beginning. *v. 41.* Ye do the works of your father.	*v. 27* (*Hebrew*). Thy first father sinned, and thine interpreters have transgressed against me.
v. 56. Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad. *v. 58.* Before Abraham was, I am.	*v. 13.* Yea, since the day was, I am.

The correspondence between Isaiah 43 and John 8 seems to be so close that there is little doubt that this prophetic passage formed the background of the discourse in John 8; in the words of Hoskyns[2] 'It is significant that in

[1] *Τὴν ἀρχὴν* is used in the LXX (Genesis 41.21, 43.20) to mean *at the beginning* or *from the beginning.*

[2] Op. cit., p. 330.

Isaiah 43.8–13 not only is the importance of witnessing associated with the divine *I am,* but also the whole is directed towards the removal of the blindness of the people and for the salvation of the nations': cf. Isaiah 43.8, 'Bring forth the blind people that have eyes and the deaf that have ears'. If, then, Isaiah 43 lies behind John 8, it is now possible with the help of this lectionary background to suggest solutions to two problems raised by Jesus' discourse: firstly, the identification of the Old Testament passage to which our Lord referred when he said 'Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day', and secondly, the reason for the insertion in some manuscripts of Luke 4.30 after John 8.59.

As to the first problem, the Targum of Isaiah 43.10, 12 runs: 'I am he that is from the beginning, yea the everlasting ages are mine. . . . I declared unto Abraham your father what was about to come.' It is not known on how early a tradition the saying about Abraham preserved in the Targum is based. However, in view of the very close dependence of John 8 on Isaiah 43 it seems by no means impossible that the tradition is an early one, and that the Old Testament passage to which our Lord referred when he spoke of Abraham's prevision was Isaiah 43.12.

With regard to the second problem, it is suggested that Luke 4.30 was inserted after John 8.59 in some manuscripts because the events of Luke 4.16–30 took place at the season of Tabernacles, and the Lukan passage is based on the same lectionary readings as is John 8 and 9. In the account of the temptation in Luke 4.1–13 the three answers that were given to the Tempter are all drawn from Deuteronomy 6–8, which would be read on the sabbath immediately before Tabernacles. Then follows Luke's account of the sermon preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, which, as we shall show,[1] is based on lectionary readings that would fall to the end of Tishri, principally on Leviticus 13 and its haphtarah 2 Kings 5. Both the Third and the Fourth Gospels seem to have been arranged for liturgical use, and it would be quite natural that a passage from the Gospels designed for public reading in the church at any particular season should be 'embroidered' with part of another Gospel lection designed for the same season, especially if the two passages were seen to be based on the same Old Testament lectionary readings.

This supposition receives unexpected confirmation from Mann's examination of the homilies on the seder that began at Genesis 35.9. The Geniza list of triennial cycle haphtaroth (Bodleian 2727[3]) allocates Isaiah 43.1–21 as haphtarah to this seder. The Yelammedenu sermon (*Tanḥuma, Wayyishlaḥ,* § 10) however, has no connexion with this haphtarah, and Dr. Mann considers that an analysis of this sermon and of the other homilies points to the existence of another underlying haphtarah, namely, Isaiah 61.1 or 2. *Now this is the passage read in the synagogue by our Lord as recorded in*

[1] See further below, chapter 8, pp. 125 f.

Luke 4.18. Further, in *Tanhuma* (Buber) there is a section to seder Genesis 35.9 based on Isaiah 61.2, with a peroration belonging to a sermon *based on Isaiah 43 tacked on at the end*. Dr. Mann concludes that the earlier haphtarah was Isaiah 61.1, and says: 'The other haphtarah from Isaiah 43.1 ff. would thus be a later innovation. . . . The reason for this substitution is difficult to ascertain. Has this to do with some interference on the part of the Byzantine government because, according to the famous passage in Luke 4.16 ff., Jesus recited as a haphtarah Isaiah 61.1–2, applying these verses, apparently, to himself?'[1]

As we have seen, John 8 shows unmistakably the influence of Isaiah 43. It is therefore possible that Mann is wrong in thinking this haphtarah a later innovation, and that *both* this and the haphtarah from Isaiah 61 were in use as alternative Tabernacles lections in New Testament times. It is tempting to suggest that the influence of the alternative haphtarah, Isaiah 61, can be seen in John 8.31–36, the discourse concerning Christian liberty and Jewish bondage, and that Isaiah 61.1 'The Lord hath anointed me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives' was in Jesus' mind when he said 'If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed'. Certainly in the Isaiah passage liberation of the captives is associated with the recovery of sight to the blind, just as it is in the sequence John 8–9, where Jesus proclaims himself the light of the world and the liberator of men from the bondage of sin.[2] The miracle of the healing of the blind man (John 9) follows most appropriately.

JOHN 7.53–8.11

The story of the woman taken in adultery formed no part of the Fourth Gospel as it was originally written. Most of the ancient authorities (e.g. the Greek Codices *Sinaiticus* and *Vaticanus*) omit this section, and those which contain it vary considerably from each other. No Greek commentator on the Gospel before the twelfth century makes any reference to the passage. On the other hand, Eusebius states that Papias refers to a story that a woman accused of many sins was brought before the Lord, and it is possible that the story formed part of the synoptic tradition.

In its present position this story breaks the continuity of our Lord's discourse at the Feast of Tabernacles. Why, then, was it inserted here? It is suggested that the insertion was made for liturgical reasons (as in the case of Luke 4.30) because the lectionary readings of the triennial cycle on which the story is based are the lections for the last sabbath in Tishri, immediately after the Feast of Tabernacles. If this pericope had been inserted after John 8.59 it would have spoiled the continuity of thought

[1] Jacob Mann, op. cit., p. 288; also p. 283, n. 302.

[2] Another haphtarah for this season, Jeremiah 2, contains the thought of Israel's bondage: 'Is Israel a servant? is he a home-born slave?' (verse 14). Compare John 8.31–36.

shown in Jesus' claim to be the light of the world (8.12) and his healing of the blind man (chapter 9). In its present position it causes less disturbance, since Jesus' discourse is already broken by the account of the discussion among the chief priests and Pharisees following the officers' failure to arrest him. Further, there is an allusion to the last day of the feast in John 7.37, so the pericope would seem to be in its proper position in relation to the lections on which it is based.

The theme of the adulterous woman appears in the sedarim of the triennial cycle for the end of Tishri in Genesis 38 (the story of Tamar) and Genesis 39 (the story of Potiphar's wife), i.e. in the sedarim that immediately follow Genesis 37, on which John 7 appears to be based. In Genesis 38 Tamar, brought forth for punishment, elicits from Judah the acknowledgement 'She hath been more righteous than I'. According to the Targum of Jerusalem, Tamar prays that his conscience may lead him to vindicate her. The haphtarah, 2 Samuel 11.2, tells the story of David and Bathsheba, and here again David is convicted by his own conscience, for on hearing Nathan's parable he says 'The man that has done this is worthy to die', and Nathan replies 'Thou art the man'.

The crux of the story of the adulterous woman comes in John 8.7 with Jesus' words 'He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her', and the teaching of which it is the vehicle can best be given in the words of St. Paul: 'Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest dost practise the same things' (Romans 2.1). Indeed, it is hardly possible to read Romans 2 without having the story of the adulteress brought to mind. Now Romans 2 contains several allusions to Old Testament passages which are lectionary readings for Tabernacles. In verse 24, 'For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you, even as it is written', there is an allusion to Isaiah 52.5, 'My name continually all the day is blasphemed', and also to Nathan's rebuke of David's sin with Bathsheba, 'By this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme'. Isaiah 52.3–53.5 is listed in the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] as haphtarah to Genesis 39.1, and the story of David and Bathsheba, as we have seen, was read as haphtarah to Genesis 38. There may be a further allusion to the haphtarah from 2 Samuel in Romans 2.1. St. Paul concludes his argument with the reflection 'For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart' (Romans 2.28, 29). Here there is an allusion to Deuteronomy 10.16, 'Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart', another Tabernacles seder. This thought is not paralleled in the *Pericope Adulterae*, but it *is* closely paralleled in the discourse that immediately follows, where our Lord teaches that the true Jew, the true child of Abraham, is he who does

the works of Abraham. The insertion of the pericope seems to have been done most judiciously.

One final pair of lectionary readings for Tabernacles should be noticed, Deuteronomy 9.1 and its haphtarah, Jeremiah 2.1. Deuteronomy 9.10 speaks of the tables of the Law 'written with the finger of God'. Is it possible that what our Lord traced in the dust was not a list of the sins of the woman's accusers, as Jerome[1] supposed, but the words of the decalogue, and that the Law, once again written with the finger of God, brought condemnation to the accusers so that they all withdrew, 'being convicted by their own conscience' (A.V.). The haphtarah, Jeremiah 2, repeats the theme that there is none righteous: 'Wherefore will ye plead with me? ye all have transgressed against me, saith the Lord. . . . Behold, I will enter into judgement with thee, because thou sayest, I have not sinned.' The insertion of the pericope at this point seems thoroughly intelligent, both liturgically and theologically. It has apparently been done with a clear understanding of St. John's lectionary scheme, and the verdict that the story has *strayed* into its present position would appear to be a mistaken one. (See further below, p. 214, n. 1.)

JOHN 15.1–16.24

We turn now to the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses. In chapters 7–9 the ritual of Tabernacles and the lections read at that festival are shown as fulfilled in Jesus: in the present section, they are shown as fulfilled in the Church. If Tabernacles, the feast of the vintage, points to him who is the true vine, it typifies also those who are the branches. Just as chapters 7–9 tell how the Jews persecuted Jesus and put out of the synagogue the blind man who confessed him as Christ, so chapters 15 and 16 speak of the persecution of the Church, whose members will be put out of the synagogue and hated by the world. Particularly interesting is the way in which the Tabernacles theme of *light*, which the Evangelist equates with *truth*, reappears in chapter 15. In chapter 8, Jesus is shown as the light of the world, the one whose witness is true, because he speaks only that which he hears from the Father. In chapter 16 the *Spirit of truth* speaks only what he hears from Jesus, and thus guides the disciples into all the truth. The main themes of this section of the Gospel can be summarized as follows:

(1) The true vine and its branches. The fruit of the Spirit. 15.1–17.
(2) The hatred and persecution of the world. 15.18–25, 16.1–3.
(3) The sending of the Spirit of truth. The witness of the Spirit and of the disciples to Christ. 15.26–16.15.
(4) The significance of Isaiah's prophecy of the travailing woman. 16.16–22.

[1] *Contra Pelag.* ii. 17.

(5) The efficacy of prayer in Jesus' name: 'Ask whatsoever ye will.' 15.7, 16. 16.23–24.

The second, third, and fourth of these themes have already appeared in chapters 7–9; the first and fifth are new. With regard to the first, we have seen how, in John 7–9, the Tabernacles themes of the water-pouring and the illuminations form the background of the discourse. The theme of the vintage is reserved for chapter 15, which opens with our Lord's words 'I am the true vine'. With regard to the fifth, the discussion on the efficacy of prayer in Jesus' name appears to be based on the special lesson for Tabernacles cited in the Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a), 1 Kings 8, where a promise is made to Solomon that prayer directed towards the Temple will be heard. These two new themes will be discussed later.

The hatred of the world

The theme of the hatred and persecution of the world has already appeared in the earlier section. In chapter 7.7 our Lord says, 'The world cannot hate you, but me it hateth, because I testify of it that its works are evil', and we read how the Jews revile Jesus, accusing him of demon possession, send officers to take him, and finally attempt to stone him. In chapter 9 the Jews abuse the blind man for his witness to Jesus and cast him out of the synagogue. This theme of persecution, as we have seen, depends in part on Genesis 37, which tells of the treatment accorded to Joseph by his brothers. Its main dependence, however, is on Isaiah 66, which was read as haphtarah to Leviticus 12, presumably because it echoes the theme found in Leviticus 12.1 of the birth of a man child. Verse 5 of this haphtarah runs:

> Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word. Your brethren that hate you, that *cast you out for my name's sake*, have said, *Let the Lord be glorified* . . . .

The Evangelist seems to have taken this as a prophecy of the persecution of the Church by the Jews, and there seem to be allusions to this haphtarah in John 9. In John 9.24 the Pharisees address the man healed of blindness with the very words of Isaiah 66.5, bidding him 'Give glory to God'. The words are a solemn exhortation to glorify God by telling the whole truth, but they also contain the thought that the man must thank God, and not Jesus, for his cure. The man born blind makes his confession of Christ, and thereupon, in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, he is cast out of the synagogue for Jesus' sake. The same haphtarah has influenced the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses. Here Jesus teaches that the hatred shown to him will be shown to his disciples also: 'If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you. . . . If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you . . . . They shall put you out of the synagogues [as they did the blind man]: yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God. And these things will they do

because they have not known the Father, nor me.' Compare the repeated declaration found in the earlier Tabernacles section of the Gospel that the Pharisees know neither the Father, nor whence the Lord is (John 7.28; 8.14, 19, 55; 9.29, 30). Those addressed in Isaiah's prophecy are cast out '*for my name's sake*': these words seem to be echoed in John 15.21, 'But all these things will they do unto you *for my name's sake*, because they know not him that sent me'.

The prophecy of the travailing woman

An even more obvious use of this same haphtarah is made in John 16.16–22. Isaiah 66.7 ff. runs:

> Before she travailed, she brought forth: before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? shall a nation be brought forth at once? for as soon as Zion travailed she brought forth her children. . . . As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem. *And ye shall see it, and your heart shall rejoice.*

Compare John 16.19:

> Do ye inquire among yourselves concerning this that I said, A little while and ye behold me not; and again a little while, *and ye shall see* me? Verily, verily I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy. *A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow*, because her hour is come: but when she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for the joy that a man is born into the world. And ye therefore now have sorrow: but *I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice*, and your joy no one taketh away from you.

The Isaiah passage contains not only the allusion to the travailing woman, but also with it the marvel that the redemption should occur at once, *in a little while*. Not only is there a general similarity of theme, but the LXX contains words virtually reproduced in John 16.22 '*ye shall see, and your heart shall rejoice*'. In Revelation 12 Isaiah's prophecy of the birth of the man child is treated as a prophecy of the birth of Jesus—our Lord's first coming. In John 16.16 it is treated as a prophecy of the second coming. Compare John 7.33 'Yet *a little while* am I with you, and *I go unto him that sent me*' with 16.16 '*A little while*, and ye behold me no more; and again a little while, and ye shall see me . . . *because I go to the Father*'. We conclude that both John 7–9 and 15–16 depend on Isaiah 66. (See Table, Chapter 4, p. 54.)

The sending of the Spirit of truth

As we have seen, the theme of the sending of the Spirit appears first in John 7.37–39, in the Lord's saying concerning the gift of living water, and its interpretation 'This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive, for the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not

yet glorified'. Compare John 16.7, 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send him unto you': compare also 15.26, 16.13. Thus the promise of the gift of the Spirit appears in *both* the Tabernacles sections of the Gospel. In the first Tabernacles section of the Gospel, the promise of the sending of the Spirit is followed by a discourse in which our Lord calls himself the light of the world, *light* being used as a metaphor for *truth*. Jesus claims that his witness is true and his teaching is true, because he speaks only what he hears from the Father, and the Father is true (John 8.26–28): thus his disciples shall *know the truth* (8.32). Precisely the same linking of the theme of *the sending of the Spirit* with the theme of *true witness* is found in the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses. Just as, in the earlier section, the Son's teaching is true because it is derived from the Father, so in the Supper Discourses the Spirit is the *Spirit of truth* because he speaks only what he hears from the Son. The Father is true (John 8.26); the Son speaks the truth that he hears from the Father (8.40); the Spirit takes of the things of Christ and reveals them, and is hence the Spirit of truth (16.13–15). The theme of witness-bearing is likewise repeated. The Father bears witness to the Son, and the Son bears witness to himself (8.18). Similarly, in chapters 15 and 16, the Spirit bears witness to Jesus, and the disciples, being guided by the Spirit into all the truth, bear witness also (15.26, 27; 16.12–14). The Spirit reveals to the disciples things to come.

Further, we have seen that in the previous Tabernacles section of the Gospel, John 8.12–59, our Lord's discourse on himself as the true witness, the I Am, is full of allusions to Isaiah 43, haphtarah to the Tabernacles lection Genesis 35.9. This haphtarah also underlies the teaching on the witness of the Spirit of truth in the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses, and the parallels with John 15 and 16 are given below:

John 8	*Isaiah 43 LXX*	*John 15–16*
v. 17. Yea and in your law it is written that the witness of two men is true. *I am he that beareth witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.*	*v. 9.* Who will declare to you things *from the beginning*? let them bring forth their witnesses and be justified; and let them hear and declare the truth. *Be ye my witnesses, and I am a witness, saith the Lord God, and my servant whom I have chosen.*	*15.26. The Spirit of truth . . . shall bear witness of me, and bear ye also witness*, because ye have been with me *from the beginning.*
v. 25. From the beginning I am what I even tell you.	*v. 12.* I am the Lord God even *from the beginning.*	
	v. 19. Behold, I will do new things which shall presently spring forth and ye shall know them. *44.7. The things that are coming let them declare.*	*16.13.* The Spirit of truth . . . shall *declare unto you the things that are to come.*

The way in which Isaiah 43 has influenced John 8 has already been shown (see above, p. 108). Thus the repetition of Tabernacles themes in the Tabernacles section of the Supper Discourses depends directly on the lectionary background.

A further link between the two sections is the thought of the liberating power of the truth. The knowledge of the truth imparted to the disciples by the Spirit, who shows them things to come, reveals the things of Christ, and guides them into all truth, and by the Son, who makes known to them all things that he has heard from the Father, makes them free men: 'No longer do I call you servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends; for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you' (15.15). Compare 8.31 ff.: 'If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. . . . Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: the son abideth ever. If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'

We now turn to the first and the fifth of the main themes of Tabernacles.

The efficacy of prayer in Jesus' name

The theme of prayer offered in the name of Jesus appears in John 15.7, 16, 'If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you. . . . I chose you . . . that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you'; and in 16.23–24, 'If ye shall ask anything of the Father, he will give it you in my name. Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be fulfilled.' This theme appears to depend on one of the special lections for Tabernacles already discussed, 1 Kings 8, where Solomon is promised that prayer directed towards the place of which God has said, 'My name shall be there' will be heard. The recurring theme of Solomon's prayer is 'What prayer and supplication soever be made by any man . . . toward this house . . . then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place'.

Here we have an interesting example of the way in which a number of sayings of Jesus found in Matthew or Luke are echoed in the Fourth Gospel. 'Ask, and ye shall receive' (John 16.24) corresponds with 'Ask, and it shall be given you' in Matthew 7.7 and Luke 11.9, and the curious coincidence depends on the lectionary background. In Matthew and Luke the Lord's Prayer appears in the immediate context of this saying (Matthew 6.9 ff., Luke 11.1 ff.). It is suggested that the lectionary background of the Lord's Prayer is the Tabernacles haphtarah 1 Kings 8, where God, whose dwelling place is in heaven (verses 27, 30, 32, 36, 39, 43, 49) promises to hallow the place where his name is named (verse 29 with 9.3); to forgive his people's sins (verses 34, 36, 50), and to maintain their cause 'as every

day shall require (LXX Alex. *ῥῆμα ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ*)', a phrase which is strongly reminiscent of Matthew 6.11 and Luke 11.3.

Further, Luke 11.1–26 seems to depend on the Tabernacles lections Deuteronomy 8–9 and Jeremiah 2. Luke 11.20 echoes the phrase 'the finger of God' found in Deuteronomy 9.10, and Luke 11.24 echoes Jeremiah 2.6, both these allusions being noticed in the R.V. marginal references. The Lukan theme of the Heavenly Father who provides bread and all things needful for his children is the main theme of Deuteronomy 8. Again, Luke 11.13 refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit, which is precisely the theme of John 7.37–39—'Out of him [the Messiah] shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit'—and which is a Tabernacles theme reflecting the ritual and lections of that feast. The many other coincidences between Luke 11 and the Tabernacles sections of the Fourth Gospel can only be shown by a detailed examination of the chapter against its lectionary background, which would be out of place here.

The true vine

Lastly we turn to the theme of the true vine, which fulfils the Tabernacles theme of the vintage. The discourse on Jesus as the true vine (John 15) contains allusions to several lectionary readings for Tabernacles in which Israel is described as a noble vine, planted by God, which has become worthless. In verse 21 of Jeremiah 2, haphtarah to Deuteronomy 9, we read:

> Yet I had planted thee a noble vine (LXX an altogether true vine), wholly a right seed; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?

The Karaite Tabernacles haphtarah Isaiah 4.6 ff. contains the famous song of the vineyard, concluding with a description of Israel, the vine that has brought forth wild grapes:

> My well-beloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: and he . . . planted it with the choicest vine . . . and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.

It is possible that Hosea 14 was read as a Tabernacles haphtarah,[1] and here again the theme of the vine is found:

> I will be as the dew to Israel . . . They that dwell under his shadow shall . . . blossom as the vine . . . from me is thy fruit found.

It is often asserted that the immediate background of the words 'I am the true vine' is the tradition of the last supper, and in particular the words concerning the cup, including the promise to the disciples that they would

[1] On the basis of the Yelammedenu Sermon in *Tanḥuma, Wayyesheb*, § 8, Mann suggests Hosea 12.1–9+14.9, 10 as haphtarah to Genesis 38.1 (op. cit., pp. 294–8).

drink of the fruit of the vine in the kingdom of God. Following this train of thought, the discourses of John 13–17 are given a eucharistic interpretation and regarded as a sermon on the last supper. The themes of the last supper certainly appear in these chapters, and the setting is the giving of the sop to Judas and the prediction of the betrayal. But the giving of the bread and the cup are missing, and if the place of the latter is taken by the discourse on the vine, as Hoskyns asserts,[1] there is still no parallel discourse on the bread in these chapters.

The Evangelist seems, in the Supper Discourses, to be doing something rather more complex than simply giving a straightforward sermon on the eucharist. In chapters 6–12 the whole cycle of the Jewish religious year is traversed, and this cycle is repeated in the Supper Discourses. The Evangelist's theme is that the Jewish feasts all point forward to Christ: they are a foreshadowing of heavenly things, and each separate feast receives its fulfilment in Jesus. Thus at Passover, the manna points to him who is the true bread from heaven. The Israelites in the wilderness ate the manna and died, but he who, in the eucharist, eats the true bread from heaven shall live for ever. The Feast of the New Year sets forth God as Judge, and directs men's thoughts to the end of all things. At that feast Jesus declares that it is he, the Son of Man, to whom the Father has committed all judgement, and that his coming initiates the final judgement. In the eucharist the Christian shows forth the Lord's death 'till he come'. The Feast of Tabernacles sets forth God as the giver of abundance—the rainfall, the sunshine, and the fruit of the vine: at Tabernacles Jesus shows himself as the giver of living water, the light of the world, and the true vine. At Dedication the Jew heard read in the synagogue promises of the future regathering of the divided nation under one shepherd, 'My servant David', and at Dedication Jesus proclaims himself the good shepherd whose sheep shall become one flock. The theme of the Supper Discourses is that all these Jewish feasts are fulfilled in Jesus and his Church, and that the single Christian feast, the eucharist, is the fulfilment of the entire Jewish festal system. It is for this reason that we have in the Supper Discourses a recapitulation of the cycle of the Jewish feasts placed in the historical setting of the last supper. It follows that although the words of 15.1 'I am the true vine' may well refer to the eucharistic cup, they do so through the medium of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the primary allusion is to the vintage of the autumn feast and to the Tabernacles lections which speak of Israel as an empty vine.

One of the main difficulties in dealing with the Tabernacles sections of the Fourth Gospel has been the complexity of themes involved, which has

[1] Op. cit., p. 471.

necessitated splitting up the narrative into small divisions and discussing each division separately. Unfortunately, with this method of exegesis the force of the reappearance of the same lectionary readings in the different Tabernacles sections of St. John is partly lost, particularly when the lection itself contains more than one theme. For example, the thought of the incarnation of the Word who tabernacled with us seems to lie behind the narrative in John 7. This theme is found in the Tabernacles haphtarah 1 Kings 8, 'But will God in very deed dwell on the earth?': but the same haphtarah also forms the background of quite a different discourse in John 15 and 16—a discourse on the efficacy of prayer in Jesus' name. Similarly, the haphtarah Isaiah 66 provides not only the theme of persecution but also the theme of the birth of the man child. All these different themes can be integrated, however, if we recall that they are all related to the dominant features of the Feast of Tabernacles itself—the water-pouring, the illuminations, the vintage, and the hut-dwelling.

The two ceremonies that dominated the ritual of Tabernacles (the water-pouring and the illuminations) seem to have been taken by the Evangelist as symbols of Christian baptism. Just as in John 6 the thought of the eucharist underlies both the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand and the discourse on the bread of life, so in this section of the Gospel both the miracle of the healing of the blind man and the discourses of chapters 7 and 8 are related to baptism. The water-pouring signifies the gift of the Spirit, the gift of *life*: the illuminations signify the spiritual enlightenment that accompanies baptism, the gift of *light*. The word φωτισμός came early to be used for baptism, and already in the Epistle to the Hebrews φωτισθῆναι (to be enlightened) seems to be a synonym for βαπτισθῆναι (to be baptized). The account of the healing of the man born blind, a miracle of enlightenment, has from early times been associated with Christian baptism, and, as Professor Cullmann has remarked,[1] the dialogue between Jesus and the healed man in John 9.35–37 is so constructed as to call immediately to mind the liturgical questions and answers of the oldest baptismal ritual.

Two subsidiary themes are introduced as extensions of the Evangelist's main theme. Baptism, the sign of the Christian covenant, is set in opposition to circumcision, the sign of the Jewish covenant. Further, it would seem likely that in the Evangelist's day, baptism brought with it, for a Jew, a real threat of being put out of the synagogue, and the possibility of persecution from his own people: hence the thought of persecution and the world's hatred that appears in all the Tabernacles sections of the Fourth Gospel follows reasonably enough from the main theme of baptism. But it is significant that the Evangelist found this very theme in the regular lections

[1] O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 105.

for Tishri, when the Joseph stories began to be read.[1] We also find St. John's other subsidiary theme, that of circumcision, mentioned in the sedarim that would fall to Tabernacles in all three years of the cycle, namely, in Genesis 34, Leviticus 12, and Deuteronomy 10.

The two remaining themes of Tabernacles are the vintage and the hut-dwelling. The theme of Jesus and his Church as the true vine (John 15), contrasted with Israel the empty vine, springs quite naturally from the lections for the feast that celebrated the vintage. Since the Christian Church included Gentiles, the discussion on the question, Who are the true children of Abraham? is an obvious extension of this theme (compare the parallel discussion in Romans 11.13 ff. on the olive tree). Finally, the custom of dwelling in a booth for the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles seems to have been taken by the Evangelist as a symbol of the incarnation of the Word who tabernacled among us. Many of the lections for Tishri tell of the birth of men children (e.g. Genesis 30, Genesis 35, Genesis 38, Leviticus 12, Isaiah 66); and a Babylonian commentary devoted to this month remarks 'In Teshrit rises the star of Ninmah, the child-bearing'.[2]

The main theme of the whole section, however, is the theme of baptism. This theme appears most clearly in the account of the healing of the man born blind (John 9), which has scarcely been touched on as yet, and which will be examined in the next chapter.

[1] It seems remarkable that the *Joseph* stories (the name being derived from the root *Asaph*) and the *Asaph* Psalms would begin in the *Asiph* month with a triennial cycle of Pentateuchal lections and Psalms. The key-note of these Joseph stories seems to be that of fruitfulness through suffering and persecution. This is brought out in the reason Joseph gives for naming his son Ephraim: 'For God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction' (Genesis 41.52); and in Jacob's oracle on Joseph: 'Joseph is a fruitful bough, a fruitful bough by a fountain; his branches run over the wall. The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and persecuted him' (Genesis 49.22).

[2] S. Langdon, op. cit., p. 106.

8

CHESHVAN: THE MAN BORN BLIND

FROM the Tabernacles discourses we pass, without a break in the narrative, to the account of the healing of a man born blind. The words of John 9.1 'And as he passed by' presumably refer to Jesus' withdrawal from the Temple (8.59), in which case the healing must have taken place on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, immediately after the controversy in the Temple. It may be, however, that this rather vague phrase introduces a fresh scene. If there is no break at 9.1, neither is there any at 10.1, and the events of chapter 9 could reasonably be dated any time between Tabernacles and Dedication. However, the sequence of lectionary readings seems to indicate a date at the end of Tishri or, more likely, at the beginning of the eighth month, Cheshvan.

We have seen that the discourses in John 7–8 and 15.1–16.24 are to a large extent based on the Tabernacles seder and haphtarah Leviticus 12 and Isaiah 66. The seder for the next sabbath (i.e. the last in Tishri or the first in Cheshvan) would be Leviticus 13.29, and the haphtarah 2 Kings 5, and it seems to be mainly on these two lections that John 9 depends. Leviticus 13 describes the procedure for the detection of leprosy, and chapter 14 the ritual for the cleansing of a leper. 2 Kings 5, telling how, at the bidding of Elisha, Naaman the leper was healed by immersion in the Jordan, would be the obvious choice for a haphtarah. We must also take note of the lectionary sequence for Tishri–Cheshvan in the third year of the triennial cycle. John 7–8 shows the influence of the third-year seder Deuteronomy 9.1 and its haphtarah Jeremiah 2.1, while John 9 shows the influence of the following seder, Deuteronomy 10.1, and its haphtarah 2 Kings 13.23. This last pair of lections is linked by the theme of God's love for the patriarchs, because of which he repeatedly spares their rebellious descendants (cf. 2 Kings 13.23 and Deuteronomy 10.15). In John 9, then, we see the continuance of the themes of Tabernacles (particularly the theme of *illumination*) based on the lectionary sequences:

Leviticus 12 with Isaiah 66	Deuteronomy 9 with Jeremiah 2
Leviticus 13 ,, 2 Kings 5	Deuteronomy 10 ,, 2 Kings 13.23

We shall consider first the links between the account of the healing of the blind man and John 7–8 and 15.1–16.24; next the influence on John 9 of Leviticus 13 and Deuteronomy 10 and their haphtaroth; and lastly the synagogue sermon recorded in Luke 4.16–30, which seems to be based on the same lections as John 9.

1. *The links between John 7–8 and 15.1–16.24 and John 9*

We will first consider the continuance in John 9 of themes drawn from the two haphtaroth Jeremiah 2 and Isaiah 66. Jeremiah 2 is a haphtarah rich in Tabernacles themes: Yahweh is compared in verse 13 to a fountain of living waters, and Israel in verse 21 to a true vine that has become worthless; and in verse 8 we find the theme of Israel's ignorance of the Lord—a theme which is prominent in John 8–9 and 15–16. The haphtarah Isaiah 66 provides not only the theme of the travailing woman and of sorrow turned into joy found in John 16.16–22, where the haphtarah is virtually quoted, but also the theme of persecution found in John 7–8 and 15.1–16.24. The two themes of persecution and ignorance of the Lord are interwoven in the thought of the Fourth Evangelist: the Jews' hatred of Jesus springs from their spiritual blindness—they do not know the Father, and thus cannot recognize the Son. Both these themes are continued in chapter 9, where the same haphtaroth seem to be used:

Haphtaroth	*John 7–8*	*John 9*	*John 15.1–16.24*
Isaiah 66. *v. 5.* Your brethren that hate you, *that cast you out* for *my name's sake*, have said, *Let the Lord be glorified.*	*7.7.* The world cannot hate you, but me it hateth.	*v. 22.* The Jews had agreed already that if any man should confess him to be Christ he should be put out of the synagogue.	*15.18.* If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you.
Jeremiah 2. *v. 8.* The priests said not, Where is the Lord? and *they that handle the law knew me not.*	*7.28.* He that sent me is true, *whom ye know not.*	*v. 24. Give glory to God*; we know that this man is a sinner.	*v. 20.* If they persecuted me they will also persecute you . . . but all these things will they do unto you *for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me.*
	8.14. Ye know not whence I come or whither I go. . . . Ye know neither me nor my Father.	*v. 28.* They reviled him and said, Thou art his disciple . . . as for this man *we know not whence he is.* The man answered. . . . Why, herein is the marvel, that ye know not whence he is, and yet he opened mine eyes.	*16.2.* They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God. And these things will they do because *they have not known the Father, nor me.*
	8.55. Ye have not known him: but I know him.	*v. 34.* They answered, Thou wast altogether *born in sins*, and dost thou teach us? *and they cast him out.*	
	8.41. We were not *born of fornication.*		
	8.59. They took up stones therefore to cast at him, but Jesus hid himself and went out of the temple.		

A further link between chapters 7–8 and chapter 9 lies in the Tabernacles theme of *light*. Our Lord's words recorded in 8.12 'I am the light of the world' are repeated in 9.5 as a prelude to the opening of the eyes of the man born blind. We have seen that Isaiah 61 was one of the haphtaroth read at the Feast of Tabernacles, and that this lection in the LXX version contains

the theme of the recovery of sight to the blind: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me . . . he has sent me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind.' The prophetic imagery of passing from darkness to light or from blindness to sight was from very early days interpreted as symbolic of conversion and baptism. Baptism brought with it illumination, the knowledge of God and of his Son. In John 9 we see this process of spiritual illumination operating in the blind man, who comes to the knowledge of the Lord not simply through the miracle but also through the arguments of the Pharisees—arguments intended to have quite a different effect. At first the man simply recognizes the Lord as 'the man that is called Jesus' of whose whereabouts he is ignorant. The full implications of the miracle only seem to dawn on him when he realizes that the Pharisees' assumption of superior knowledge in fact leads them to a thoroughly illogical position. The irony of the situation is brought out by the Evangelist's repeated use of the verb οἶδα:

> The neighbours therefore . . . said unto him, Where is he? He saith, I know not. . . .
>
> His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but how he now seeth, we know not; or who opened his eyes, we know not. . . .
>
> So they called a second time the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner. He therefore answered, Whether he be a sinner, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see. . . . They reviled him and said. . . . We know that God hath spoken unto Moses; but as for this man, we know not whence he is. The man answered and said unto them, Why, herein is the marvel, that ye know not whence he is, and yet he opened mine eyes. We know that God heareth not sinners. . . . If this man were not from God, he could do nothing.

Finally, in John 8.41 the Jews imply that our Lord's birth was, in fact, a birth of fornication. In 9.34 the same accusation is brought against the blind man—'Thou wast altogether born in sins', and the disciples themselves discuss the probability of the man's parents having sinned before his birth. Thus the miracle of chapter 9 is drawn into the earlier Tabernacles discourses by way of illustration of the argument, and shows the influence of the same lections.

2. *The influence on John 9 of Leviticus 13.29 ff. read with 2 Kings 5, and of Deuteronomy 10 read with 2 Kings 13.23 ff.*

The disciples' question 'Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?' is one that might naturally arise from hearing the haphtarah 2 Kings 13.23 ff. read in the synagogue. This haphtarah begins with an echo of the theme of Deuteronomy 10.15—God repeatedly forgives

Israel's sins because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—and goes on to tell how Amaziah slew his father's murderers, but spared their children:

> But the children of the murderers he put not to death, according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, as the Lord commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own sin.

There is, of course, no contradiction: while the *merits* of the patriarchs avail for their descendants, the fathers' *sins* are not similarly visited on the children. The blind man, however, seemed to provide a clear case of the sins of the parents being visited on the children in accordance with the statement of the Decalogue (Exodus 20.5 and Deuteronomy 5.9) but contrary to the teaching of this haphtarah—hence the disciples' question. There seems no real reason to suppose that a doctrine of pre-existence is implied—the disciples were simply propounding a biblical conundrum.

Our Lord's command to the blind man 'Go, wash in the pool of Siloam' (9.7) is regularly interpreted by the Fathers as referring to baptism. We find this interpretation in Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* v. 15, 3) and later on it appears repeatedly, e.g. in Augustine. The haphtarah 2 Kings 5 with its account of the cleansing of Naaman by immersion in the Jordan and his confession of the God of Israel would form a natural starting-point for teaching on Christian baptism. Irenaeus, for example, says: 'It was not for nothing that Naaman of old, when suffering from leprosy, was purified upon his being baptized, but [it serves] as an indication to us. For as we are lepers in sin, we are made clean by means of the sacred water and the invocation of the Lord from our old transgressions, being spiritually regenerated as newborn babes. . . .' S. Ephraim the Syrian also has a passage in the *Twelfth Rhythm on the Nativity* which seems to connect the healing of the blind man mentioned in John 9 with the baptism of Naaman: 'Let him that is without eyeballs come to him that maketh clay and changeth it, that maketh flesh, that enlighteneth eyes. . . . Gather ye together and come, O ye lepers, and receive purification without labour. For he will not wash you as Elisha, who baptized [Naaman] seven times in the river, neither shall he annoy you as the priests did with their sprinklings.'

Elisha's command to Naaman 'Go and wash in Jordan' (2 Kings 5.10) is echoed in Jesus' words to the blind man 'Go, wash in the pool of Siloam' (John 9.7). The waters of Jordan were connected in the minds of New Testament writers with John's baptism (cf. Mark 1.5, Luke 3.3), but for baptism which conveyed the gift of the Spirit the waters of the pool of Siloam were a more fitting symbol. It was from this pool that the water used for the libation at the Feast of Tabernacles was taken—yet another link with that Feast.

Finally, in 9.39–41 the blindness of the blind man is symbolically transferred to the Pharisees. Similarly in the haphtarah the leprosy of Naaman is transferred to Gehazi.

3. *The Lukan account of the sermon preached at Nazareth* (*Luke 4.16–30*)

The Lukan account of Jesus' visit to Nazareth seems to be based on the same lections as John 9 (those that would fall to Tishri–Cheshvan), particularly the three haphtaroth that we have just been considering, Isaiah 61, 2 Kings 5, and 2 Kings 13.23. Further, in the account of the temptation which immediately precedes this section of Luke's Gospel, the three quotations from Deuteronomy are from chapters 6 and 8, which would normally be lections for the middle of Tishri. It seems likely, therefore, that our Lord's synagogue sermon was preached shortly afterwards, at the end of Tishri or the beginning of Cheshvan.

After the reading of the haphtarah, Isaiah 61, which in the LXX version contains the theme of the recovery of sight to the blind, Jesus preached a sermon in which he alluded to the miracles of Elijah and Elisha performed on behalf of Gentiles. The account of what was said is evidently condensed, but reference is made to the story of Naaman (2 Kings 5); to the many lepers in Israel in the time of Elisha (apparently an allusion to 2 Kings 7.3, which according to Büchler was read as haphtarah to Leviticus 14), and to the drought in Elijah's time, when 'the heaven was shut up' three and a half years. The description of drought as a *shutting up of heaven* does not occur in the Elijah stories, but a similar allusion is found in Deuteronomy 11.17, 'Take heed to yourselves, lest . . . the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain'. Now Deuteronomy 11 would be read on the first sabbath in Cheshvan. 2 Kings 5 and 7 would also be read at approximately that time, and this would seem to confirm that Jesus' sermon was preached shortly after a Feast of Tabernacles.

Apparently this sermon filled the hearers with anger:

> And they were all filled with wrath in the synagogue as they heard these things; and they rose up, and cast him forth out of the city, and led him to the brow (ἕως ὀφρύος) of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might throw him down headlong (ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν). But he passing through the midst of them went his way. (Luke 4.28–30.)

The verb κατακρημνίζω occurs only in Luke 4.29 in the New Testament, and in the O.T. (LXX) only in 2 Chronicles 25.12, which is the Chronicler's expansion of the haphtarah 2 Kings 13.23 ff. already discussed. The passage in 2 Chronicles runs:

> And Amaziah . . . smote of the children of Seir ten thousand. And ten thousand did the children of Judah carry away alive, and brought them unto the

top of the rock, and cast them down (LXX *κατεκρήμνιζον αὐτοὺς*) from the top of the rock, that they were all broken in pieces.

The similarity of the vocabulary may mean that Luke had this passage in mind when he wrote of the attempt to put our Lord to death. Further, the noun *ὀφρύς* (the *brow* of a hill) occurs here in Luke only in the New Testament, and in the LXX in Leviticus 14.9 only. But Leviticus 14 would be read early in Cheshvan, with 2 Kings 7 as haphtarah.

The reason for the insertion in some manuscripts of Luke 4.30 after John 8.59 now becomes plain: both passages depend on the same Old Testament lections; and if the Fourth Gospel was intended for public reading in the Church, it would be quite natural to 'embroider' those chapters that deal with a Feast of Tabernacles with part of another Gospel lection designed for the same season.

To recapitulate: There is close correspondence between the main ideas of John 9 and the synagogue lectionary readings for Tishri–Cheshvan, and this agrees exactly with the time when the miracle was performed, at the end of the Feast of Tabernacles or shortly afterwards. S. Ephraim the Syrian, and perhaps Irenaeus, seem to connect the story of the blind man with the story of Naaman—an Old Testament lection which would form a natural starting-point for teaching on Christian baptism: and in the writings of the Fathers John 9 is regularly interpreted as referring to baptism. Finally, the synagogue sermon recorded in Luke 4, which begins with the recitation of one of these Tishri haphtaroth, Isaiah 61, seems to be based on precisely the same Old Testament lections as John 9, and contains two *hapax legomena* found only in the lectionary readings for the beginning of Cheshvan. The last verse of the Lukan passage has been transferred, in some manuscripts, to the end of John 8.

9

THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION

THE clue to the theme of John 10 is given in verse 22: 'And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem: it was winter; and Jesus was walking in the temple in Solomon's porch.' The feast of Hanukkah lasted from the 25th day of the ninth month Kisleu until the 2nd day of the tenth month Tebeth, the darkest part of the year. This festival is described in 2 Maccabees 1.18 as a memorial of the fire which was given in the days of Nehemiah, who served in the court of Artaxerxes and who restored the walls of Jerusalem and relit the altar fires in the temple in 445 B.C. on 25th Kisleu. In 167 B.C. the Temple was desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes who, according to 1 Maccabees 1.54, built 'an abomination of desolation' on the altar of the Temple. Two years later Judas Maccabaeus on the same day, 25th Kisleu, cleansed the Temple and relit the altar fires:

> And Maccabaeus and they that were with him recovered the temple and the city. And having cleansed the sanctuary they made another altar of sacrifice; and striking stones and taking fire out of them they offered sacrifices, after they had ceased two years, and burned incense, and lighted lamps, and set forth the shewbread. . . . Now on the same day that the sanctuary was profaned by aliens, upon that very day did it come to pass that the cleansing of the sanctuary was made, even on the five and twentieth day of the same month, which is Chislev. . . . They ordained also with a common statute and decree, for all the nation of the Jews, that they should keep these days every year. (2 Maccabees 10.1 ff.)

The fables which gathered round this festival relate to a miraculous kindling of fire. It is recorded in 2 Maccabees 1.22 that at the time when Nehemiah was offering sacrifice in the restored Temple the sun, which had been hidden with clouds, shone out, and a great blaze was kindled. If we bear in mind that the feast took place at the darkest time of the year, it would seem that these fables of the fall of fire, and the custom of kindling in the home lights increasing on consecutive evenings from one to eight, undoubtedly symbolized the growing light of the year and point to the fact that the feast originally celebrated the return of the Sun-god and the passing of the winter darkness. This theme is illustrated by the special lessons read at Hanukkah. The Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) cites the section of 'the Princes' (i.e. the account of the dedication of the altar in Numbers 7), 'the lights in Zechariah' (Zechariah 4), and for a second sabbath 'the lights of Solomon' (1 Kings 7.40–50). 1 Kings 7.49 speaks of the golden candlesticks, as does also Zechariah 4.2, where the vision of the golden

candlestick introduces the theme of the building and dedication of the altar by Zerubbabel on the site of the ruined Temple. With regard to the Pentateuchal lesson, according to Büchler the original reading, Numbers 8.1, was pushed back to Numbers 7.84, which was thought to be a more suitable beginning because it contains the expression זאת חנכת המזבח. Later on, when readings were introduced for every day of the feast, the portion commenced at Numbers 7.1, the appropriate section being read, and this is the section 'Princes' referred to in the Mishnah and the Talmud. Now Numbers 8.1 begins 'When thou lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candlestick'. One further lection may be mentioned, namely 1 Kings 18.31, which the *Pesikta Rabbati* assigns as the prophet portion to Hanukkah. Büchler remarks that the reason for the choice of this lesson remains obscure to him. However, the passage is entirely appropriate, for it is almost the *locus classicus* for the Hanukkah theme of the fall of fire. Elijah takes twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, and having thus symbolically regathered Israel, uses the stones to build up the altar of the Lord that was thrown down. The altar is soaked with water, and there follows a miraculous fall of fire that consumes the sacrifice. The account in 2 Maccabees 1.22 of how Nehemiah sprinkled with water the wood and sacrifice on the altar which he had restored, and thereupon a miraculous blaze consumed the sacrifice, is written in obvious imitation of the Elijah story. The moral is the same in each case: Elijah first rebuilds the ruined altar, then the fire falls. The restoration and dedication of the Temple must precede the return of the Shekinah.

A second Hanukkah theme emerges from the lection 1 Kings 18. With the rebuilding of the altar and the fall of fire comes the putting away of false worship; the priests of Baal are slain and the people, falling on their faces, confess 'Yahweh, he is God'. The theme of idolatry would be quite naturally associated with a feast that bears such a close resemblance to the celebration of the return of the Sun-god after the winter darkness, and the careful editing in the LXX of passages alluding to Yahweh as a Sun bears witness to Jewish sensitiveness on the subject of sun-worship. Psalm 84.11, for example, which in the Hebrew text runs 'For the Lord God is a sun and a shield' becomes in the LXX 'For the Lord loves mercy and truth'. Now this Psalm, which is full of Hanukkah themes, would in fact fall to that feast with the arrangement of the Psalter to suit a triennial cycle. In the regular cycle of lections, the lesson that would fall to Hanukkah in the second year of the cycle, Leviticus 24, begins with directions as to the lighting of the lamp and the setting forth of the shewbread and continues with the law concerning blasphemy of the Name of Yahweh. In view of these considerations it may well be that the purpose of the book of Maccabees is to make Hanukkah a *respectable* festival by associating with it the

restoration of the Temple and of true worship after the defiling of the altar by Antiochus Epiphanes. Undoubtedly the feast existed before that time and had scandalous associations, hence, perhaps, its omission from the list of feasts in Leviticus 23, the place of the omission being taken by the theme of the lighting of the lamp in the first verses of chapter 24. But we may assume that by New Testament times Hanukkah had become a thoroughly respectable feast, and the theme of the return of the Sun-god had been transmuted in Jewish thought into the return of the Shekinah to his restored Temple and the reuniting of the scattered nation. But the darker side of the picture, the theme of false worship, undoubtedly still lingered, for the Hanukkah theme of the restoration of the Temple was irrevocably linked with the memory of its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes and of the 'abomination of desolation' which he built on the altar. This memory must have been revived and reinforced in the minds of Jews and Christians by Gaius Caligula's attempt to erect an image of himself in Jerusalem. The scheme came to nothing, but still the threat had been there, and Caligula was no doubt regarded as a second Antiochus.

Thus in New Testament times Hanukkah would doubtless be associated in Jewish and Christian minds with two contrasting sets of ideas: the blasphemy of false worship, the Man of Sin,[1] and the Temple defiled: the true worship of a regathered Israel (an idea found already in 2 Maccabees 2.18), the return of the Shekinah, and the Temple restored.

We shall now examine, in the light of the lections for Hanukkah, firstly the Johannine parable of the Good Shepherd, secondly the parallel passage in Luke 15 and its context, and thirdly the Hanukkah section of the third division of St. John's Gospel—16.25–17.26.

1. *John 10*

The parable of the Good Shepherd is introduced abruptly, and the reason for the transition of thought after John 9.41 is not obvious. Westcott thinks that the point of connexion with 9.41 lies in the thought of the Pharisees as the shepherds of God's flock. Hoskyns gives the same explanation, and adds that the relation between blindness and inability to understand the parables of Jesus is an important theme in the synoptic tradition, so that, for those familiar with that tradition, the transition between the conclusion of chapter 9 and the parable of chapter 10 would occasion no surprise. These explanations appear to be somewhat forced. The real reason for the transition of thought lies in the sequence of lectionary readings upon which the Fourth Gospel is framed, since on the sabbath nearest to the Feast of the Dedication virtually all the *regular* lections[2] for every year of

[1] It is probable that the idea of Antichrist can be traced back to the persecuting king Antiochus Epiphanes. See further below, Chapter 11, p. 166, n. 2.

[2] The *special* lections, as we have seen, are mainly concerned with the theme of the

the cycle contain the theme of sheep and shepherds and of God the Shepherd of Israel. Here is the clearest possible proof of the influence of the three-year lectionary system on the pattern of the Gospel, and if further proof is necessary it will be shown that the Lukan parable of the Good Shepherd occurs in the same sequence of regular lectionary readings *and is based on readings for the same sabbath*; the differences between the two parables being largely due to the fact that the Lukan parable is based mainly on the readings for the third year from Deuteronomy and the Johannine parable is based mainly on the readings for the first year of the cycle from Genesis. In short, although Jesus' discourse at Hanukkah shows no connexion with the ritual of that feast, it is intimately related to the Hanukkah lections of the regular cycle.[1]

The seder for the first year of the cycle is Genesis 46.28–47.31, which tells of the reunion of Joseph and his brothers, Judah being sent first to meet him. To the Rabbis, this meeting between Joseph and Judah symbolized the future reunion of Ephraim and Judah in the Messianic age. The 'shepherd' theme is prominent: 'And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you and shall say, What is your occupation? that ye shall say, Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now' (46.33 f.). 'And Pharaoh said unto Joseph's brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds . . . to sojourn in the land are we come, for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks' (47.3 f.). Similarly, Ezekiel 37.16 ff., haphtarah to Genesis 44.18,[2] echoes the theme of the future unity of Ephraim and Judah under one shepherd, the Davidic Messiah, and this haphtarah is so important for the interpretation of John 10.27–31 that it may be well to quote it fully:

> The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, And thou, son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, for Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions: and join them for thee one to another into one stick, *that they may become one in thine hand.* And when

lighting of lamps. This theme cannot be found in John 10, unless we accept the symbolism proposed by O. S. Rankin (*The Labyrinth*, pp. 208 f.) and treat the Hanukkah lamp as an emblem of sovereignty, in which case it would account for the Messianic theme (cf. 2 Samuel 21.17, 1 Kings 11.36, and John 10.24).

[1] It should be added that the unbroken slide from Tabernacles to Dedication found in John 8–10 accords with the wilful equivocation of 2 Maccabees 1.9, 18, where the purification of the Temple is called 'a feast of tabernacles of the month Chislev', and with the character of Hanukkah as a second Tabernacles.

[2] Cf. A. Büchler, op. cit., vi. 53. If we examine the two consecutive pairs of lections Genesis 44.18 with Ezekiel 37.16, and Genesis 46.28 with Zechariah 10.6–11.7 (Bodleian MS. 2727[3]), we find not only that the Ezekiel haphtarah is much closer in subject-matter to Genesis 46.28 than it is to 44.18, but also that the Zechariah haphtarah contains a prophecy which is the precise reversal of the Ezekiel prophecy. It seems possible, then, that the two haphtaroth may originally have been alternative prophet-readings for the same seder, Genesis 46.28.

> the children of thy people shall speak unto thee saying, Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his companions; and I will put them with it, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, *and they shall be one in my hand* . . . and I will make them one nation in the land, and one king shall be king to them all . . . and my servant David shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd.

The repetition in verses 17 and 19 with the change of 'in thy hand' to 'in my hand' shows the Prophet's consciousness of his unity with Yahweh. Yahweh himself will repeat the symbolic action which Ezekiel has performed: what the Prophet does, God does. Compare John 10.27–30:

> My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and *no one shall snatch them out of my hand.* My Father, which hath given them unto me, is greater than all, and *no one is able to snatch them out of the Father's hand.* I and the Father are one thing.

Because of the unity of the Father and the Son, those who are in the hand of Jesus are in the hand of God, and the lesson of the haphtarah is driven home by a claim which the Jews account blasphemous.

The charge of blasphemy (verses 31–39) brings us to the seder for the second year of the cycle, Leviticus 24.1 extending to 25.13, or possibly 25.34, the *locus classicus* for the punishment of blasphemy. As already remarked, the position of this seder in the book of Leviticus is of interest, since chapter 23 deals with the set feasts ending with the feast of Tabernacles and chapter 24 follows with a theme suitable for Hanukkah, the 'feast of lights' as Josephus called it: 'Command the children of Israel that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, to cause a lamp to burn continually.' Verse 10 continues:

> And the son of an Israelitish woman . . . blasphemed the Name, and cursed: and they brought him unto Moses. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying . . . Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him.

Compare John 10.31–33:

> The Jews took up stones to stone him. Jesus answered them, Many good works have I showed you from the Father; for which of these works do ye stone me? The Jews answered him, For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy.

The theme of sheep and shepherds, already found in the lections for the first year of the cycle which would fall to Hanukkah, is also found in the second-year haphtarah Ezekiel 34.[1] The relevance of this lection for

[1] The Yemenian MSS. and Midrash, Brit. Mus. Or. 1422, Salomon b. Nathan, and the south Italian and Persian rituals assign Ezekiel 34 as haphtarah to Leviticus 26. Now

the parable of the Good Shepherd needs no comment, but mention may, perhaps, be made of verses 23–24:

> And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David prince among them.

Here again is the mention of the Davidic shepherd-king, as in the haphtarah for the first year of the cycle, with the same emphasis upon the identity of his work with the work of Yahweh, e.g. 'I myself will feed my sheep' (verse 15); 'He shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd' (verse 23). This Messianic theme would account for the Jews' demand in John 10.24: 'If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.' Our Lord's declaration that he would unite his sheep into one flock under one shepherd (verse 16) is understood by the Jews to be a claim that he is the shepherd of Ezekiel's prophecy, God's servant David, the coming Messiah. But the words have been spoken in a parable, and the Jews wish the claim to be Messiah to be made in plain words about which there can be no mistake, and not in veiled language.

From John 10 we turn to its Synoptic parallel, Luke 15, since this passage provides a clear illustration of the use of the Hannukkah lections for the *third* year of the cycle.

2. *Luke 15*

The theme of sheep and shepherds appears yet again in the third-year lections that would fall to Hanukkah, Deuteronomy 20.10–22.5[1] and its haphtarah, 1 Samuel 17. Deuteronomy 22.1–3 contains the law relating to lost or strayed animals:

> Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray and hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely bring them again unto thy brother. And if thy

Ezekiel 34 has little or no connexion with the theme or language of the main part of Leviticus 26 (i.e. with verses 14–46), but it has the closest possible verbal and thematic affinity with Leviticus 25.14–26.13. Indeed, so close is the connexion between the two passages that Cooke in his commentary (*I.C.C. on Ezekiel*, p. 379) remarks: 'The close parallel between verses 25–28 [of Ezekiel 34] and Leviticus 26.4–6, 13, raises questions which hardly admit of an answer. Was Ezekiel the author of both passages? or do both come from a common source? Quite possibly Leviticus was the original; and there are other grounds for questioning Ezekiel's authorship of verses 17–31.'

It is therefore suggested that originally Leviticus 25.14–26.13 and Ezekiel 34 were read in the synagogue as seder and haphtarah, the seder marked in the Massoretic Text as beginning at Leviticus 25.35 simply being an extra lection to be used when necessary, for example, when Tebeth had five sabbaths; and that the next seder consisted of Leviticus 26.14–46.

[1] The Massoretic Text shows sedarim at Deuteronomy 20.1, 20.10, 21.10, and 22.6. Now this division would give sedarim of only nine, twenty, and nineteen verses respectively, instead of at least twenty-one verses. This would seem to indicate shiftings in the commencement of sedarim, those who began a seder at 20.1 then proceeding to 21.10, while those who started at 20.10 read as the next seder 22.6 ff.

> brother be not nigh unto thee . . . then thou shalt bring it home to thine house . . . and so shalt thou do with every lost thing of thy brother's which he hath lost, and thou hast found.

The haphtarah relates how David the shepherd left his sheep with a keeper and went down to the Vale of Elah to visit his brothers who were fighting in Saul's army. When Saul questions his fitness to fight against Goliath, he pleads the arduous nature of his duties as a shepherd:

> And David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep; and when there came a lion, or a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock, I went out after him and smote him and delivered it out of his mouth. . . . Thy servant smote both the lion and the bear: and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them.

Now this seder and haphtarah, whilst less important than the Genesis and Leviticus sedarim for the interpretation of John 10, have obviously influenced the Lukan parable (Luke 15.1–7) in which the shepherd goes after the one lost sheep, leaving the ninety and nine in the wilderness. The phrase 'in the wilderness' may show the influence of Eliab's question to David in the haphtarah, 'With whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?' and it is remarkable that this correspondence is noticed in the R.V. marginal reference to Luke 15.4. Since the seder directs that not only the lost sheep, but also 'every lost thing' must be brought home, St. Luke records parables concerning the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son, all three parables being based on the same lectionary readings as John 10; thus:

> The parable of the lost sheep is based on Deuteronomy 20.10–22.5 (particularly 22.1–3) with 1 Samuel 17.
>
> The parable of the lost coin is based on Leviticus 24.1 ff. with Zephaniah 1.12 ff. (the haphtarah for Hanukkah found in the *Pesikta Rabbati*).
>
> The parable of the lost son is based on Deuteronomy 20.10–22.5 (particularly 21.15–21) with 1 Samuel 17, and there are also allusions to the first-year sedarim—the Joseph stories.

Further, the separate units of the long teaching section in Luke in which these parables occur can be shown to be strung upon the thread of a continuous series of lectionary readings, mainly from Deuteronomy, covering the period between the Transfiguration and the Passion, that is, from Tishri to Adar. We shall examine first the three parables of Luke 15, then their context in the Gospel.

Deuteronomy 21.15 gives the law for the case of a man who has two wives, one beloved, the other hated, and whose firstborn son is the son of the hated wife. The man must respect the right of the firstborn, and when dividing his inheritance among his sons he may not set the claims of the son of the beloved wife above the claims of the elder son, but must give to the elder a double portion of all that he has—the proper portion of the first-

born—for, says the Law, 'he is *the beginning of his strength*'. Now here is an internal correspondence within the Pentateuch, for the phrase 'the beginning of his strength' echoes Jacob's oracle on his firstborn son Reuben in Genesis 49.3, 'Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and *the beginning of my strength*', which would be read immediately after Hanukkah in the first year of the cycle. Reuben was the son of the hated wife, Leah, while the youngest, Joseph, was the son of the beloved wife Rachel, and hence was loved by Jacob more than all his other children. This theme of the rights of the firstborn also appears in a lection which might on occasion fall to the beginning of Tebeth, Genesis 48, where the younger son Ephraim is preferred before the firstborn, Manasseh. If, as has already been argued, the Pentateuch itself has been adapted to be read in a three-year cycle, we may perhaps be justified in interpreting the Genesis seder in the light of the corresponding seder from Deuteronomy. Now in Genesis 48.5 Jacob says to Joseph 'And now thy two sons . . . are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine' which in the light of Deuteronomy 21.15 ff. may be taken to mean that although Jacob must not prefer *Joseph*, the younger son, before Reuben, the firstborn, yet he may show favour to Joseph's *sons* in making them equal to Reuben and Simeon. 1 Chronicles 5.1 confirms this, saying that Reuben lost his birthright on account of his sin with Bilhah and the birthright was given, not to Joseph, which would be contrary to the law of Deuteronomy, but to Joseph's sons. And even so, Jacob favours the son of the beloved wife by giving him one portion above his brethren (Genesis 48.22). To return now to our Deuteronomy seder, verses 18–21 go on to discuss the case of parents having a stubborn and rebellious son who is a riotous liver and a drunkard.

In the Lukan parable of the prodigal son the themes of both paragraphs of the Deuteronomy seder have been combined. The father in the parable has two sons, and when the younger makes the request 'Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me', he divides his living between them. Compare Deuteronomy 21.16, 'In the day that he causeth his sons to inherit that which he hath . . . he shall acknowledge the firstborn'. The younger son then goes into the far country and there wastes his substance with riotous living (like the son in the seder, who is 'a riotous liver and a drunkard'). The elder brother is jealous of the love shown to the younger, but is reassured by the father with the words 'Son, thou art ever with me and all that is mine is thine (*πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστιν*)'. Compare the Deuteronomy lesson, 'He shall acknowledge the firstborn by giving him a double portion of all that he hath'. Along with these allusions to the Deuteronomic material are several allusions to the first-year sedarim. The younger son goes into a far country, just as Joseph went into Egypt, and in the far country there occurs a mighty famine, just as in Egypt there arose a grievous famine. Luke 15.20 ff. shows close assimilation to the Genesis story:

Luke 15	*Genesis*
v. 20. But while he was yet afar off his father saw him, and ran, and fell on his neck and kissed him.	*45.14 and 46.29.* And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept, and Benjamin wept upon his neck. And Joseph went up to meet Israel his father, and fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.
v. 22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet.	*41.42.* And Pharaoh took off his signet ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen.
v. 24. For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found (cf. also v. 32).	*45.28.* Joseph my son is yet alive.
	46.30. And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, that thou art yet alive.

With the parable of the prodigal son two others are linked, the parables of the lost sheep and the lost coin. As we have seen, the parable of the lost sheep depends on the continuation of the seder from Deuteronomy (22.1–3), which says that any lost sheep is to be brought home and returned to its owner, and also on the haphtarah 1 Samuel 17 (concerning David the shepherd) already discussed. The parable of the lost coin similarly contains allusions to Hanukkah themes. Josephus called this feast 'the feast of lights' (*Antiquities* xii. 7. 7), and the allusion to a woman who lit a lamp to search for a lost coin recalls the theme of the lighting of lamps found in Leviticus 24, the seder for the second year of the cycle. According to Büchler, the haphtarah Zephaniah 1.12 assigned by the *Pesikta* to Hanukkah was in fact the prophet portion read with Leviticus 24: the haphtarah begins 'And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with lamps'. There may also be an allusion to Numbers 8.1, which prescribes the manner of the lighting of the lamp in the sanctuary, and would thus be appropriate for a feast which embodied in its ritual the kindling of lights in the home. As we have seen, Büchler considers that this reading from Numbers 8.1 was the original special lection for the feast of Hanukkah. Luke 15, then, would appear to be a triumph of the art of synagogue exegesis, and the skill with which the lectionary readings for Hanukkah for the first and third years of the triennial cycle have been woven together, and their themes applied to the contemporary situation, is remarkable.

We shall now look at the context of these three parables in St. Luke's Gospel. The context is the long teaching cycle set on the background of the last journey to Jerusalem, and beginning with the lawyer's question 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' The order of the several items of this teaching cycle has long proved a puzzle. In chapter 16, for example, the

theme is the proper use of 'the mammon of unrighteousness'. Two parables are told, both beginning 'There was a certain rich man' (verses 1 and 19), and the Pharisees' love of money is mentioned. Then, abruptly, in verse 18 we get a saying about adultery which is disconcerting in its apparent irrelevance to its context. Further, not only is it difficult to account for the order, but the Evangelist is curiously vague as to time and circumstance, and the separate units of teaching seem, so to speak, to be hung in mid-air. The solution seems to be that Luke is not particularly concerned with time and place, but *is* deeply concerned with the arrangement of his Gospel to be used in the Church for liturgical purposes. The background of this long teaching section is a continuous series of Pentateuchal lectionary readings, together with their appropriate 'second lessons' from the prophetic books, covering the months Tishri to Tebeth. In short, St. Luke has arranged for liturgical purposes a collection of our Lord's discourses and synagogue sermons. An exposition of the whole of this teaching cycle would be too great a digression, so we shall simply deal with those sections that immediately precede and follow the Hanukkah parables.

Firstly, we notice that just as in the Fourth Gospel the parable of the Good Shepherd is followed by the story of *Lazarus*, so in the Lukan teaching cycle the Hannukkah parables are followed by the story of the rich man and *Lazarus*, in a chapter that deals with the right use of riches. Here Luke's theme depends directly on the lectionary sequence, for the themes of riches and poverty, faithful stewardship, and generosity to the poor appear in all the sedarim that immediately follow the Hannukkah lections. In the second year, Leviticus 25.14 ff. would be read just after Hanukkah. The key phrase of the seder is: '*If thy brother be waxen poor*' (verses 25, 35, 39, 47). A poor Israelite may be supported by a loan free of interest from his wealthier neighbours, and if he sells himself as a bondservant he is to receive wages, for, says the Law, you must not lend him money upon usury, nor 'rule over him with rigour'. In the first year of the cycle, Genesis 47 tells of Joseph, the wise steward, who, no doubt with an eye to the future, secures his position with Pharaoh by his prudent policy, and gains the gratitude of the people of Egypt, whose lives he has saved (verse 25). We may compare Luke 16.1–13. The same themes are found in the lections for the third year, Deuteronomy 23–24. Here again the Israelite is forbidden to lend upon usury to his brother (23.19–20), or to keep back the wages of his needy servant (24.14–15), and he is to show generosity to the poor (24.17–22). Next, we will look at the section of the Lukan cycle that precedes the Hanukkah parables, namely

Luke 14.7–11	The lesson on humility.	Cf. Deut. 17.14 ff.
,, 14.12–24	The great supper.	,, ,, 18.13 ff.
,, 14.25–35	Counting the cost.	,, ,, 20.10 ff.

The sedarim are for the period between the second sabbath in Kisleu and the first sabbath in Tebeth. We will now examine the readings in detail:

Luke 14.7–11. 'And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief seats; saying unto them, When thou art bidden . . . to a marriage feast sit not down in the chief seat; lest haply a more honourable man than thou be bidden . . .. For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.' The seder, Deuteronomy 17.14, gives the law for the king. The king is not to multiply to himself horses, wives, silver, or gold, 'that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren'. In the LXX the same verb, ὑψόω, is used as in the Lukan passage. As haphtarah, we have a choice of 1 Samuel 8 or 1 Samuel 10.24—the story of Saul, the first king, a theme well suited to that of the seder. Special emphasis is laid on Saul's humility, notably in his words to Samuel 'Am I not a Benjamite, of the smallest of the tribes of Israel, and my family the least of all the families of the tribe of Benjamin?' Saul is brought into the guest chamber and made to sit 'in the chiefest place among them that were bidden'. The correspondence between 1 Samuel 9.22 LXX and Luke 14.7–9 seems very close.[1] The Deuteronomy seder would fall to approximately the second or third sabbath in Kisleu in the third year of the cycle. The seder that would fall to this time in the first year of the cycle is Genesis 43.14 ff., which relates how Joseph prepared a feast for his brothers and seated them before him according to seniority, but honoured Benjamin, the youngest, by giving him a better portion than his brothers.

Luke 14.12–24. The excuses offered by those invited to the supper, 'I have bought a field, and I must needs go out and see it; I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come', find their parallels in Deuteronomy 20.5 ff. 'What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it?[2] let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is there that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not used the fruit thereof? let him go and return to his house. . . . And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife and hath not taken her? Let him go and return

[1] The closeness of the correspondence suggests either that the haphtarah 1 Samuel 8 extended (presumably by means of skipping) to 9.22, or else that the limits of the haphtarah were not rigidly defined, the reader being at liberty to choose any portion from the story of the institution of the monarchy provided that it suitably reinforced the lesson of the seder—the king's heart must not be lifted up above his brethren. It would appear from the evidence of the Talmud that there was originally a certain amount of flexibility in the choice and extent of haphtaroth: b. *Megillah* 31a, for example, mentions 'a chapter from Habakkuk' as the prophetic reading for Pentecost, and, even more vaguely, 'the book of Jonah' as the haphtarah for the Day of Atonement.

[2] This is the sole occurrence of the verb חנך in the Pentateuch. It is remarkable that this verb should occur only in a lection that would fall to Hanukkah in the regular course of reading.

to his house.' Perhaps behind the Deuteronomic law is the recognition that a man preoccupied with personal affairs is likely to make but an indifferent soldier. Similarly, in the Lukan parable, preoccupation with the affairs of this life leads to neglect of the Kingdom of God.

Luke 14.25–35. A further point in the lesson from Deuteronomy is taken up: a soldier must not be distracted by personal affairs, but even more important, he must not be afraid to risk his life: 'And the officers shall speak further unto the people and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart melt as his heart' (Deuteronomy 20.8). Compare Luke 14.26, 'If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, *yea and his own life also*, he cannot be my disciple'. This warning against half-heartedness in following Jesus is illustrated by two examples of the need for counting the cost—the rash builder who began to build and was not able to finish, and the king going to war, who, if his forces are inadequate, sends an ambassage and asks conditions of peace. These warnings echo the theme of the next verses of the Deuteronomy seder, which give the conditions under which peace is to be made in warfare against a city: 'When thou drawest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee an answer of peace and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall become tributary unto thee, and shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, then thou shalt besiege it' (Deuteronomy 20.10–12). There may also be a connexion between the parable of the rash builder and two of the haphtaroth read at Hanukkah. Since Hanukkah could include two sabbaths, the Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) assigns two haphtaroth to this feast, Zechariah 4.2 ff. and 1 Kings 7.49 ff. Instead of the latter reading, the *Pesikta* cites 1 Kings 7.51. In Zechariah 4.9 we read 'The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall also finish it'; cf. Luke 14.29, '. . . lest haply, when he hath laid a foundation and is not able to finish, all that behold begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build and was not able to finish'. Further, the verb ψηφίζω occurs only in Luke 14.28 and Revelation 13.18[1] in the New Testament, and in the LXX only in 3 Kings 3.8, 8.5 (A). Now 3 Kings 8.5 would be the continuation of the Hanukkah haphtarah mentioned by the *Pesikta*, which began with the last verse of chapter 7. Thus this section of Luke's Gospel is closely linked with the themes of the Hanukkah lections, the main dependence being on the seder from Deuteronomy.

The next seder from Deuteronomy 20.10–22.6 forms the background of the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the prodigal son, which have already been examined. The unexpected saying about adultery in

[1] Revelation 13 contains many of the themes of Hanukkah.

Luke 16.18 is now seen to fall into place against the lectionary background, for it depends on Deuteronomy 22.19, 29, verses from the next seder. The long teaching cycle ends with the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke 18.9–14), a saying condemning self-righteousness. This parable shows affinities with the declaration of blamelessness found in the seder that forms its background, Deuteronomy 26.13 ff., in which the Israelite declares before Yahweh his God that he has carefully observed the law concerning tithes: 'I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them. . . . I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, I have done according to all that thou hast commanded me.' At this point Luke returns to his Markan source. It is interesting to notice that he rejoins Mark at precisely the proper point in the lectionary calendar, for the story of the rich young ruler seems to depend on the same seder as the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, Deuteronomy 26, and the young man's words 'All these things [i.e. all these commandments] have I observed from my youth up' echo the words of the seder. Perhaps the time has come to review the Synoptic Problem in the light of first-century lectionary practice. The Lukan teaching cycle, then, depends on a sequence of sedarim from Deuteronomy, but in chapter 19 ff. the Evangelist's dependence is mainly on lections for the *first* year of the cycle:

Luke 19.29	The triumphal entry into Jerusalem.	Cf. Gen. 49
,, 20.1	'By what authority?'	,, Exod. 2[1]
,, 20.27	Moses at the Bush.	,, ,, 3[1]
,, 21.15	'I will give you a mouth and wisdom.'	,, ,, 4[1]

To recapitulate: The parable of the Good Shepherd in John 10 depends on the lectionary readings of the regular cycle that would fall to Hanukkah. The Lukan parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son depend on the same lections, and occur in the middle of a long teaching cycle which is based on third-year lections for the months Tishri to Tebeth, and which leads up to the Passover of chapter 22. When Luke rejoins his Markan source, he does so at the correct point in the lectionary sequence.

We now turn to the Hanukkah section of the third division of St. John's Gospel (see Diagram 2, p. 48).

3. *John 16.25–17.26*

We have suggested in Chapter 4 (p. 49) that the third division of the Gospel (chapters 13–20) recapitulates the second division (chapters 6, 5, 7–12), and that in this way the themes of the succession of feasts found in the second division reappear in the Supper Discourses in the same order. Thus the discourses given at the Feast of the New Year and the Feast of

[1] On this lectionary sequence see further below, Chapter 12, p. 192.

Tabernacles find their parallels in John 14 and 15.1–16.24 respectively (see Chapter 6, p. 86 and Chapter 7, p. 112). Similarly the Hanukkah section of the Supper Discourses (John 16.25–17.26) contains a very large number of verbal parallels with John 10, the themes being repeated in almost the same order. John 16.25 begins with the words 'These things have I spoken unto you in *proverbs* (ἐν παροιμίαις)'. The word παροιμία occurs only twice in the Fourth Gospel, in 10.6 in reference to the Parable of the Good Shepherd and again in 16.25, 29, and nowhere else in the New Testament except in 2 Peter 2.22. In John 16.25 its use serves to introduce the Hanukkah section of the Supper Discourses:

John 16.25–17.26	*John 10*
16.25. These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs: the hour cometh, when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but shall tell you plainly of the Father.	*10.6.* This proverb spake Jesus unto them, but they understood not . . .
16.29. Lo, now speakest thou plainly and speakest no proverb.	*10.24.* If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.
16.32. The hour cometh that ye shall be scattered.	*10.12.* The wolf catcheth them and scattereth them.
17.2. . . . that whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life.	*10.28.* I give unto them eternal life.
17.6, 9. I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me. I pray . . . for those whom thou hast given me.	*10.29.* My Father, which hath given them [the sheep] unto me, is greater than all.
17.11. Keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are.	*10.16, 30.* I and the Father are one. They shall become one flock, one shepherd.
17.22. . . . that they may be one, even as we are one.	
17.12. Not one of them perished.	*10.28.* They shall never perish.
17.18. As thou didst send me into the world even so sent I them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself.	*10.36.* . . . him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world . . . .
17.20. Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word, that they may all be one.	*10.16.* And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring . . . and they shall become one flock.

The similarity between the two sections of the Gospel does not simply depend on verbal parallels: the whole theme of both sections is the same—the theme of the unity of the Father, the Son, and the disciples. The Father sent the Son into the world (10.36) and the Son sends the disciples into the world (17.18). The Son is in the Father, and the disciples are in the Son: 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one.' The Son's action in guarding the disciples is identical with that of the Father: 'Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me. . . . I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me' (17.11, 12). There is a similar correspondence in chapter 10.29 f.: 'No one shall snatch them out of my hand . . . no one is able to snatch them out of the Father's hand. I and the Father are one.' In discussing John 10 we saw that this theme was already present in the lectionary readings. In Ezekiel 37, for example, the action of the Prophet in joining the two sticks to become one in his hand not only represented but actually *was* the action of God in making the divided nation one in his hand. Similarly, in Ezekiel 34, the shepherd who searches out his sheep and feeds them is equally God himself and God's servant David. Ezekiel prophesied that Israel was to become one nation and to have one shepherd, and this promised unity is seen by the Evangelist as fulfilled in Jesus and his Church, the true Israel.

The similarity of theme and language found in the two sections of the Gospel follows from the fact that both have been influenced by Hanukkah lections: John 10 depends on Genesis 46.28–47.31, and John 16.25 ff. depends on the next seder, Genesis 48.1–22. Genesis 48 has the same theme of the unity of Israel. The dying Jacob declares that Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh shall be counted his (Jacob's) sons just as much as Reuben and Simeon, the two eldest, and his name shall be named on them. The verses that seem to have been uppermost in our Lord's mind are verses 5 and 16: 'Thy two sons are mine . . . and thy issue which thou begettest after them shall be thine'; 'Let my name be named on them.'

Genesis 48	*John 17*
v. 2. Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee.	*v. 11.* I come to thee. *v. 13.* But now I come to thee.
v. 5. And now thy sons . . . are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine. And thy issue which thou begettest after them shall be thine.	*v. 9.* I pray . . . for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine: and all things that are mine are thine, and thine are mine.
v. 9. They are my sons, whom God hath given me.	*v. 6.* I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me.

Genesis 48	*John 17*
v. 16. The angel which hath redeemed me from all evil bless the lads.	*v. 15.* I pray . . . that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.
v. 16. Let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers.	*v. 11.* Keep them in thy name which thou hast given me.
	v. 12. I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me.
	v. 6. I manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me.
	v. 26. I made known unto them thy name.

An interesting point with regard to the relation between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Gospels now comes to light. Hoskyns in his commentary on St. John's Gospel says: 'A number of sayings of Jesus found in Matthew or Luke, or in both these Gospels, while presenting no noteworthy coincidence, are yet immediately relevant to the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, and sometimes appear to lie behind their thematic development'; and he goes on to instance what he calls the 'curious coincidence of Luke 15.31 and John 16.15.' An even closer coincidence is found in John 17.10, which appears to depend on the lectionary background:

Genesis 48	*John 17.10*	*Luke 15.31*
And now thy sons . . . are mine. And thy issue which thou begettest after them shall be thine.	Those whom thou hast given me . . . are thine: and all things that are mine are thine, and thine are mine (*καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα σά ἐστι, καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμά*).	Son, thou art ever with me and all that is mine is thine (*καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστιν*).

It is suggested that all this offers good evidence for the use of the lectionary readings of the triennial cycle by the Evangelist: the parable told in John 10 was told at the Feast of Hanukkah, and appears to depend on the lections of the regular cycle for Hanukkah; Luke 15 gives three parables having the same theme and depending on the same lections; John 17 contains many verbal parallels with John 10, the themes being repeated in almost the same order, and depends on the lectionary reading from Genesis immediately following that which underlies John 10; and finally there is a curious coincidence between John 17.10 and Luke 15.31 which seems to be satisfactorily explained by reference to the lectionary background. Is all this to be put down to mere coincidence?

10

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS: A NARRATIVE FOR THE 7TH SHEBAT

THE raising of Lazarus takes place between Hanukkah (10.22) and Passover (11.55, 12.1). The story provides yet a further illustration of the way in which the lectionary cycle has influenced the arrangement of the Fourth Gospel, for the lections for the second half of Tebeth and the beginning of Shebat (the period immediately following Hanukkah) are full of mournful associations. The season Tebeth–Shebat seems to have been considered a dangerous one. Tebeth was called by the Babylonians 'the month of the curse', and was extremely unlucky, while in Shebat, according to an old Sumerian myth, demons bringing sickness were at large and on certain days it was safer to stay indoors. The sombre character of the season seems to be reflected in the lections and Psalms that would be read at this time: the lectionary readings tell of the deaths of Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Eleazar, David, and Elisha, while the Psalms speak of death, sickness, plague, and drawing nigh to Sheol. In the lections for this season, then, particularly those that would fall to the first sabbath in Shebat, the Evangelist finds a suitable background for his account of the sickness, death and raising of Lazarus; and he thus completes his cycle of the Jewish year from the Passover of chapter 6 to the Passover of chapter 12 with the story of a miracle which is the climax of the manifestation to the Jews of the power of Jesus.

We shall now examine the lectionary readings and Psalms for Tebeth and the beginning of Shebat. In the first year of the triennial cycle the seder Genesis 48.1 begins 'Behold, thy father is sick'. The Geniza list Bodleian 2727[3] cites as haphtarah 2 Kings 13.14–23, which corresponds with the seder by reason of its opening words 'Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness whereof he died'. From some of the Midrashic data it appears that in certain Palestinian localities it was customary to commence this seder at Genesis 47.29 instead of 48.1, and to read as haphtarah 1 Kings 2.1 ff., which opens with the words 'Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die'. The next two sedarim, Genesis 49.1 ff. and 49.27 ff., tell of the last oracles and death of Jacob and of the seventy days' mourning made for him by the Egyptians; the second ending with an account of the death of Joseph and his embalmment 'in a coffin in Egypt'. With regard to the lections for the second year of the cycle, Leviticus 26 (the 'curses' of Leviticus) speaks of the punishment that would come upon the Israelites for

their disobedience, their exile from the land, and their death in the land of their enemies. In the third year of the cycle, the 'curses' of Deuteronomy (chapter 28) would be read, corresponding with those of Leviticus in the second year. The sedarim that follow tell of the death of Moses and the thirty days' mourning made for him. The theme of death appears again in the haphtaroth. Joshua 24, read as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 29.9, tells of the death and burial of Joshua and Eleazar; while Judges 2.7, which the Massoretic division apportions as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 31.14, similarly tells of Joshua's death. The earlier verses of Judges 2 speak of the weeping of the children of Israel at Bochim.

The same themes appear in the Psalms that would fall to this season:

Psalm 38. I am pained and bowed down greatly.
I go mourning all the day long.
For my loins are filled with burning;
And there is no soundness in my flesh.
I am faint and sore bruised:
I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart. . . .
My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my plague.

Psalm 39. Lord, make me to know mine end,
And the measure of my days, what it is;
Let me know how frail I am.
Behold, thou hast made my days as handbreadths;
And mine age is as nothing before thee:
Surely every man at his best estate is altogether vanity.
Surely every man walketh as a shadow;
Surely they are disquieted in vain:
He heapeth up riches and knoweth not who shall gather them. . . .
For I am a stranger with thee,
A sojourner, as all my fathers were.[1]
O spare me, that I may recover strength,
Before I go hence, and be no more.

Psalm 41. Blessed is he that considereth the weak:
The Lord will deliver him in the day of evil. . . .
The Lord will support him upon the couch of languishing:
Thou makest all his bed in his sickness. . . .
An evil disease, say they, cleaveth fast unto him:
And now that he lieth he shall rise up no more. . . .
But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me and raise me up.

[1] Virtually the same words are found in Leviticus 25.23, 'For ye are strangers and sojourners with me', and a similar thought is expressed in Genesis 47.9. Both these passages would fall to Tebeth with a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan. We may compare also Abraham's words in Genesis 23.4, 'I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace', which would fall to the same season with a Tishri cycle. In all these Pentateuchal passages, as in the Psalm, the underlying thought is the same—the shortness of man's time on earth.

The end of the first book of Psalms coincides in the lectionary system with the end of the first book of the Pentateuch.

Psalm 88. For my soul is full of troubles,
And my life draweth nigh unto Sheol.
I am counted with them that go down into the pit;
I am as a man that hath no help:
Cast away among the dead
Like the slain that lie in the grave. . . .
Wilt thou show wonders to the dead?
Shall the shades arise and praise thee?
Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave?
Or thy faithfulness in Abaddon?

Psalm 89. O remember how short my time is:
For what vanity hast thou created all the children of men!
What man is he that shall live and not see death,
That shall deliver his soul from the power of Sheol?

Psalm 90. Thou turnest man to dust;
And sayest, Return, ye children of men.
For a thousand years in thy sight
Are but as yesterday when it is past,
And as a watch in the night.
Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep. . . .
We bring our years to an end as a tale that is told.
The days of our years are threescore years and ten,
Or even by reason of strength fourscore years;
Yet is their pride but labour and sorrow,
For it is soon gone, and we fly away.

Psalm 91. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day;
For the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. . . .
There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy tent.

(This Psalm was apparently used for the exorcism of demons bringing sickness.)

Psalm 141. As when one ploweth and cleaveth the earth,
Our bones are scattered at the mouth of Sheol.
For mine eyes are unto thee, O God the Lord:
In thee do I put my trust; pour thou not out my life.

Psalm 143. For the enemy hath persecuted my soul;
He hath smitten my life down to the ground:
He hath made me to dwell in dark places, as those that have been long dead. . . .
Hide not thy face from me,
Lest I become like them that go down into the pit.

Thus the Psalms that fall to Tebeth–Shebat with a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan are entirely in keeping with the lections for that season and with the myths associated with Shebat (see above, Chapter 3, p. 31). With a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri, the following Psalms fall to the period from the last sabbath in Tebeth to the last in Shebat:

First year of cycle	Psalms	16–18
Second	,,	,,	,,	69–71
Third	,,	,,	,,	115, 116

The theme of death, sickness, and mourning appears likewise in these Psalms. Psalm 69.28 'Let them be blotted out of the book of life' echoes Exodus 32.32, and falls to the same sabbath as this seder. With Psalm 116.15, 16 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. O Lord, truly I am thy servant . . . thou hast loosed my bonds' cf. John 11.44 'He that was dead came forth, bound with graveclothes . . . Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go'.

It is true that Psalms asking for healing from sickness and deliverance from the grave appear elsewhere in the Psalter; but these are *isolated* Psalms, such as Psalm 6, much of which is in any case repeated in Psalms 38 and 88 quoted above; and their number is surprisingly small. Only in the Psalms for this season do we find the theme of sickness and death appearing in groups of consecutive Psalms. As we have tried to show in Chapter 3, the same repetition of themes is found in the Pentateuchal lections, since almost without exception every death recorded in the Pentateuch is mentioned in a lection that would fall to Tebeth–Shebat with a Nisan cycle or a Tishri cycle.

Such lectionary readings as these would provide a suitable background for the story of the raising to life of a dead man. But other influences besides the lections seem to have shaped the narrative, and we now inquire what these were.

The scandal of the whole narrative is in our Lord's action (or rather inaction) when he hears that Lazarus is sick, though familiarity with the story perhaps blunts the surprise that we feel when we read 'When therefore Jesus heard that he was sick, he abode at that time two days in the place where he was'. That Martha and Mary felt this delay keenly is implied in their first remark on meeting Jesus: 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.' This theme of delay already appears in the

earlier Markan narrative of the raising of Jairus's daughter in the half-reproachful words 'Thy daughter is dead: why troublest thou the Master any further?', but in the Johannine story it is made more emphatic and the delay is not accidental, as in Mark, but deliberate, and is prolonged for two whole days. Is this emphasis on the Lord's delay simply a means of heightening the miracle (if in fact the miracle of raising the dead *can* be enhanced)? Such a supposition seems alien to the spirit of the narrative. Is the delay then designed to test the faith of Mary and Martha, in the same way as the faith of the Syro-Phoenician woman was tested by a discouraging reply? This is possible, but is probably not the whole answer. A solution seems to be found in the 'situation in life' of the narrative, namely, the problem raised in the Church by the continued delay in the promised second coming of the Lord, a problem which by the time the Fourth Gospel was written would have become one of considerable urgency. It is suggested that in the lectionary readings for the 7th Shebat the Evangelist found a suitable background for a piece of didache designed to meet the perplexity of those believers who expected an early return of the Lord, and whose faith was severely tested as the first generation of Christians began to pass away and still the promised return was delayed. Concern would naturally be felt about those who had died. Would they lose their place in the Messianic kingdom? Why had they died at all, seeing that by virtue of their union with Christ in his death on the cross they had already died in him and were now risen with him and shared his resurrection life? Edmund Gosse in 'Father and Son' records that his father throughout his long life never lost the hope of 'not tasting death', and that as the last moments of mortality approached he was bitterly disappointed at what he held to be a scanty reward of his long faith and patience. And that many a Christian in the first century felt as keen a disappointment is evident from the number of times this problem is raised and answered in the New Testament.

It is clear from Acts 1.6 that the disciples expected an early return of the Lord, since we read that, only forty days after the resurrection, they inquired 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?'. Jesus' reply, 'It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father has set within his own authority', corresponds with the teaching of Mark 13.32 and 1 Thessalonians 5.1 ff: the day and the hour of the second coming is known to no one but the Father—the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. By the time the Second Epistle of Peter was written the advent hope was explicitly questioned: 'Where is the promise of his coming? for, from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.' The answer given here is influenced by Psalm 90—a Psalm that would fall to the season Tebeth–Shebat: 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

The Lord is not slack concerning his promise . . . but is longsuffering to youward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.'

But the most important piece of teaching given in answer to this problem seems to be the Pauline teaching in 1 Thessalonians 4.13 ff., since not only is it likely to have been the earliest attempt to meet the problem raised by the death of Christians, but also a study of the vocabulary of the passage seems to show that it has influenced the Gospel narratives of the raising of Jairus's daughter and the raising of Lazarus in at least four particulars:

(1) In the use of the verb κοιμάω (passive, *to fall asleep*) as a euphemism for death.
(2) In the use of the verb σώζω in a double sense to mean both recovery from sickness and final salvation.
(3) In the division of believers into two classes, those who die before the parousia and those who are alive when the Lord returns.
(4) In the teaching that Christians are not to sorrow for the dead as others do with the unbridled mourning that belongs to unbelief.

This is best shown by setting the passage from Thessalonians side by side with John 11 and Mark 5.21 ff. (on the opposite page).

Thus the story of Lazarus is made the vehicle of teaching designed to console Christians who had lost those dear to them and whose faith was severely tested by the delay in the parousia. The teaching is entirely in harmony with that already given by St. Paul: for the Christian, death is a sleep which will lead to final salvation. At the second coming of the Lord, those who had died would be awakened out of sleep, while those who still lived would never die. In view of this hope, while believers might *comfort* one another, it would be unseemly for them to indulge in the clamorous grief characteristic of the hired mourners who lamented Jairus's daughter, or even to bewail their dead as did Mary at the tomb of her brother. Perhaps the Evangelist purposely avoids the use of the Pauline verb παρακαλέω when he speaks in verses 19 and 31 of the Jews who came to *console* (παραμυθέομαι) Martha and Mary. Unbridled grief is simply a sign of unbelief. This, perhaps, is the explanation of the care with which, by the choice of very emphatic words, the author of the Gospel has emphasized the intense emotion of Jesus at the wailing of Mary and the Jews who accompanied her. The word translated *groaned in the spirit*, or *was moved with indignation in the spirit* (ἐνεβριμήσατο) expresses, in biblical Greek, intense anger and indignation (Daniel 11.30 LXX, Mark 1.43). This indignant disturbance of the spirit of Jesus is caused by the behaviour of the company surrounding him. As Hoskyns says, 'It is the unbelief of the Jews (verse 37) and the half-belief of Martha (verse 39) and Mary that in the context of the Johannine narrative cause Jesus to burst angrily into tears'. On the other

hand, it is possible that the description of the overwhelming grief of Jesus shows the influence of the lectionary readings for Tebeth–Shebat, and these we shall now examine.

1 Thessalonians 4.13 ff.	*John 11*	*Mark 5.21 ff.*
(1) But we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them that *fall asleep*.	Our friend Lazarus is *fallen asleep*, but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep. . . . Now Jesus had spoken of his death: but they thought that he spake of taking rest in sleep.	The child is not dead but *sleepeth*.
(2) God appointed us . . . unto the obtaining of *salvation* through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us that, *whether we wake or sleep, we should live* together with him.	The disciples therefore said unto him, Lord, if he is fallen asleep, *he will be saved*.	My little daughter is at the point of death: I pray thee that thou come and lay thy hands on her *that she may be saved and live*.
(3) *We that are alive*, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede *them that are fallen asleep*.	I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth on me [i.e. at the parousia] shall never die. Believest thou this?	
(4) That ye *sorrow not* even as the rest which have no hope. . . . Wherefore *comfort* one another with these words.	Many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary, to *console them* (ἵνα παραμυθήσωνται αὐτὰς) concerning their brother. . . . The Jews then which . . . were *consoling* her . . . followed her, supposing that she was going to the tomb to *weep* there. . . . When Jesus therefore saw her *wailing*, and the Jews also wailing which came with her, he was *moved with indignation* in the spirit, and troubled himself. . . . Jesus therefore again being *moved with indignation* in himself cometh to the tomb.	And they come to the house of the ruler of the synagogue; and he beholdeth a tumult and many *weeping and wailing greatly*. And when he was entered in, he saith unto them, *Why make ye a tumult and weep?*

We have seen that the seder that would fall to the last sabbath in Tebeth or the first in Shebat in the first year of the triennial cycle would be Genesis 50, which tells of the death of Jacob. Now this seder lays considerable emphasis on the period of mourning observed for him: 'And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him . . . and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten days. . . . And they came to the threshing floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they lamented with a very great and sore lamentation: and he made a mourning for his father seven days. And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites,

saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians.' The emphasis on mourning in the seder may possibly explain the emphasis on Jesus' grief in the Gospel story. Again, the same Old Testament passage may explain the mention in John 11.38 of the fact that Lazarus's tomb (*μνημεῖον*) was a *cave* (*σπήλαιον*); for Genesis 49.29 reads: 'Bury me with my fathers in the cave (LXX *σπήλαιον*) . . . which Abraham bought with the field . . . for a possession of a burying-place (*μνημεῖον*).'

The corresponding seder for the second year of the cycle would be Leviticus 26. Here periods of 'seven times' of chastening for Israel's sin are threatened, and the narrative seems to imply repeated punishment.

In the third year of the cycle, according to Büchler, Deuteronomy 28 would be read on the first sabbath in Shebat, 29.9 on the second, 30.11 on the third, and 32.1 on the fourth, leaving 33.1–34.12 to the first sabbath in Adar. In the Massoretic Text a further seder is marked at 31.14, which, however, would give a lesson of only seventeen verses. If in fact a fresh seder was started here, then Deuteronomy 28 would fall to the last sabbath in Tebeth, and 29.9 to the first sabbath in Shebat, with Joshua 24[1] as haphtarah. An allusion to Deuteronomy 30.20, 'Choose life . . . to love the Lord thy God, for *he is thy life* and the length of thy days', may possibly be found in John 11.25, 'I am the resurrection and the life', though this is quite uncertain. But a lectionary reading for the first sabbath in Shebat that seems quite unmistakably to have influenced the narrative in John 11 is the third-year haphtarah Joshua 24, which tells of the death of Joshua (*Jesus* in the Greek text) and Eleazar, a name of which *Lazarus* is an abbreviation: 'And it came to pass after these things that Joshua the son of Nun . . . died. . . . And they buried him . . . in the hill country of Ephraim. And Eleazar died, and they buried him . . . in the hill country of Ephraim' (Joshua 24.29, 30, 33). In the light of this lection, it is remarkable that John 11.54 records that after the raising of Lazarus Jesus withdrew into a city called *Ephraim*. Commentators have tried in vain to identify this city, and Loisy supposes that the name contains some allegorizing symbolism, but is unable to suggest what it may have been. It is suggested that the mention of Ephraim depends on the haphtarah Joshua 24 rather than on any historical reminiscence. Further, just as the deaths of Joshua and Eleazar are linked in the haphtarah, so the deaths of Jesus and Lazarus are linked in the Gospel by a truly remarkable identity of vocabulary in chapter 11 and chapter 20. The words 'Take ye away the stone (*Ἄρατε τὸν λίθον*)' in John 11.39 are repeated in John 20.1, 'Now on the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene . . . and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb (*καὶ βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἠρμένον . . .*)'. The words 'Where have ye laid him?' in verse 34 find a parallel in

[1] Cf. A. Büchler, op. cit., vi. 37.

20.2, 'We know not where they have laid him'. Lazarus's face is bound about with a napkin (*σουδάριον*), and in 20.7 it is recorded that Peter noticed the napkin (*σουδάριον*) that was upon Jesus' head. The weeping of Mary is mentioned in both places. Further, it is definitely implied that the death and raising of Lazarus lead directly to the death of the Lord, for immediately after it the chief priests and Pharisees gather a council, and being persuaded by Caiaphas that 'it is expedient that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not', take counsel to put Jesus to death. Thomas's words, therefore, when Jesus proposes to go to Lazarus, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him', are prophetic, not simply pessimistic.

Finally, we must take note of a pair of lectionary readings that would fall to this sabbath with a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri, namely, Genesis 22.20–23.20 and its haphtarah[1] Hosea 5.7–13 plus 6.1–3. It has already been shown in Chapter 3 (p. 30) that Genesis 23, which tells of the death of Sarah, has obvious affinities with Genesis 49.28–50.26, which tells of the death of Jacob and of Joseph; and that the recurrence of the theme of death and mourning in Genesis is the result of the redaction of the Pentateuch for lectionary purposes. The story of Lazarus, therefore, contains the themes of both these mourning passages; the cave of the field of Machpelah in which Sarah, and later Jacob, was buried becomes in the Fourth Gospel the cave which is Lazarus's tomb. A passage from the haphtarah, Hosea 6.1–2, runs 'Come and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. *After two days will he revive us*: on the third day he will raise us up and we shall live before him'; compare John 11.6 'When therefore (Jesus) heard that (Lazarus) was sick, he abode at that time *two days* in the place where he was'. The mysterious delay of two days thus fulfils the prophecy of Hosea.

Many perplexing features of the story of the raising of Lazarus, then, seem to be clarified by a consideration of the lectionary background. Let us now examine a little further the mention in John 11.30–38 of the wailing of Mary and the Jews who accompanied her, and the intense emotion which led Jesus to burst into tears (v. 35). The exact word (*ἐδάκρυσεν*) occurs here only in the New Testament. Once again in the Gospels, however, we are told that Jesus wept, namely, in Luke 19.41: 'And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace!' Now in chapter 10 we tried to show that the long teaching section of Luke (10.25–18.14) is based on the sequence of lections from Tishri to Tebeth, and that Luke rejoins his

[1] Cf. Mann, op. cit., p. 182. In view of the meagreness of the available Midrashic material to the seder beginning at Genesis 22.20, Mann is cautious in putting forward the claims of the haphtarah from Hosea. Thus, while this haphtarah *may* have influenced John 11, this is by no means certain.

Markan source at the correct place in the lectionary sequence, namely, at lections that would fall to that month. At this point Luke is entering into the mournful period of the lectionary cycle, and Luke 19.29 ff. seems to depend on Genesis 49.1 ff. and its haphtarah Isaiah 48.12—lections which would be read on the last sabbath in Tebeth or the first in Shebat.[1] The description of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem reflects the oracle on Judah in Genesis 49.9–12:

> . . . Until Shiloh come;
> And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.
> Binding his foal unto the vine,
> And his ass's colt unto the choice vine. . . .

Jesus' words of mourning over Jerusalem 'If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace!' (Luke 19.42) reflect the haphtarah, Isaiah 48.18, 'O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river'. Is it simply coincidence that a man called *Lazarus* is mentioned in Luke 16.20, a *σουδάριον* in Luke 19.20, and that the only two places in the Gospels where Jesus is shown as shedding tears fall to the same lectionary background?

It seems possible that some ancient mourning cycle was associated with the period immediately before Passover. It is remarkable that a specific period of mourning is mentioned in the Pentateuch in connexion with the death of both Jacob and Moses, and that in each case this corresponds with the period that would elapse between the date on which the particular lection would be read and a date immediately before the next Passover. Thus, if the account of the death of Jacob was read in the synagogue at the beginning of Shebat, the seventy days' mourning made for him by the Egyptians would terminate, according to the lectionary calendar, shortly before Passover; and similarly, the period of thirty days' mourning for Moses would occupy the days between the 7th Adar and the 7th Nisan.[2] If such a mourning period existed, can we find in it the origin of Lent? Burkitt's translation of a sixth-century Syriac manuscript, consisting of an index to the lessons proper for the festivals of the whole year, shows that the story of Lazarus was read in the Syriac-speaking churches early in Lent.[3]

In the story of the raising of Lazarus, then, we can trace the influence on the mind of the Fourth Evangelist of the earlier Gospel tradition, the

[1] For the use of this pair of lections in St. John's Gospel see further below, Chapter 11, p. 164 f.

[2] With a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri, the mourning cycle would lie between the beginning of Ab and the Day of Atonement. Now the 9th Ab is the great day of lamentation in the Jewish calendar.

[3] F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, p. 6.

Pauline teaching, and the lectionary readings of the triennial cycle for the month Shebat. St. John draws on the themes of the lections for that month to give an answer to those who were disturbed by the delay in the second advent, and to show that 'if we have become united with the likeness of his death, we shall be also with the likeness of his resurrection'.

11

THE SUPPER DISCOURSES AND PASSION NARRATIVE

In the third division of St. John's Gospel, chapters 13–20, the public ministry is at an end and Jesus, having withdrawn from the world, devotes himself to the instruction of his disciples. Just as in chapters 5–12 the Jewish feasts were shown as fulfilled in him, so now the whole festal cycle is repeated and shown as fulfilled also in his Church, the true Israel. We have seen that an entire lectionary year is traversed between chapters 13 and 20, though the historical events recorded in this section all took place at a single Passover. Thus for the Christians all the Jewish feasts are fulfilled in the Passover, their only primitive annual feast, and the Christian eucharist, though it primarily fulfils Passover, is also the recapitulation of the whole Jewish festal system.

The third division of the Gospel, then, recapitulates the second division, and in this way the themes of the succession of feasts found in the second division reappear in the Supper Discourses and Passion narrative in the same order:

Passover	The themes of John	6	are	repeated	in John	13
New Year	,,	,,	5	,,	,,	14
Tabernacles	,,	,,	7–9	,,	,,	15.1–16.24
Dedication	,,	,,	10	,,	,,	16.25–18.27
Purim	,,	,,	11b	,,	,,	18.28–19.27

Chapter 19.28 ff. returns to Passover, and quotes the lection that would be read on the second sabbath in Nisan, Exodus 12.46.

We have seen that this repetition of themes depends on the repetition of the lectionary cycle; and in order to avoid tedious restatement of the lections for any particular festival, we have included the relevant section of the Supper Discourses in our examination of each of the feasts of the second cycle, John 5–12. Such a method, however, although it is the one that shows most clearly the relation between the two divisions 5–12 and 13–20, to some extent obscures the lectionary sequence on which the Supper Discourses are based, so it will perhaps make for clarity if we set out below a summary of the results already obtained:

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
Passover	*13.1–38.* Then he poureth water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet. . . . Simon Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, *If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.* . . . He that is bathed needeth not to wash, but is clean every whit; and ye are clean, but not all. *For he knew him that should betray him.*	*Numbers 8.1 ff.* Take the Levites from among the children of Israel and cleanse them. Sprinkle the water of expiation upon them, and let them wash, and cleanse themselves (LXX καὶ πλυνοῦσι . . . καὶ καθαροὶ ἔσονται). And Aaron shall offer the Levites . . . that they may be to do the service of the Lord (LXX ὥστε ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου). And thou shalt cleanse them, for they are wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel. . . . I sanctified them for myself. . . . And the Levites purified themselves from sin, and they washed their clothes. *Psalm 51.* Wash me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. . . . Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.	*6.28.* What must we do, that we may *work the works of God* (ἵνα ἐργαζώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ)? *6.64. For Jesus knew . . . who it was that should betray him*
New Year	*14.1–31. In my Father's house* are many mansions. . . . I go *to prepare a place for you.* And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again and will receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also.	*Genesis 28.* This is none other but *the house of God*, and this is the gate of heaven. . . . If God will be with me . . . so that I come again to *my father's house* in peace. . . . *Psalm 23.* I will dwell in *the house of the Lord* for ever. *Psalm 122.* Let us go unto *the house of the Lord.*	
	And whither I go, ye know *the way.* Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; how know we the way? Jesus saith unto him, *I am the way.* . . . No man cometh unto the Father but by me.	*Deuteronomy 1.32 ff.* . . . the Lord your God who went before you in the way to choose you a place to pitch your tents in, *to show you by which way ye should go.* . . . The Lord thy God . . . hath known thy walking through this great wilderness. . . . *Now rise up*, and get you over the brook Zered. . . . And the days . . . until we were come over the brook Zered, were *thirty and eight years.*	*5.5.* And a certain man was there, which had been *thirty and eight years* in his infirmity. . . . Jesus saith unto him, *Arise . . . and walk.*

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
NEW YEAR		*Exodus 33.* Show me now thy ways, that I may know thee. *Isaiah 35.* And an high way shall be there and a way, and it shall be called, *The way of holiness* . . . the redeemed shall walk there. *Psalm 25. Show me thy ways, O Lord,* teach me thy paths.	
	Lord, *show us the Father* and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you and dost thou not know me, Philip? *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.* . . . Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself (ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτόν) unto us and not unto the world?	*Deuteronomy 4.15. Ye saw no manner of form* on the day that the Lord spake in Horeb out of the midst of the fire. *5.24.* The Lord our God hath *showed us his glory. Exodus 33.18. Show me, I pray thee, thy glory* (LXX ἐμφάνισόν[1] μοι σεαυτόν). And he said, *Thou canst not see my face,* for man shall not see me and live. *Genesis 32.* I have seen God face to face. *Psalm 24.* This is the generation of them . . . that seek thy face, O God of Jacob. *Psalm 27.* Thy face, Lord, will I seek.	*5.37.* The Father . . . hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, *nor seen his form.*
	If ye love me, keep my commandments. . . . He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. . . . If a man love me, he will keep my word. . . . He that loveth me not keepeth not my words.	*Deuteronomy 4.40.* And thou shalt *keep . . . his commandments. 5.33.* Ye shall walk in all the way which the Lord . . . hath commanded you. *6.5.* Thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and these words shall be upon thy heart.	*5.38.* Ye have not his word abiding in you. . . . I know you, that ye have not the love of God in yourselves.
	The Father abiding in me doeth his works. Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, or else believe me for the very works' sake. . . . Verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, *and greater*	*Deuteronomy 3.24.* O Lord God, thou hast begun *to show thy servant thy greatness* . . . for what God is there in heaven or in earth that can do according to thy works? *Isaiah 26.* Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us: for *thou hast also wrought all our works in us.* . . .	*5.17. My Father worketh* even until now, *and I work.* . . . *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing.* . . . For the Father loveth the Son, and *showeth him all things that himself doeth: and greater*

[1] Only here in the Pentateuch.

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
NEW YEAR	*works than these* shall he do, because I go unto the Father. . . . *Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you*: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. *I am the way* . . .	*Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace,* whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee. . . . *The way of the just is uprightness*: thou that art upright dost *direct the path of the just.* . . .	*works than these* will he show him, that ye may marvel. *5.36.* The works which the Father hath given me to accomplish, the very works that I do bear witness of me.
	I am the life. . . . Because I live, ye shall live also.	*Isaiah 26.19* (LXX). The dead shall rise, and *they that are in the tombs* shall be raised. *Hosea 13.14.* I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, where are thy plagues? O grave, where is thy destruction? *Psalm 22.29.* All they that go down to the dust shall bow before him, even he that cannot keep his soul alive. *Psalm 23.* Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. *Psalm 71.* Thou . . . shalt quicken us again, and shalt bring us up again from the depths of the earth.	As the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, even so *the Son also quickeneth whom he will.* . . . The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also *to have life in himself.* . . . *All that are in the tombs* shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.
	If I go and prepare a place for you, *I come again,* and will receive you unto myself . . . I will not leave you desolate, *I come unto you.* . . . I go away, and *I come unto you.* Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be fearful (μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία, μηδὲ δειλιάτω).	*Habakkuk 2.3.* (LXX). Though he should tarry, wait for him: for *he will surely come,* and will not tarry. *Deuteronomy 3.28* (LXX). Charge Joshua and encourage him, for he shall go before the face of this people. *Deuteronomy 1.21.* Fear not neither be dismayed (LXX μὴ φοβεῖσθε, μηδὲ δειλιάσητε). *Deuteronomy 1.29.* Dread not, neither be afraid. *Psalm 27.* The Lord is my light and my salvation,	*5.28.* The hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth.

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
NEW YEAR		whom shall I fear? . . . of whom shall I be afraid? (LXX *τίνα φοβηθήσομαι . . . ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω;*).	
	Arise, let us go hence (*ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*).	*Deuteronomy 2.13 LXX.* Now then arise and depart (*ἀνάστητε καὶ ἀπάρατε ὑμεῖς*). *v. 24.* Now then arise and depart. *Exodus 33.1.* Depart, go up hence (*ἀνάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν*). *33.15.* If thy presence go not with me, carry us up not hence (LXX *μή με ἀναγάγῃς ἐντεῦθεν*).	*5.8.* Arise . . . and walk.
TABERNACLES	*15.1–16.24.* I am the true vine . . . I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me . . . the same beareth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing.	*Jeremiah 2.21.* Yet had I planted thee a noble vine (LXX an altogether true vine), wholly a right seed; how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?	
	If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and *cast them into the fire, and they are burned.*	*Hosea 14.* I will be as the dew to Israel . . . they that dwell under his shadow shall blossom as the vine. *Isaiah 5.* My wellbeloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: and . . . he planted it with the choicest vine . . . and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. *Psalm 80.* Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt. . . . Look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine . . . *it is burned with fire*, it is cut down.	
	If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me before it hated you . . . because ye are not of the world . . . therefore the world hateth you. . . . If they persecuted me, they	*Isaiah 66.* Your brethren that hate you, *that cast you out for my name's sake*, have said, *Let the Lord be glorified.* *Genesis 37.4.* And (Joseph's) brethren . . . hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. And Joseph	*7.7.* The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it that its works are evil. *8.40.* But now ye seek to kill me. . . . *8.59.* They took up

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
TABERNACLES	will also persecute you. . . . But all these things will they do unto you *for my name's sake. . . . They shall put you out of the synagogues*: yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God. And these things will they do because they have not known the Father, nor me.	dreamed a dream, and he told it to his brethren, and they hated him yet the more. . . . And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan . . . and they conspired against him to slay him.	stones . . . to cast at him. *9.24.* They called the man that was blind, and said unto him, *Give glory to God*: we know that this man is a sinner. . . . The Jews had agreed already, that if any man should confess him to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. . . . *And they cast him out.*
	16.16. A little while, and ye behold me no more; and again a little while, and ye shall see me . . . because I go to the Father. *v. 19.* Do ye inquire among yourselves concerning this that I said, *A little while, and ye behold me not*; and again a little while, and ye shall see me? Verily I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: *ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.* A woman *when she is in travail* hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but when she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish for the joy that a man is born into the world. And ye therefore now have sorrow: but I will see you again, *and your heart shall rejoice*, and your joy no one taketh away from you.	*Isaiah 66.7 ff.* Before she travailed, she brought forth: before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? shall a nation be brought forth at once? for as soon as *Zion travailed* she brought forth her children. . . . *As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you, and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.* And ye shall see it, *and your heart shall rejoice.* *Leviticus 12.2.* If a woman . . . bear a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days . . . and *in the eighth day he shall be circumcised.* *Genesis 35.16. And Rachel travailed*, and she had hard labour. And . . . the midwife said unto her, Fear not, for now thou shalt have another son.	*7.33. Yet a little while am I with you, and I go unto him that sent me.* *7.22.* For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision . . . *and on the sabbath ye circumcise a man* . . . that the law of Moses may not be broken.
	15.7, 8. If ye abide in me, and *my words abide in you*, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you. *Herein is my Father glorified,*	*Isaiah 61.1 ff.* The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because . . . he hath sent me *to proclaim liberty to the captives*, and the opening of the eyes to them that are bound.	*8.31. If ye abide in my word*, then are ye truly my disciples, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
TABERNACLES	*that ye bear much fruit,* and so shall ye be my disciples. *16.20. Ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.* *15.26. The Spirit of truth . . . shall bear witness of me, and bear ye also witness, because* ye have been with me *from the beginning.*	*. . . To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them . . . the oil of joy for mourning,* that they might be called *trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.* *Isaiah 43.9 ff.* (*LXX*). Who will declare to you things *from the beginning*? Let them bring forth their witnesses and be justified; and let them hear and declare the truth. *Be ye my witnesses, and I am a witness, saith the Lord God, and my servant whom I have chosen*: that ye may know and believe and understand that I am. . . . *I am, I am, that blots out thy transgressions, and thy sins.* *v. 12.* I am the Lord God even *from the beginning* (*Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*).	*. . .* Every one that committeth sin is the bondservant of sin. *. . . If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* *8.17.* Yea and in your law it is written that the witness of two men is true. *I am he that beareth witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.* *8.28.* When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that *I am.* *8.24. Except ye believe that I am, ye shall die in your sins.* *8.58.* Before Abraham was, *I am.*
	16.13. The Spirit of truth . . . shall declare unto you the things that are to come.	*v. 19.* Behold, I will do new things which shall presently spring forth, and ye shall know them.	*8.25.* They said therefore unto him, Who art thou? Jesus said unto them, *From the beginning* I am what I even tell you (*Τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν*).
	15.21. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. *16.3.* These things will they do, because they have not known the Father, nor me.	*Jeremiah 2.8.* The priests said not, Where is the Lord? and they that handle the law knew me not.	*7.28.* He that sent me is true, whom ye know not. *8.14.* Ye know not whence I come, or whither I go. . . . Ye know neither me, nor my Father. *8.55.* Ye have not known him: but I know him. *9.29.* As for this man, we know not whence he is.
	16.7. It is expedient for you that I go away: *for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go I will send him unto you. . . . When he, the Spirit of*	*Jeremiah 2.13.* For my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me *the fountain of living waters,* and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water.	*7.37.* Now on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to me, *and let him drink that*

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
TABERNACLES	*truth, is come,* he shall guide you into all the truth . . . and he shall declare unto you *the things that are to come.*	*Deuteronomy 8.11.* Beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God . . . who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint. *Zechariah 14.* And it shall come to pass in that day, that *living waters* shall go out from Jerusalem. *Isaiah 43.* I give waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, *to give drink to my people, my chosen.* . . . (LXX) Behold, I will do *new things which shall presently spring forth,* and ye shall know them. *Psalm 78.* He clave rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink abundantly . . . . He brought forth streams also out of the rock, and *caused waters to run like rivers.*	*believeth on me.* As the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow *rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit which they that believed on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.*
DEDICATION	*16.25 ff.* These things have I spoken unto you in *proverbs*: the hour cometh, when I shall . . . *tell you plainly* of the Father. . . . Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb.	*Isaiah 48.12 ff.* I have not spoken in secret.	*10.1 ff.* This *proverb* spake Jesus unto them, but they understood not. . . . The Jews said unto him . . . If thou art the Christ, *tell us plainly.*
	v. 32. Behold, the hour cometh . . . that ye shall be scattered. *17.11 ff.* Holy Father, keep them in thy name . . . that they may be one, as we are. *v. 21.* That they may all be one . . . I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one.	*Ezekiel 34.* My sheep were scattered on every mountain. *Ezekiel 37.* And I will make them one nation in the land, and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations . . . and they all shall have one shepherd. *Ezekiel 34.* And I will set up one shepherd over them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd.	*v. 12.* The wolf catcheth them and scattereth them. *v. 16.* They shall become one flock, one shepherd. *v. 30.* I and the Father are one.
	v. 21. That they may all be one, *even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee.* *v. 11.* I come to thee. *v. 13.* But now I come to thee.	*Psalm 133.* Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. *Genesis 48.1 ff.* Behold, thy son Joseph cometh unto thee.	*v. 38.* That ye may know and understand that *the Father is in me and I in the Father.*

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
DEDICATION	*v. 6.* I manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me.	*v. 9.* And Joseph said unto his father, They are my sons, whom God hath given me.	*v. 29.* My Father, which hath given them unto me, is greater than all.
	v. 9. I pray . . . for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine: and all things that are mine are thine and thine are mine.	*v. 5.* And now thy two sons . . . are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh . . . shall be mine. And thy issue, which thou hast begotten after them, shall be thine.	*v. 14.* I know mine own, and mine own know me.
	v. 15. I pray . . . that thou shouldest keep them from evil.	*v. 16.* The angel which hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads. (*Psalm 34.7.* The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.) And *let my name be named on them,* and the name of my fathers.	
	v. 11. Keep them in thy name which thou hast given me. . . . *I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me. v. 26.* I made known unto them thy name.		*v. 3.* He calleth his own sheep by name.
	v. 17. Sanctify them in thy truth: thy word is truth. *As thou didst send me into the world,* even so sent I them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be *sanctified in truth.*	*Ezekiel 37.* And the nations shall know that *I am the Lord that sanctify Israel.* *Isaiah 48.12 ff.* And now *the Lord God hath sent me.* . . . (LXX) *Sanctify him that despises his life.*	*v. 36.* Say ye of *him whom the Father sanctified, and sent into the world,* Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?
	v. 1 ff. Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that *the Son may glorify thee.* . . . I glorified thee on the earth. . . . *v. 20.* Neither for these only do I pray, but *for them also that believe on me through their word.*	*Isaiah 49.3 ff.* And he said unto me, *Thou art my servant . . . in whom I will be glorified.* . . . And now saith the Lord that formed me from the womb to be his servant . . . that Israel be gathered unto him . . . *I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles,* that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth. . . . *v. 9.* They shall feed in the ways, and on all bare heights shall be their pasture. *Ezekiel 34.14.* I will feed them with good pasture, and upon the mountains of the	*v. 16.* And *other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd.*
			v. 9. He . . . shall go in and out, and shall find pasture.

Feast	*Supper Discourses*	*Lections and Psalms*	*Repetition of themes*
DEDICATION		height of Israel shall their fold be.	
	v. 12. I guarded them, and *not one of them perished,* but the son of perdition. *18.9.* Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one.	*Zechariah 10.10 LXX.* And I will gather them in . . . and *there shall not even one of them be left behind.*	*v. 28.* I give unto them eternal life; and *they shall never perish.*

We may perhaps summarize the main teaching of the Supper Discourses as follows:

Passover	The remission of sins: 'If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.'
New Year	The second coming to receive the believer to the Father's house.
Tabernacles	Jesus, the true vine.
Dedication	The unity of the Church: 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one.'

All these themes appear in the account given in the *Didache* of the celebration of the eucharist:

Passover	'Let none eat or drink of your eucharist except those who have been baptized in the Lord's name. For concerning this did the Lord say, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs" ' (*Didache* IX. 5).
New Year	The climax of the celebration according to the *Didache* (X. 6) is the prayer for the Lord's coming—'*Maranatha.*' Cf. 1 Corinthians 11.26: 'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death *till he come.*'
Tabernacles	The eucharistic prayer in the *Didache* IX. 2 runs: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David.'
Dedication	'As this broken bread was *scattered* upon the mountains, but was brought together and *became one,* so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom' (*Didache* IX. 4). Cf. 1 Corinthians 10.16, 17: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? Seeing that there is *one bread,* we who are many are *one body.*'

Thus the Christian sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, fulfil the whole Jewish festal system.

We see, then, that when the Supper Discourses are read in the light of the lectionary background, they are found to be in their proper liturgical order: thus the various theories of accidental displacement that have been

put forward can be discarded. In particular, there is no reason to suppose that the words 'Arise, let us go hence' should be transferred to the end of the discourses, for the words depend on the New Year lections and the theological ideas associated with that season rather than on any historical reminiscence (see above, Chapter 6, pp. 88 f.).

With the end of the Supper Discourses we have reached a time just after Dedication in the lectionary cycle. The themes of Dedication are continued in John 18.1–27; chapters 18.28–19.27 fall to Purim, and 19.28–20.30 to Passover, thus completing the third cycle of the Gospel.

Let us now examine the lectionary background of John 18.1–27. In discussing the Feast of the Dedication (above, Chapter 9), we saw that John 10 was based mainly on Genesis 46.28 ff., and John 17 mainly on Genesis 47.29 or 48.1. The account of the arrest of Jesus in John 18 depends on these and on the next seder, Genesis 49.1, to which Mann, on the basis of *Aggadath Bereshith* c. 84, allocates Isaiah 48.12 as haphtarah.[1] We have therefore to consider the lectionary sequence:

Genesis 46.28 with Zechariah 10.6 (Bodleian MS. 2727[3]);
Genesis 47.29[2] with 1 Kings 2.1;
Genesis 49.1 with Isaiah 48.12.

We have already noticed the use made of this last pair of lections in Luke 19.29–44. From the seder, which contains Jacob's oracle on Judah, comes the theme of the triumphal entry; and verse 18 of the haphtarah, 'O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river', seems to have influenced Jesus' words of mourning over Jerusalem (Luke 19.42). The Fourth Evangelist has been influenced rather by the oracle on Simeon and Levi, and quotes a different verse from the same haphtarah:

Lections for Tebeth	*John 18.1–27*
Genesis 49.5 ff. Simeon and Levi are brethren; weapons of violence are their swords. O my soul, come not thou into their council . . . for in their anger they slew a man. . . . Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and *scatter* them in Israel.	*v. 10.* Simon Peter therefore having a sword drew it, and struck the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. Now the servant's name was Malchus. Jesus therefore said unto Peter, Put up the sword into the sheath: the cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? *Cf. 16.32.* Ye shall be *scattered.*

[1] Mann, op. cit., pp. 354 ff. Cf. also Büchler, op. cit., vi. 53.

[2] According to the Geniza fragments of triennial cycle haphtaroth, the next regular seder began at Genesis 48.1. However, from some of the Midrashic data it would seem that in certain Palestinian localities it was customary in early times to commence the seder at Genesis 47.29. Mann (op. cit., p. 342) cites 1 Kings 2.1 as an obvious Prophetic selection to this seder, with the initial verse of which it tallies both verbally and thematically. It has been taken over by the Babylonian ritual for ויחי, Genesis 47.28.

Lections for Tebeth	*John 18.1–27*
Zechariah 11.4 ff. Thus saith the Lord my God: Feed the flock of slaughter, whose buyers slay them, and hold themselves not guilty; and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich. For I will no more pity the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord: but lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king (Hebrew מַלְכּוֹ) . . . and out of their hand I will not deliver them.	*v. 2.* Judas also, which betrayed him . . . having received the band of soldiers . . . cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.
Zechariah 10.10 LXX. There shall not even one of them be left behind.	*v. 10.* Now the servant's name was Malchus. *v. 9.* Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one.
Isaiah 48.12 ff. Hearken unto me. . . . I am he; I am the first, I also am the last (LXX ἐγώ εἰμι πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).	*v. 4 ff.* Jesus therefore . . . saith unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am. . . . When therefore he said unto them, I am, they went backward, and fell to the ground.
v. 16. Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; from the beginning *I have not spoken in secret.*	*v. 20.* I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where all the Jews come together, and *in secret spake I nothing.*
1 Kings 2.37. On the day thou passest over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain, that thou shalt surely die.	*v. 1.* When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron.

The haphtarah from Zechariah is of particular interest. In John 18.28 the Evangelist, with characteristic irony, remarks that those who were plotting the murder of the Lord avoided entering the praetorium 'that they might not be defiled'. The words of Zechariah 11.4 f. are an apt comment on such self-deception, and on Judas' betrayal of Jesus: 'Feed the flock of slaughter, whose buyers slay them, and *hold themselves not guilty*; and *they that sell them* say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich.' John alone of the Evangelists gives the name of the servant of the high priest, and it seems possible that he has been influenced by the Hebrew form of the Zechariah haphtarah: 'I will deliver every one into his neighbour's hand, and *into the hand of Malko*.' This suggestion receives confirmation from the fact that although Malchus in John 18.10 is rendered מלך in the *Peshiṭta*, it is rendered מלכו in the Sinai Palimpsest. Burkitt points out that the word occurs in the Sinai Palimpsest at the end of a line, so that it is not quite certain that an ס may not be lost in the margin: in that case the Palimpsest

would present a mere commonplace transliteration of *Μάλχος*. But as the name appears to be treated as a Semitic one in the *Peshiṭta*, it is more likely that מלכו is the true reading.[1]

The themes of the lections for Dedication which we have already noticed in John 10 reappear in John 18, but by way of contrast. In chapter 10, Jesus calls himself the Good Shepherd, who enters by the door into the fold (*αὐλή*), to whom the porter (*θυρωρός*) opens, and who cares for the sheep. In chapter 18 Peter is admitted by the portress (*ἡ θυρωρός*) by the door into the court or 'fold' (*αὐλή*) of the high priest, and the very words of his denial are the reversal of the twofold *ἐγώ εἰμι* spoken by our Lord at his arrest. *Οὐκ εἰμί . . . Οὐκ εἰμί*, says Peter, and proclaims himself no true under-shepherd but a hireling, *ὁ μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὢν ποιμήν*. In both passages there is an allusion to the coldness of the season (cf. 18.18 and 10.22). Chapter 18.9 contains an allusion to the two previous Dedication sections of the Gospel:

18.9. . . . that the word might be fulfilled that he spake, Of those whom thou hast given me I lost not one.	*17.12.* Not one of them perished.	*10.28.* They shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand.

John 18, then, is the reversal of John 10. The contrast was already inherent in the Dedication festival, which celebrated not only the purification of the Temple but also its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes; not only the coming Messiah who would gather together all Israel as one flock under one shepherd, but also the antichrist.[2] But this contrast is also directly related to the lectionary background. God the Shepherd of Israel, the coming Messianic shepherd-king, and the regathering of Israel as one flock, are the themes of the regular readings for Dedication in all three years of the cycle, and in particular the Evangelist draws on two prophetic portions read at that season which deal with the same theme of sheep and shepherds in vividly contrasting oracles, namely, Ezekiel 37.15 ff. and Zechariah 11. The Zechariah oracle is a reversal of the prophecy of Ezekiel 37, where the joining of two sticks in the Prophet's hand symbolizes the future reunion of the divided nation under one shepherd, 'My servant David'. In contrast to this, the oracle in Zechariah 11 tells of the careless shepherd, and of the flock, 'verily the most miserable of sheep', delivered over to slaughter; the sign of the broken staffs foreshadowing the division of Judah and Israel. The true shepherd, the sheep regathered, and the joined sticks signifying

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names*, p. 23.

[2] 'The idea of Antichrist itself can be traced back certainly to the Book of Daniel, in which the persecuting King Antiochus Epiphanes is depicted in the character of the Great Opponent of God and of his saints under the figure of the "little horn" of Daniel 7.8 ff. But the meaning of the prophecy was not regarded as having been exhausted by its contemporary fulfilment, and the mysterious phrase about the abomination of desolation . . . was regarded as a prophetic word still destined to find fulfilment in the future' (Rawlinson, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 187).

the nation united, are contrasted with the worthless shepherd, the sheep scattered, and the broken staves signifying the nation divided of the Zechariah passage. It is striking that in his account of the arrest Matthew also draws on the same oracle in Zechariah, for he quotes Zechariah 11.13 as a prophecy of the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed the Lord. Mark likewise thinks of the arrest of Jesus and the flight of the disciples in terms of Zechariah 13.7: 'Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered' (Mark 14.27, 50).

Finally, John alone of the Evangelists mentions the presence of a Roman officer and Roman soldiers at the arrest of Jesus, and it has often been remarked that their participation at this stage of the proceedings against Jesus is surprising. Hoskyns[1] suggests that St. John introduces the cohort at this point in order to show that all the forces of darkness—the Roman and Jewish authorities and the apostate disciple—were arrayed against the Lord from the beginning. We now suggest that some light is perhaps thrown on the narrative by a consideration of the lectionary background. As we have seen, John's lectionary sequence has brought him to Genesis 49, which would be read in the first year of the cycle not long after Dedication—towards the end of Tebeth or the beginning of Shebat. The sedarim that would be read at this time in the second and third years of the cycle respectively would be the 'curses' of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28.[2] These passages predict the tribulation that would come upon Israel as punishment for disobedience, and give a picture of headlong flight before enemies:

> The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and shalt flee seven ways before them. . . . And thou shalt become an astonishment, a *proverb*, and a byword, among all the peoples whither the Lord shall lead thee away. . . . The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, *as the eagle flieth* . . . and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates . . . and the Lord shall *scatter* thee among all peoples (Deuteronomy 28.25 ff.).

From the standpoint of a Jew or Christian living in the closing years of the first century A.D. such a prophecy would quite naturally be applied to the events of A.D. 70: and indeed, the words 'as the eagle flieth' are sufficiently remarkable as a prediction of the Jewish-Roman war.

It is suggested that the Fourth Evangelist regarded the arrest, trial, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 509.

[2] The reading of Deuteronomy 28 at a time shortly after Dedication is reflected in one of the oldest of the Palestinian Midrashim, *Ekah Rabbati*. The exposition of Lamentations 1.16 given in the Midrash represents the Jews as being occupied at that time with the verse 'The Lord will bring a nation against thee from far . . . as the vulture swoopeth down' (Deuteronomy 28.49). See above, Chapter 2, p. 10. The Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 9) mentions Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26 as readings for the 9th Ab, to which date they would fall with a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri. See above, Chapter 2, p. 18.

crucifixion of Jesus as a prophetic pre-enacting of the events of A.D. 70. Such an interpretation of St. John's narrative is completely in accordance with the symbolism of 2.13–22, where the destruction of the temple of Jesus' body is a sign of the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. Again, in 16.16–24, Isaiah's prediction of the rebirth of the *nation*, the sorrow that would precede and the joy that would follow it, is applied to Jesus' own passion and resurrection. Our Lord explained that this prediction was a proverb, a παροιμία. Were the words of Deuteronomy 28.37 in his mind? The LXX renders מָשָׁל as παραβολή in that passage; but in Philo's tractate *De Praemiis et Poenis* xxvi, which is essentially a running commentary on Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26, the word παροιμία is used to give the gist of Deuteronomy 28.37. The Chester Beatty papyrus has a lacuna at this point.

From Dedication we pass to Purim, the next feast of the Jewish calendar, when the scroll of Esther was read in the synagogues. The Mishnah (*Megillah* i. 1) prescribes the reading of the scroll on either the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, or 15th of Adar, the choice of date being governed partly by the size of the village, town, or city where the scroll was to be read, partly by the day of the week on which the 14th Adar fell. The Rabbis found support for this diversity of dates in the fact that the original Purim was observed on different days, the Jews in Shushan keeping it on the 15th, while those living elsewhere in the Persian Empire observed it on the 14th (Esther 9.17–18).

Already in St. Mark's Gospel we find allusions to the Book of Esther in the account of the beheading of John the Baptist; in particular in Herod's words to the daughter of Herodias: 'Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give it thee, unto the half of my kingdom' (Mark 6.23 and cf. Esther 5.3 and 7.2). It is reasonable to suppose that the incident actually took place about the time of the feast of Purim, for it is immediately followed in Mark by the account of the feeding of the five thousand (Mark 6.30–44) at Passover time, or at any rate in the spring of the year.

The plot of the Book of Esther turns on the willingness of Esther and Mordecai to risk their lives for their own people when the destruction of the Jewish nation seemed imminent, and this theme seems to be echoed in the Purim sections of the Fourth Gospel, chapters 11.47–53 and 18.28–19.27. In John 11.50, Caiaphas urges the expediency of letting one man die for the people in order that the whole nation should not perish, and his turn of speech is strongly reminiscent of the Book of Esther:

Esther 3.8 ff. LXX. There is a nation *scattered among the nations* in all thy kingdom, and their laws differ from those of all the other nations, and *it is not expedient* for the king to *let them alone* (οὐ συμφέρει τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐᾶσαι αὐτούς). If it seem good to the king, let him make a decree to destroy them.

4.1. But Mardochaeus . . . cried with a loud voice, *A nation* that has done no wrong is going to be *taken away* (αἴρεται ἔθνος μηδὲν ἠδικηκός).

John 11.47 ff. What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we *let him thus alone* . . . the Romans will come and *take away* both our place and *our nation.* But a certain one of them, Caiaphas, . . . said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor do ye take account that *it is expedient* for you (συμφέρει ὑμῖν) that one man should die for the people, and that *the whole nation perish not.*

v. 52. . . . the children of God that are *scattered abroad.*

Similar echoes of the Book of Esther are found in John 18.28 ff. The opening scene of Esther is set in the court of the garden of the king's palace, where a feast is held upon a *pavement* (λιθόστρωτος) of coloured stone and marble. The good Mordecai is robed in royal apparel with a crown of gold and a robe of purple and fine linen, and the wicked Haman is *crucified* on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai (cf. Esther 7.9 LXX σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ). There are repeated references to decrees of the king written in the languages of the various provinces, which once written cannot be reversed: 'For the writing that is written in the king's name . . . may no man reverse. . . . And it was written unto every province according to the writing thereof, and *unto every people after their language*, and *to the Jews . . . according to their language*' (Esther 8.8 ff.). Similarly, in John 19.2 ff., Jesus appears before Pilate arrayed as a king, with a crown of thorns and a purple garment, is brought to a place called *The Pavement* (λιθόστρωτος), and is crucified (σταυρόω) upon the wood. Pilate writes a title over the cross in the languages of the provinces, including the *language of the Jews*, and declines in the famous words 'What I have written I have written' to make any alteration to it.

There follows a quotation from a Psalm which would fall to Purim with a triennial cycle of Psalms beginning in Tishri, namely, Psalm 22: 'They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.' The Evangelist looks on this Psalm as a prophecy of the division between the soldiers of Jesus' garments, and in 19.23, 24 he alludes to Jesus' seamless coat, woven from the top throughout (ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου), which the soldiers were unwilling to rend. The description has affinities with Exodus 39.22 f., which tells of the making of the seamless coat of the high priest: 'And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work (LXX ἔργον ὑφαντὸν) . . . with a binding round about the hole of it, *that it should not be rent.*' The word ὑφαντός occurs here only in the New Testament, and in the LXX only in the Exodus account of the priestly vestments and the woven work for the tabernacle. Now this passage from Exodus would also fall to be read at Purim with a triennial cycle beginning in Tishri: the Evangelist has combined an allusion to the regular Pentateuchal portion that would fall to Purim with another to the regular Psalm for the same occasion. The comparison between our Lord's garments and the high

priestly apparel is perfectly natural when we consider that for the New Testament writers the Jewish sacrificial system is regarded as foreshadowing Jesus' passion: 'But Christ having come a high priest of the good things to come . . . nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through his own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption' (Hebrews 9.11, 12). St. John omits the incident of the rending of the high priest's raiment recorded in Mark 14.63, otherwise one might suspect a conscious contrast with our Lord's unrent robe.

The narrative then proceeds to Passover, with quotations from Exodus 12.46 and Numbers 9.12, the synagogue lectionary readings for Passover for the second and third years of the triennial cycle, thus completing the third liturgical cycle of the Gospel.

12

THE NEW TEMPLE

In the second and third divisions of his Gospel the Evangelist's main focus of interest is the Jewish festal cycle: the things symbolized by the feasts are fulfilled in Jesus and his Church, and of this truth the Christian eucharist is the sacramental expression. In the first division, chapters 1–4, the interest shifts from the feasts to the Temple itself, and the dominant theme of the entire section is that this Temple and its worship, that of the Jewish Church, is to be superseded by a new and universal worship, that of the Christian Church. The Evangelist gives us a thumb-nail sketch of the growth of the new community from the call of the earliest disciples to the healing of the son of a Gentile army officer, an incident which seems to foreshadow the inclusion of Gentiles in the Church. The building up of this new temple of Jesus' body makes obsolete the system of worship centred in the Temple at Jerusalem. The Divine presence is no longer bound to the Jewish Temple, but to the person of Christ. Jesus therefore is the centre of all worship, which is henceforth 'neither in this mountain (Gerizim), nor in Jerusalem', but 'in spirit and in truth' (4.21, 23).

Now the Jewish Temple stood for revelation and purification. It was both the meeting-place of heaven and earth and the place of sacrifice for purification from sin. The incarnation and the crucifixion fulfilled both these functions of the Temple. With the *incarnation*, the glory (כבוד, δόξα) of God is no longer to be found in the Temple, but rather this divine glory has appeared in the incarnate Word, who is now the 'place' of revelation, the exegesis of the Father (1.18). As Professor Cullmann points out, Jesus' answer to Nathaniel in 1.51 also includes this thought in its reference to Jacob's dream about the ladder at Bethel (Genesis 28.10 ff.). The bridge between heaven and earth is no longer, as then, found in a particular locality ('this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven') but in a man, in whom the glory of God is visible.[1] With the *crucifixion*, the necessity for Jewish sacrificial purification was done away, for the final purification for sins had been made, and the cessation of Temple sacrifice that came about in A.D. 70 must have appeared to St. John as the logical outcome of Jesus' death. Thus Jesus' words to the Jews in 2.19, 'Destroy this temple', have a double meaning: to destroy the temple

[1] O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 73. Cf. *Bereshith Rabbah* lxix. 7 (on Genesis 28.17), where a saying attributed to R. Judah b. R. Simon describes Jacob's ladder as standing on the site of the future Temple.

of his body was to doom their own Temple, though historically there was a period of about forty years between the crucifixion and the events of A.D. 70.

The Evangelist, then, bases the first division of his Gospel on those Old Testament lections that best illustrate his teaching that Jesus has taken the place of the Temple, and that the destruction of the Temple, prophetically pre-enacted in the crucifixion, has brought about the setting aside of Judaism as God's channel of revelation, and the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles, so that henceforth the true worship of God is no longer confined to any particular place or race. This whole division of the Gospel consists of a series of incidents which point to the contrast between the old order and the new. The dispensation of Law has been superseded by the dispensation of Grace (1.17). Jewish rituals of purification (including John's water-baptism) have been superseded by Jesus' Spirit-baptism (1.33, 2.1–11), and animal sacrifices by Jesus' one sacrifice for sin (2.13–22). Membership of the old order depended on birth 'of the flesh', i.e. on physical descent from Abraham; membership of the new belongs to those who have been 'born of the Spirit' (3.1 ff.). Localized worship has been superseded by worship in spirit and in truth (4.21–23). In short, the contrast between the old order and the new, the Temple at Jerusalem and the temple of Jesus' body, is the theme of the whole section.

1. REVELATION: THE 'GLORY' OF GOD IS VISIBLE IN JESUS

The main theme of John 1 is found in verses 14–18, 'And the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us, and we beheld his glory . . . full of grace and truth. . . . For the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten God, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.'

The revelation of the glory of God in Christ is contrasted with the revelation made to Israel through Moses. God is visible to no human eye, and Moses, who desired to see him ('Show me, I pray thee, thy glory') was granted instead an exegesis of the Name of the God who is 'plenteous in mercy and truth' (Exodus 34.5, 6). Israel at the giving of the Law 'saw no manner of form' (Deuteronomy 4.15); no open vision was granted to them, but they heard God's voice, for the Word is the means of his revelation to men. But with the coming of Jesus into the world the Word has become flesh. God, who is invisible, is seen in Jesus, since he who has seen Jesus has seen the Father (John 14.7); and the way to heaven is opened (John 1.51) through Jesus, who is himself the Way (John 14.1–6).

Now all these are the themes of New Year, the season when the world was created[1] (cf. John 1.1–5). We also notice the New Year themes of the witness to Jesus of John the Baptist (1.6–8, 15, 19, 29, 35, and cf. 5.31–35), and of Moses in the scriptures (1.45 and cf. 5.39, 46, 47). The lections of a double cycle for New Year are clearly reflected in John 1:

New Year lections	*John 1*
NISAN CYCLE	
Genesis 28.10 ff. Behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. . . . This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.	Ye shall see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.
Exodus 39.33 ff. And it came to pass in *the first month* . . . on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up. . . . Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle (LXX *καὶ δόξης Κυρίου ἐπλήσθη ἡ σκηνή*).[2]	And the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us (*ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*), and we beheld his glory (*δόξα*), glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth (*πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας*).
Deuteronomy 3.23 ff. And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no form; only ye heard a voice. And he declared unto you his covenant . . . even the ten commandments, and he wrote them upon two tables of stone. And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgement. . . . Take ye therefore good heed to yourselves, for ye saw no manner of form on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb. . . . Behold, the Lord our God hath showed us his glory.	For the law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.
	We beheld his glory.

[1] This was the opinion of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b). Cf. also *Wayyikra Rabbah* xxix. 1, where the world is said to have been created on the 25th Elul.

[2] There seems to be a close relationship between John 1 and the Synoptic accounts of the Transfiguration. Mark 9.7, *καὶ ἐγένετο νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα αὐτοῖς*, reflects Exodus 40.34, 35 LXX: 'And the cloud (*νεφέλη*) covered the tabernacle of witness. . . . And Moses was not able to enter into the tabernacle of testimony, because the cloud overshadowed it (*ὅτι ἐπεσκίαζεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἡ νεφέλη*) and the tabernacle was filled with the glory of the Lord.' In the Gospels, *ἐπισκιάζω* appears here and in Luke 1.35 (of the incarnation) only. In the Greek Pentateuch it appears in Exodus 40.35 only.

New Year lections	*John 1*
TISHRI CYCLE	
Genesis 1.1 ff. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.	*In the beginning* was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness overcame it not. . . . There was the true light . . . coming into the world.
Isaiah 44.24 ff. (haphtarah to Genesis 1.1). I am the Lord, *that maketh all things;* that stretcheth forth the heavens alone . . . *who is with me?*[1]	The Word was *with God.* . . . He was in the beginning with God. *All things were made by him.*
Exodus 10.21 ff. And there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt . . . but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. . . . This month shall be to you *the beginning* of months: it shall be *the first month* of the year to you. Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb . . . and the whole assembly . . . shall kill it at even.	And the light shineth in the darkness.
Isaiah 60.1 ff. (haphtarah to Exodus *10.21*). Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth . . . but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.	Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.
Numbers 7.1 ff. And it came to pass on the day that Moses had made an end of setting up the tabernacle [i.e.	We beheld his glory.
	Philip findeth Nathanael. . . . Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed,

[1] 'The seder raises the difficulty that in verse 1 *Elohim* is plural in form, but *bara'* is in the singular. Was God then sole agent in creation? The same question is raised in the haphtarah: 'I am the Lord that maketh all things . . . who is with me?'. It would seem that an answer to the haphtarah question was found in the conception of Wisdom (or the Torah) as pre-existing 'with God' and acting as his agent in creation: cf. the Petiḥta of R. Hoshaya (in *Bereshith Rabbah* i.1) on Proverbs 8.30, where Wisdom says, 'Then I was by him, as a master workman'; also the Petiḥta of R. Tanḥuma on Psalm 104.24, found in the large version of Midrash Tanḥuma on Genesis 1.1.

New Year lections	*John 1*
on *the first day of the first month*] that the princes of Israel, the heads of their fathers' houses, offered. . . . On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince of *Issachar*, did offer. . . . When thou lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candlestick.	in whom is no guile! *Cf. Testament of Issachar vii. 4*: 'Guile arose not in my heart, a lie passed not through my lips.'
Zechariah 4 (haphtarah to Numbers 7). He shall bring forth the head stone with shoutings of Grace, grace unto it. (LXX *ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς* —its grace the equal of grace.)	For of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace (*χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος*).

Before considering the problem raised by the Evangelist's apparent use of a double lectionary cycle, we will first consider the lections themselves. We notice, firstly, that of the six Pentateuchal passages cited, four speak of the *beginning* or of the *first month*. Secondly, the theme of *light* or *glory* is prominent in these lections, and linked with it is the theme of the temple or its prototype the tabernacle, where God came to dwell with his people.

Let us first notice the tabernacle/temple theme. Exodus 40 describes the setting up of the tabernacle in the wilderness *on the first day of the first month*, and Numbers 7 speaks of the offerings brought by the twelve princes on that occasion. Genesis 28 tells of the ladder which formed the means of communication between Bethel, the earthly sanctuary, and the true heavenly temple, the house of God, to which it was the gate. Genesis 1 describes the creation of the world. The conception of the universe as God's temple is the link between the theme of creation in the Genesis seder and the theme of the setting up of the tabernacle in Numbers 7 and Exodus 40, and the two events are often compared in the Midrashic writings, as, for example, in *Bereshith Rabbah* ii. 5 (on Genesis 1.2): 'R. Ḥiyya Rabbah said: From the very beginning of the world's creation the Holy One, blessed be He, foresaw the Temple built, destroyed, and rebuilt. *In the beginning God created* [symbolizes the Temple] built. . . . *Now the earth was tohu* alludes to [the Temple] destroyed. . . . *And God said, Let there be light* signifies [the Temple] rebuilt and firmly established in the Messianic era.' Cf. also *Bereshith Rabbah* iii. 9 and *Bemidbar Rabbah* xii. 13.

The temple theme appears also in the haphtaroth. According to the lists of triennial cycle haphtaroth in the Taylor Schechter Collection, Cambridge, the haphtarah to Genesis 1 was Isaiah 65.17–25: 'For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth . . . .' Nine verses is less than the usual length of a haphtarah, and presumably the reading continued with 66.1: 'Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house

will ye build unto me?' Mann, however, cites three Petiḥtot by R. Tanḥuma in the large version of Midrash *Tanḥuma* and a fourth in *Bereshith Rabbah* i. 3, all of which, in his view, presuppose that the haphtarah was Isaiah 44.24 ff.[1] In this haphtarah also reference is made in verse 28 to the building of the Temple. The same theme appears in the haphtarah Zechariah 4, where the prophet encourages Zerubbabel to proceed with the work of rebuilding: 'The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands also shall finish it.' Verse 7 in the LXX version (*ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς*) seems to have influenced John 1.16: 'for of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace (*χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος*).' St. John's use of this haphtarah is the more interesting inasmuch as the figure of Zerubbabel, who was himself a descendant of David, is connected with the mysteries surrounding the appearance of the Messiah, the descendant of David. Finally, whilst it is clear from some of the Midrashim that a seder beginning Exodus 10.21 was at one time in use, the regular seder listed in the Bodleian MS. began at Exodus 11.1. To this seder the Ḳerobah of the early Paiṭan Simon Hakkohen b. Megas indicates Isaiah 6.13 as haphtarah, possibly including the verse 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,' while the Bodleian MS. 2606[7d] cites a haphtarah ending Haggai 2.15+23 (beginning defective). In this haphtarah, those who had known the old Temple in its glory are promised 'The desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. . . . The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former.'

Several of these lections speak of some manifestation of the glory (LXX *δόξα*) of God, signifying his presence with his people: 'Then . . . the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle' (Exodus 40.34); 'Behold, the Lord our God hath showed us his glory' (Deuteronomy 5.24); 'The desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory' (Haggai 2.7), or (if the seder began at Exodus 10.21, with Isaiah 60.1 as haphtarah), 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. . . . the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee'. (Isaiah 60.1f.). The central theme of these lections is to be found in John 1.14, 'And the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us, and we beheld his glory . . . full of grace and truth'. More especially the reference here is to such passages as Exodus 40.34 or Haggai 2.7, where God is spoken of as dwelling in the midst of his people and manifesting his glory in the tabernacle or the Temple. The Evangelist wrote at a time when the Temple had been destroyed, but the presence of God had not been withdrawn, for Jesus had taken the place of the Temple: the glory of God is now seen in him, and with his incarnation the prophecy of Isaiah 60.1 is fulfilled.

The problem raised by the Evangelist's use of what seems to be a double

[1] J. Mann, op. cit., p. 30.

lectionary cycle must now be considered. Why has St. John combined the themes of the 1st Nisan and of New Year? There would seem to be two possible explanations:

(1) John 1 is, in fact, based on the lections of a Nisan cycle that would fall to New Year. The allusions to Genesis 1 arise because, in the view of some, the world was created on the 1st Tishri, New Year's Day. The allusions to Numbers 7 arise because Numbers 7 and Exodus 40 both describe the same event—the setting up of the tabernacle on the first day of the first month—and the Jew who meditated on either of these passages could hardly avoid having the other brought to mind. The Evangelist's use of Genesis 1 and Numbers 7 is thus simply incidental to his use of New Year lections. As we have seen, the internal polarity of the Pentateuch is such that the themes of any one month are often repeated six months later: hence the Evangelist often gives the impression that he is using a double lectionary cycle when, in fact, he is merely conflating like passages.

(2) Although St. John depends mainly on the Nisan cycle, he is aware that some communities use a cycle beginning in Tishri, and both systems are taken into account in the arrangement of his book—his use of the Tishri cycle is deliberate.

A fuller discussion of this question will be undertaken in Chapter 13; in the meantime it is suggested that there is perhaps rather more to be said for the second view than for the first. There is nothing inherently improbable in the view that there may have been variations in lectionary practice in St. John's time. The period following the destruction of the Second Temple was naturally one of great liturgical reconstruction and activity in Jewish circles, and during the closing years of the first century there seems to have been a considerable revision of the synagogue prayers.[1] If we may suppose that the period was also one of lectionary change and development, then it is not without significance that this was the time of the dispute between Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and Rabbi Joshua ben Chanaya on the question whether the world was created in Nisan or in Tishri (b. *Rosh Hashanah* 10b, 11a). It may be that the dispute was not merely academic, but reflected a difference of opinion as to the date when Genesis 1 ought to be read in the lectionary system. A curious elaboration of the dispute is found in *Bereshith Rabbah* xxii. 4 (on Genesis 4.3):

And at the end of days it came to pass. R. Eliezer and R. Joshua disagree. R. Eliezer said, The world was created in Tishri; R. Joshua said, In Nisan. He who says in Tishri holds that Abel lived from the Festival [i.e Tabernacles] until Hanukkah. He who says in Nisan holds that Abel lived from Passover until Pentecost.

[1] See N. H. Snaith, op. cit., p. 190.

How can this train of thought be accounted for? It is suggested that the passage may well reflect variation in lectionary practice. Those who used a Nisan cycle might read Genesis 1, the account of creation, on the 1st Nisan, Genesis 2.4 ff. on the 8th, and Genesis 3.22 ff., the story of Cain and Abel, on the 15th. The idea that the world was created in Nisan, and that Abel was born at Passover, would follow from this practice. Similarly, those who read Genesis 1 on the 1st Tishri would read of the birth of Abel on the 15th, the first day of Tabernacles. As to the dating of Abel's death, Genesis 4.3 states that Cain brought an offering to the Lord 'at the end of days (מקץ ימים)', on which occasion he slew his brother. Since Cain's offering was 'of the fruit of the ground', it was presumably brought during the summer or autumn months, from Pentecost onwards. Further, it may have been regarded as analogous to the first-fruits of Hebrew ritual (Deuteronomy 26.2, 10; Exodus 23.16), which might not be brought before Pentecost or after Hanukkah (*Bikkurim* i. 3, 6). Then those who held that Abel was born at Passover would take the words מקץ ימים to mean at the end of the period of fifty days which elapsed between the 15th Nisan and Pentecost, the 6th Sivan; and those who held the rival opinion would interpret them as referring to the period between Tabernacles and Hanukkah. It may well be that this passage preserves an early tradition, for *Bereshith Rabbah* is the oldest of the haggadic Midrashim. It was supposed to have been originally the work of R. Hoshaya in the third century, in Palestine, and its redaction dates from not much later than the close of the Jerusalem Talmud.

If variations in lectionary practice did exist in St. John's time, we should expect him to take note of them: indeed, judging from the strongly marked liturgical interest shown in his Gospel, he could only have ignored them if he had been writing for a limited circle of readers who followed a uniform practice with regard to the lections.

The use of a double lectionary cycle would explain several curious features of the Fourth Gospel. It has often been observed, for example, that in John 12 Tabernacles themes are introduced into a Passover setting. The triumphal entry into Jerusalem took place just before Passover, and yet the Evangelist brings in an allusion to the branches of the palm trees carried by the multitudes, and records their chanting of Psalm 118.25, 26, 'Hosanna: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'. Now the branches of the palm tree were associated with the Feast of Tabernacles, not with Passover (cf. Leviticus 23.40), and Psalm 118 was used especially for the ritual blessing by the priests of pilgrims who entered Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, though it was also used at other festivals (see Strack–Billerbeck on Mark 11.9). Further, an examination of the discourse that follows reveals that many of the themes of John 7–9 (that is, the themes of Tishri) have been compressed into this Passover narrative. We notice

in particular the theme of walking in the light (12.35, 36, 46 and cf. 7.33, 8.12), and the mention of those who feared to confess their belief in Jesus lest they should be put out of the synagogue (12.42 and cf. 9.22). In 12.27, 'Now is my soul troubled', there is an allusion to Psalm 42(41).5, 6 which is independent of Mark 14.34. Psalms 42 and 43 (originally one Psalm) are used at the Feast of Tabernacles in both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic rituals, and such community of practice is generally proof of antiquity. There may be allusions to this Psalm in the Tabernacles discourses in John 7 and 8—cf. Psalm 42.2 and John 7.37, Psalm 42.3, 10 and John 8.19.

The reason for this complexity would appear to be that the lections normally associated with the *Passover* month among those communities who started their lectionary cycle in Nisan would be associated with the *Tabernacles* month for those who began their cycle in Tishri: the opening chapters of Genesis, for example, would be linked by some synagogues with the period 1st Nisan–Passover, by others with New Year–Tabernacles.

A further example of the same flexibility is to be found in John 1.29, where Jesus is called 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world'. Undoubtedly the phrase has an Old Testament background, and at first glance the allusion would seem to be either to the Passover lamb (Exodus 12.3), or to the goat which bore away the sins of the people on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16.21 f.). But these lines of interpretation are not free from difficulty: it was not the function of the Paschal lamb to remove sin; and 'Lamb of God' can hardly be taken as a straightforward reference to the scape-goat. The difficulty is met by a consideration of the lectionary background. The Day of Atonement, which was regarded as the termination of the penitential season of New Year, was on the 10th Tishri, and the Paschal lamb was selected on the 10th Nisan.[1] Since the Evangelist used a double lectionary cycle, he had *both* occasions in mind; hence he used a deliberately ambiguous phrase which would suit both the 10th Nisan and the 10th Tishri. The words of 1.29, then, illustrate the immense care with which the Gospel is written, the subtlety and flexibility of the language, and the Evangelist's habit of combining more than one Old Testament thought in a single phrase in order to adapt his Gospel to variations in lectionary usage.

2. PURIFICATION

The incidents of chapter 2 have evidently been carefully chosen to continue the theme of the contrast between the old order and the new. Jewish rituals of purification (2.6) have been superseded by Jesus' Spirit-baptism, and animal sacrifices (2.15) by Jesus' one sacrifice for sin.

[1] Dr. Snaith (op. cit., pp. 146 f.) considers that the custom of choosing the Passover lamb on the 10th Nisan arose in the first place from the attempt to preserve a balance between Nisan and Tishri.

(*a*) *The wedding at Cana*

The most striking feature of the narrative is the enormous quantity of wine created (120 gallons or more), and the surpassing excellence of its quality. The context suggests the interpretation: the Jewish dispensation, represented by water, is to be replaced by the dispensation of the Spirit, represented by wine. The Evangelist has already prepared his readers for such symbolism in 1.33, where John the Baptist contrasts his own water-baptism with Jesus' Spirit-baptism. The huge quantity of wine created suggests the abundance of life in the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus imparted to the believer: 'Of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace' (1.16); 'He giveth not the Spirit by measure' (3.34, and compare 10.10).

The wine of Cana, then, symbolizes the gift of the Spirit. This interpretation seems to be justified by two other New Testament passages in which the effects of wine and the effects of the inspiration of the Spirit are compared, namely, Ephesians 5.18, 'Be not drunk with wine . . . but be filled with the Spirit', and Acts 2.13, 'Others mocking said, They are filled with new wine (*Γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσί*)'. With regard to the latter passage, the word *γλεῦκος*, new or sweet wine, is found here only in the New Testament. In the LXX it is found only in Job 32.19, in a speech which shows interesting parallels in thought and language to the passage in Acts:

> There is a spirit in mortals, and the inspiration of the Almighty is that which teaches. . . . Hearken to my words (*Ἐνωτίζεσθέ μου τὰ ῥήματα*). . . . I will again speak, for I am full of words, and the spirit within me destroys me. And my belly is as a skin of sweet wine (*ἀσκὸς γλεύκους*) bound up and ready to burst. . . . The Divine Spirit is that which formed me, and the breath of the Almighty that which teaches me.

The request for a hearing with which Peter opens his speech in Acts 2.14, 'Give ear unto my words (*ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματά μου*)', finds its exact parallel in the passage in Job, and Acts 2.14 is the only place in the New Testament where *ἐνωτίζομαι* occurs. We find, then, two New Testament *hapax legomena* in Acts 2 which seem to have been used under the influence of the passage in Job. The comparison between the effects of wine and the effects of the inspiration of the Spirit in the New Testament may therefore depend mainly on this particular Old Testament passage. As confirming this, we find that the Revisers' marginal references contain a reference to Job 32.19 for Mark 2.18–22, Luke 5.33–39, and Matthew 9.14–17, the Synoptic archetypes of John 2.1–11. Moreover, these Synoptic archetypes suggest that water/marriage wine = John's water-baptism/Christ's Spirit-baptism, and the context of the Johannine miracle agrees with this.

These New Testament comparisons between wine and the Spirit

generally occur in contexts which cite or imply a date on or near the Feast of Pentecost. In Mark and Luke the saying about the new wine is followed by an account of how the disciples walked through the cornfields and plucked the ripe ears: this suggests a time near to Pentecost. Acts 2 describes the events of the first Pentecost after the resurrection, and has clearly been influenced by Pentecostal lections. Two of the lections cited for that occasion by b. *Megillah* 31a are Exodus 19 (the account of the law-giving at Sinai, which is dated 'in the third month' and which would fall to Pentecost in the regular course of reading) and for haphtarah Ezekiel 1, the account of the Divine Chariot. St. Luke's description of a rushing mighty wind and tongues of fire reflects the Ezekiel haphtarah, and his allusion to a mysterious voice (verse 6) which was heard by every man in his own language recalls the story of the Divine voice at Sinai as elaborated in Jewish tradition.[1] Finally, the injunction 'Be not drunk with wine . . . but be filled with the Spirit' is found in an Epistle of which the central theme is that of the risen and ascended Christ, who is seated at God's right hand, and who sheds gifts of the Spirit on the Church—a Pentecostal theme.

The same Pentecostal theme of wine and the Spirit is found in John 2.1–11, but the time of the miracle of Cana is evidently winter, since a brief stay at Capernaum is the only event that is mentioned between the wedding and Jesus' visit to Jerusalem shortly before Passover. The narrative closely reflects the lections that would fall to the beginning of the ninth month, Kisleu. Why does the Evangelist introduce ideas associated with Pentecost at this point? Is it possible that here again he is adapting

[1] A tradition that the Day of Pentecost was the day on which the Law was given is preserved in b. *Pesaḥim* 68b. No similar tradition is found in Philo or Josephus, but the resemblance between Luke's account of the gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost and Philo's account of the law-giving has often been noticed. Particularly striking is Philo's statement (*De Decalogo* ix) that at the law-giving God commanded an invisible sound to be created which changed the air into flaming fire. Again, in the same tractate (xi) he says: 'Then a voice sounded forth from the midst of the fire that streamed from heaven . . . for the flame became articulate speech in a language familiar to the hearers, and so clearly and distinctly did it express its words that the people seemed to see rather than hear them.' The statement in Acts 2 that men 'from every nation under heaven' heard each one his own language spoken by the apostles is likewise paralleled in Rabbinic traditions about the law-giving. In Tractate *Baḥodesh* of the *Mekilta* it is said that the Torah was given to all the nations of the world, though only Israel accepted it. The same tradition is found in Midrash *Tanḥuma* 26c: 'Although the ten commandments were promulgated with a single sound, it says, *All people heard the voices*. It follows that when the voice went forth it was divided into seven voices and then went into seventy tongues, and all people received the law in their own language.'

The Pentecostal lection Exodus 19 speaks of fire and smoke on the top of Mount Sinai, but contains nothing that would correspond to the tradition of the sevenfold voice of God, and we must therefore seek another source for this idea. It is suggested that the tradition springs from Psalm 29, which *Sopherim* xviii. 3 assigns to Pentecost, and in which the voice of the Lord is mentioned seven times. Verse 7, 'The voice of the Lord cleaveth (LXX *divides*) the flames of fire', may have given rise to the notion that God's voice proceeded from a flame. The LXX title, however, assigns the Psalm to the concluding ceremony of the Feast of Tabernacles (*ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς*).

his Gospel to the requirements of a double lectionary cycle? The two main Pentateuchal passages on which his narrative seems to be based are Genesis 14, the story of Melchizedek and his gift of wine to Abraham, and Genesis 43, the story of Joseph, who prepared a dinner for his brothers and 'drank largely' with them. The former passage would be read early in Kisleu in the first year of a Tishri cycle, but those who used a Nisan cycle would read this seder at Pentecost. Similarly, Genesis 43 would be read in Kisleu with a Nisan cycle, and with a Tishri cycle, at Pentecost. Here, then, is a further example of the internal polarity of the Pentateuch, for if we omit purely incidental references to wine, all the narratives of the Pentateuch which have a wine-drinking as a central theme would fall in the lectionary system either to Iyyar/Sivan or to Cheshvan/Kisleu, six months later.[1]

Let us look first of all at the lections of the first year of a Nisan cycle that would fall to Cheshvan/Kisleu. Prominent in these lections are the themes of wine and of the inspiration of the Spirit. The theme of bread and wine is found in Genesis 40, which would be read in Cheshvan, and which describes the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker, Joseph's interpretation, and how the chief butler was restored to office[2] and gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand at the banquet of wine *on the third day*, which was Pharaoh's birthday. In Genesis 41 Joseph alone is able to interpret Pharaoh's dreams, because he is 'a man in whom is the Spirit of God': here the Spirit as the source of inward illumination and understanding is mentioned for the first time in Genesis. As haphtarah the Bodleian MS. 2606[7b] cites Isaiah 29.8–14 + 18–19. The failure of Pharaoh's magicians to interpret his dreams was presumably taken to be reflected in verse 14 of the haphtarah, 'the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid'; and Pharaoh's dream portending the coming famine finds an apt illustration in verse 8, 'And it shall be, as when an hungry man dreameth, and behold, he eateth; but he awaketh and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh . . . and his soul hath appetite'. The theme of wine and prophetic inspiration is found in verse 9: 'They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes, the prophets.' The section to Genesis 41 in *Aggadath Bereshith* cc. 67–69 brings in the promise of Joel 3.1, 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will

[1] Thus the narrative of Noah's drunkenness (Genesis 9) would be read in Iyyar, the story of Melchizedek's gift of bread and wine (Genesis 14) early in Sivan, and of Lot's daughters (Genesis 19) at the end of Sivan. The story of the chief butler would fall to Cheshvan, and the story of Joseph's dinner to Kisleu.

[2] It is interesting that the word ὑψωθῆναι in the Fourth Gospel is used in the same ambiguous sense as the phrase 'and he lifted up the head' (of the chief butler and of the chief baker) in Genesis 40.20. The probable meaning is that they were both released from prison: this release meant restoration to honour for the butler and hanging for the baker.

pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy', apparently in contrast to the haphtarah verse 10.[1] Lastly, Genesis 43, which would be read about the middle of Kisleu, immediately before Hanukkah, tells how Joseph prepared a dinner for his brothers and drank largely with them. The vocabulary of John 2.1–11 reflects that of the Genesis lections for Kisleu: γεμίζω occurs in the Greek Old Tesament in Genesis 45.17 *only*, and μεθύω (thrice in the LXX version of the Pentateuch) in Genesis 43.33. Ἀρχιτρίκλινος does not occur in the LXX, but ἀρχιοινοχόος, ἀρχισιτοποιός, and ἀρχιμάγειρος all occur in Genesis 41.9, 10, and ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ is found in Genesis 41.10 A. Mary's injunction to the servants, 'Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it (*Ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε*)' echoes Genesis 41.55 LXX, 'Go to Joseph, and whatsoever he shall say to you, do it (ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε)'.

Now let us look at the lections that would fall to Cheshvan/Kisleu with a Tishri cycle. In the first year of the cycle, Genesis 14 would be read about the beginning of Kisleu. The passage relates how Melchizedek, King of Salem and priest of the most high God, met Abraham when he was returning from the rescue of Lot and gave him bread and wine. In his exposition of this passage in *Legum Allegoria* III. xxvi. 82 Philo speaks of Melchizedek as Logos, and says: 'But let Melchizedek *instead of water offer wine* (ἀντὶ ὕδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω) and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself.' The Genesis passage contains no reference to water: the substitution of wine for water may therefore be a thought introduced by Philo himself.[2] We shall revert to Philo's comment later.

Next, we must notice Genesis 18.1, which would fall to Hanukkah with a Tishri cycle, and with which the Spanish and German Jews read 2 Kings 4.1: the similarity of subject matter of the two passages is so close that the practice of reading them together as seder and haphtarah may well be ancient. The haphtarah tells how Elisha miraculously provided for a destitute prophet's widow by filling her empty vessels with oil. The theme of God's provision in time of scarcity is echoed in Haggai 2.8 ff., which Mann[3] cites as haphtarah to Exodus 25.1. Verses 15 ff. of the haphtarah run: 'And now, I pray you, consider . . . through all that time, when one came to an heap of twenty measures, there were but ten; when one came to

[1] Genesis 41 would fall to Pentecost with a Tishri cycle. It is therefore interesting to find that Isaiah 29 seems to be reflected in the account of the gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost in Acts 2, particularly verse 6, which in the LXX version runs: 'For there shall be a visitation with thunder, and earthquake, and a loud voice, a rushing tempest, and devouring flame of fire.' Joel 3.1 (2.28) is cited in Acts 2.17, just as it is in the section to Genesis 41 in *Aggadath Bereshith*. It would seem possible, then, that the haphtarah included verse 6.

[2] This, however, is doubtful. See below, p. 185, n. 1.

[3] Op. cit., p. 482. The European rituals, however, selected 1 Kings 5 as a suitable haphtarah to the Exodus account of the building of the tabernacle.

the winefat to draw out fifty vessels (LXX ἐξαντλῆσαι πεντήκοντα μετρητάς) there were but twenty. . . . Consider, I pray you, from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth month . . . from this day will I bless you.' Exodus 25 would fall to Hanukkah with a Tishri cycle, and the mention of the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month in Haggai 2.10 and 18 makes this a suitable haphtarah for that occasion. The theme of the shortage of wine is reflected in John 2.3.

Lastly, the Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) cites 1 Kings 7.40–50, 'the lights of Solomon', as a haphtarah for Hanukkah. This passage describes the casting of the free-standing pillars and other metal work for the first Temple. The haphtarah mentions the molten sea supported on twelve oxen, which was probably a representation of the cosmic ocean. John 2.6 seems to contain an allusion to the parallel passage in 2 Chronicles 4.5:

John 2.6	*2 Chronicles 4.2 ff.*	*1 Kings 7.26*
Now there were six water-pots of stone set there after the Jews' manner of purifying, containing two or three firkins (*baths*) apiece (χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς).	Also he made the molten sea. . . . And it was an handbreadth thick . . . it received and held three thousand baths (LXX χωροῦσαν μετρητὰς τρισχιλίους) . . . but the sea was for the priests to wash in.	And (the molten sea) was an handbreadth thick . . . it held two thousand baths (LXX omits, presumably because of the discrepancy with the Chronicles account).

In the LXX μετρητής renders the Hebrew בת (*bath*), which is an almost identical measure. The Evangelist may have been influenced by the discrepant figures in the Kings and the Chronicles accounts. Now the molten sea was for the ritual purification of the priests: compare the allusion to 'the Jews' manner of purifying' in John 2.6.

Why has the Evangelist transferred Pentecostal themes to Hanukkah? Perhaps we may find a clue in Philo's exposition of two of the Old Testament passages we have been examining, Genesis 14 and 40. When he is allegorizing the story of Melchizedek, Philo describes him as Logos, and speaks of his gift of wine in a way which seems to suggest that the wine was substituted for water. Similarly in *De Somniis* II. xxvii. 183, where Philo is expounding the story of the dreams of Pharaoh, the chief butler and the chief baker, he brings in the same theme of the Logos as God's cup-bearer: 'And do not wonder that God and Pharaoh, the mind which usurps the place of God, find gladness in things opposite to each other. Who then is God's cup-bearer? He who pours the libation of peace, the truly great high priest who first receives the loving-cups of God's perennial bounties, then pays them back when he pours that potent undiluted draught, the libation of himself.' Later in the same tractate (xxxvii. 249) Philo makes it quite clear that he is using heathen models: 'And when the happy soul holds out the sacred goblet of its own reason, who is it that pours into it the holy cupfuls of true gladness, but the Logos, the cup-bearer of God and master of the feast, who is also none other than the draught which he pours—his own

self free from all dilution, the delight, the sweetening, the exhilaration, the merriment, the ambrosian drug (to take for our own use the poet's terms) whose medicine gives joy and gladness?'

Dr. Barrett argues that this avowed use of heathen models, together with the description of Melchizedek as Logos and the introduction of the theme of water changed to wine, springs from Philo's wish to show the roots of Hellenistic religion in Judaism. The god Dionysus was not only the discoverer of the vine (εὑρετὴς ἀμπέλου, Justin, *1 Apol.* 54, *Trypho* 69) but also the cause of miraculous transformations of water into wine (Euripides, *Bacchae* 704–7; Athenaeus i. 61 (34a); Pausanias VI. xxvi. 1 f.), and there is evidence that such 'miracles' took place in Dionysiac worship. Philo wishes to show that not Dionysus but the Logos, of whom Melchizedek is a symbol, is the true miraculous dispenser of divine inspiration. Thus there existed Jewish precedent for speaking of the Logos in pseudo-Dionysiac terminology, and John may have done this, since it is characteristic of him to use material with a twofold, Jewish and pagan, background.[1] Certainly the miracle of Cana seems later to have been brought into relation with current beliefs about Dionysus. Epiphanius mentions an annual miracle that took place at Gerasa, one of the cities of the Decapolis. The miracle of Cana was commemorated on the day of the Epiphany, and on that day the water of a fountain in the church was turned into wine. There is some reason to think that the church has been built on the site of an earlier temple dedicated to the infant Dionysus.[2]

Now the suggestion that Philo is using pseudo-Dionysiac terminology when he speaks of the Logos as the dispenser of wine receives some slight confirmation from the lectionary system, for the two Old Testament passages which he is expounding when he introduces this theme (Genesis 14 and 40) would be read at a time shortly before Hanukkah with a double lectionary cycle. The chief Dionysiac festivals at Athens fell to the winter months,[3] and one of them, the Lesser or 'rustic' Dionysia, was held in the

[1] C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, pp. 157–8. The author's conjecture that the substitution of wine for water in Philo's exposition of Genesis 14.18 is a thought introduced by Philo himself cannot certainly be sustained. In the passage in question Philo has just been speaking of the failure of the Ammonites and Moabites to meet Israel with bread and water, and he may only intend to contrast Melchizedek's wine with the water that they failed to bring (see *Legum Allegoria* III. xxv–xxvi).

[2] See British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Supplementary Paper No. 3, *Churches at Jerash*, by J. W. Crowfoot, pp. 1, 2, 7, cited by Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 192.

[3] The chief Dionysiac festivals at Athens were: (1) The *Oschophoria*, celebrated in the month Pyanepsion (= Tishri) when the grapes were ripe. (2) The Lesser Dionysia, also called the 'rustic Dionysia', held in the district of Eleutherae in the month Poseideon (= Kisleu) to celebrate the tasting of the new wine. The Christian equivalent would seem to be the festival of St. Denys on 9th October, which appears in the Church calendar as 'Dionysii Rustici et Eleutherii Mart.'. (3) The *Lenaia*, the feast of the wine-vats, held in Gamelion (= Tebeth). (4) The *Anthesteria* which was celebrated in the month Anthesterion (= Shebat) and began with the ceremony of Pithoigia, the cask-opening. (5) The greater, or urban, Dionysia, held in Elaphebolion (= Adar).

month Poseideon (approximating to Kisleu) to celebrate the tasting of the new wine. Further, Wellhausen has argued very convincingly that there was a Dionysian element in the original festival of the 25th Kisleu which was afterwards called Hanukkah and made commemorative of the cleansing of the Temple. He points out that 1 Maccabees 1.58 (which is to be understood in the light of 2 Maccabees 6.7) shows that the Jews were compelled every month to celebrate the king's birthday. The statement which immediately follows in 1 Maccabees 1.59 regarding the yearly festival on the 25th Kisleu which the Jews were forced to keep follows also in 2 Maccabees 6.7, with omission of the date, but with more precise definition of the feast as a festival of Dionysus, *Διονυσίων ἑορτῆς*. This heathen festival was later Judaized and legalized, being interpreted by the historical occasion of the reinstitution of the Temple service.[1]

If the festival of Hanukkah came into being as the result of an attempt to regularize and adapt some winter festival of Dionysus, then it seems perfectly natural that Philo should use pseudo-Dionysiac terminology precisely when he is discussing the portions of the Pentateuch that would be read in the synagogues during Kisleu. In *Legum Allegoria* III. xxv he contrasts the conduct of Melchizedek with that of the Ammonites and Moabites who, when Israel was faint and weary, refused them bread and water. Now this passage (Deuteronomy 23.3 ff.) would be read just after Hanukkah in the third year of a Nisan cycle. It is suggested, then, that a Dionysian element underlying the festival of Hanukkah came to be reflected in Jewish homiletic and apologetic exposition of the lections of Kisleu.[2] This suggestion can only be put forward tentatively, but it may answer the question why St. John gives the miracle of Cana a setting in winter rather than in summer, though his Synoptic models occur in a context which suggests a time near to Pentecost. Jewish-Christian apologetic would then provide the motive, and the double lectionary cycle the means, for such a transposition.

(*b*) *The cleansing of the Temple*

All four Gospels record that Jesus cleansed the Temple shortly before a Passover, but John alone places the incident at the beginning, not the

[1] Wellhausen, *Über den geschichtlichen Wert des 2. Makkabäerbuches im Verhältnis zum ersten*, 1905 (*Nachr. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*), pp. 131 f.

[2] Some slight confirmation of this view is perhaps to be found in the Chester Beatty text of the preface to Daniel chapter 5, a narrative that is written in obvious imitation of Genesis 41 (compare, for example, Daniel 5.8 with Genesis 41.8, Daniel 5.16 with Genesis 41.15, Daniel 5.11 with Genesis 41.38, and Daniel 5.29 with Genesis 41.42). The Chester Beatty text runs: *βαλτασαρ ο βασιλευ[ς εποιησεν δοχη]ν μεγαλη[ν εν ημερα εγκαι]νισμ[ου των βασι . . . .* Is it possible that the author of the Book of Daniel connected either the story, or the reading, of Genesis 41 with some festival of the month Kisleu which was afterwards called Hanukkah?

end, of the ministry. We will consider first the question of the month, then of the year, in which the incident is said to have occurred.

St. John's account of the cleansing seems to have been influenced by lections that would fall to the twelfth month, Adar, in the first year of a Nisan cycle, when the story of the Egyptian plagues and of Moses' conflict with Pharaoh would be read in the synagogues.[1]

Prominent in the lections for this period is the theme of *signs and wonders*. In Exodus 3.12 Moses is told, '*This shall be the token* (LXX *the sign*) unto thee, that I have sent thee . . . '. In Exodus 4.1–9 two signs are given to Moses whereby the Israelites are to be persuaded that God has indeed appeared to him: 'And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken unto the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.' A third sign is to be kept in reserve in case the first two fail to bring conviction. The Massoretic division appoints 2 Kings 20.8, the story of Hezekiah's sickness, as haphtarah to this seder: the link between seder and haphtarah is found in the first verse of the latter, '*What shall be the sign* that the Lord will heal me, and that I shall go up to the house of the Lord on the third day?' In Exodus 7, which we allocate as the probable lectionary background of John 2.13–22, God promises that he will multiply his signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, and instructs Moses how to meet Pharaoh's request for a sign. The regular seder according to the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] began at verse 8, but from Midrashic evidence it would seem that some communities began at Exodus 7.1, and to this seder Mann[2] allocates 1 Samuel 2.25 ff. as haphtarah. This passage tells of the sudden appearance of a man of God in Shiloh, where Eli and his two sons ministered, and of his condemnation of the worship of the sanctuary there.

> Wherefore kick ye at my sacrifice and at mine offering? . . . I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy father's house. . . . And *thou shalt behold an adversary* (צר) *in my habitation*. . . . And *this shall be the sign* unto thee, that shall come upon thy two sons, on Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them. And I will *raise me up* a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind: and *I will build him a sure house*.

Here we find all the themes of John 2.13–22—corrupt worship, an unworthy priesthood, the giving of a sign, which is the sign of death—and

[1] In years when Shebat and Adar each contained four sabbaths, Exodus 1.1, 3.1, and 4.18 would be read on the last three sabbaths of Shebat, and Exodus 6.2–10.20 or 10.29 would provide for the four sabbaths of Adar, leaving Exodus 10.21 or 11.1 for the first sabbath in Nisan. The discussion in b. *Megillah* 30b shows that it was a matter of controversy whether the four special sabbath lections of Adar were additional to the regular readings or whether the regular readings were broken off during Adar. If Büchler is right in thinking that they were broken off, then Exodus 1–10 would be read during Shebat, giving very long lections.

[2] Op. cit., p. 386.

in particular the movement of thought in the words 'I will *raise me up* a faithful priest . . . I will *build* him a sure house' finds its exact parallel in John 2.19. With the ominous prediction about the appearance of an adversary in God's sanctuary we may compare Mark 13.14 (= Daniel 9.27); or 2 Thessalonians 2.4, which describes the coming of the man of sin who 'sitteth in the sanctuary of God, setting himself forth as God'. The Pauline passage reflects the words of the prince of Tyre in Ezekiel 28.2, 'I am a god, I sit in the seat of God.'

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that a section of this oracle against the Prince of Tyre was read during Adar of the first year of the triennial cycle. The commencement of a new seder at Exodus 9.22 appears from the section in *Tanḥuma*, §§ 15–17, and on the basis of the exposition there Mann allocates Ezekiel 25.13 ff. as haphtarah to this seder. Since in the Ezekiel passage צֹר, *Tyre*, is spelt defective, it was Aggadically taken to denote צָר, *the adversary*, that is, the wicked government of Rome. We may compare the interpretation of Ezekiel 26.2 found in *Megillah* 6a, where the words 'Because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem . . . I shall be filled now that she is laid waste' are taken to mean that when Caesarea, the seat of the Roman governor of Palestine, flourishes, Jerusalem is waste, and vice versa. Further, in Midrash *Shemoth Rabbah* viii. 1 the whole exposition of Exodus 7.1 seems to have been influenced by these oracles against Tyre. Here the words 'See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh' lead to a discussion about those who claimed divinity and thereby brought evil upon themselves, and as an illustration Ezekiel 28.2 is quoted: 'Say unto the prince of Tyre . . . Because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god . . . .' Evidence that Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations were regarded as a suitable accompaniment of the Torah section of the Egyptian plagues is found in the European rituals, which have Ezekiel 28.25 ff. as haphtarah to Exodus 6.2. Yet another indication of the early use of such a haphtarah is perhaps to be found in Jesus' lament over Jerusalem (Luke 19.43), which immediately precedes Luke's account of the cleansing of the Temple:

> And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, . . . The days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a palisade (χάραξ) about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side . . . and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation (Luke 19.41, 43, 44).

> He (Nebuchadrezzar) shall make forts against thee, and cast up a palisade (LXX χάραξ) against thee. . . . And he shall set his battering engines against thy walls, and with his swords he shall break down thy towers. . . . And they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the waters (Ezekiel 26.8, 9, 12).

Palisade (χάραξ) is found in the New Testament only in this Lukan passage.

However, it is uncertain whether or not the Evangelist had the oracles against Tyre in mind: he may have been thinking of Isaiah 29.3.

Lastly, the clearest possible example of the use of these Ezekiel oracles in the New Testament is found in Revelation 17–18, the vision of the harlot seated on the scarlet-coloured beast. This vision immediately follows the outpouring of the seven vials, and its interpretation is given by one of the seven vial-angels. Now the vial-plagues closely imitate the plagues of Egypt (boils, water turned to blood, darkness, frogs, and hail), and thus exactly reflect the Exodus sequence of lections that we have been considering. Further, the theme of the harlot is found in the lections for Shebat-Adar: in Numbers 5.11 and its haphtarah Hosea 4.14, read towards the end of Adar; in Hosea 2, read as haphtarah to Numbers 1.1; and in Ezekiel 16, which Büchler considers was the original haphtarah to Exodus 1 before the reading of the former passage in the synagogue was interdicted.[1] There are allusions to Ezekiel 16.37, 39 and Hosea 2.3 in Revelation 17.16. In Revelation 18.4 a voice from heaven bids God's people come forth out of Babylon: the utterance is modelled on several passages in the Prophets which relate to Babylon, principally Isaiah 48.20, Isaiah 52.11, and Jeremiah 51.6, which are all lections for Shebat; but it also echoes the words to Pharaoh 'Let my people go' in the story of the Exodus from Egypt. Thus the European rituals, the exposition of Exodus 9.22 in *Tanḥuma* and of Exodus 7.1 in *Shemoth Rabbah*, and such slight New Testament evidence as we have to go on tend to confirm Mann's opinion: some part of Ezekiel's oracles against Tyre was read in the synagogues as the prophetic accompaniment of the Torah section of the Egyptian plagues. Ezekiel 28.18 f. runs:

> By the multitude of thine iniquities, in the unrighteousness of thy traffic (LXX ἐμπορία), thou hast profaned thy sanctuaries; therefore have I brought forth a fire from the midst of thee, it hath devoured thee . . . thou art become a destruction, and thou shalt never be any more.

The allusion to the profanation of sanctuaries by unrighteous *traffic* may possibly have influenced St. John's language in 2.16, for he uses a similar

[1] Op. cit., vi. 54–55. Büchler remarks: 'The MS. of the Bodleian (*Cat. Neub.* No. 6), that of the British Museum (Or. 2,451 pp. 214 ff.) which contains the Persian ritual, and the Yemen MS. of the Bodleian agree in many haphtaras in which they deviate from the other rituals. The first names Jeremiah 1.1 as the haphtara for Exodus 1, the second gives Ezekiel 16.1, the third Ezekiel 20. A MS. (*Cat. Neub.* e.31) also cites Ezekiel 16.1 as the haphtara to Exodus 1.1. This prophet portion will be recognized as that which R. Eliezer would not allow to be read in public (*Megillah* iv. 10) . . . and when it was admitted into the Synagogue it was explained as referring to the idolatry and lawlessness of the Israelites in Egypt (vide *Yalkut*). The fact that a Tanna had interdicted its reading in the synagogue had this consequence: it was gradually allowed to lapse, in spite of the permission granted in the Talmud, and in place of it was substituted Ezekiel 20, which contained the same reproach, but couched in less harsh language. . . . This also disappeared from the practice of the synagogue, and . . . Jeremiah 1.1 was selected.'

word, ἐμπόριον, instead of the term used by the other Evangelists, who all cite Jeremiah 7.11, σπήλαιον λῃστῶν, at this point.

The background of St. John's account of the cleansing of the Temple, then, is the sequence of lections that would fall to Shebat-Adar in the first year of a Nisan cycle—the story of the plagues of Egypt. The theme of the giving of a sign is prominent in this lectionary sequence: indeed, Exodus 4.1, 8 and 7.9 are cited in the Revisers' marginal references for the Jews' question in John 2.18, 'What sign showest thou unto us?' An almost identical question follows the account of the cleansing in each of the Synoptic Gospels, and here the Revisers cite Exodus 2.14. In particular, St. John's narrative seems to have been influenced by Exodus 7.1 ff. with 1 Samuel 2.25 ff. as haphtarah, and by a lection taken from Ezekiel's oracles against the Prince of Tyre.

Now the early Syriac lectionary system provided for a reading of the account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem for Palm Sunday. This usage is obviously grounded upon the Johannine dating of the incident; but the lections for Palm Sunday from the Synoptic Gospels included also the account of the cleansing of the Temple. The outstanding feature of the early Syriac lectionary system was the very large number of passages that were regularly read. The document published by Burkitt provides for a dozen or more Old Testament lessons, in addition to the Epistle and Gospel, and very often a lesson from the Acts as well. It is not surprising to find that Zechariah 9.9 ff. and Isaiah 55.4 ff. were included among the Old Testament lections for Palm Sunday; such usage might have come about simply because these passages are cited in the lessons from the Synoptic Gospels that were read on that day. But what is really startling is the fact that the lection for Palm Sunday from the Pentateuch was Exodus 7.19 ff., and the lection from the historical books was 1 Samuel 2.27 ff., its haphtarah according to the triennial system. Further, Ezekiel 28.11 ff., the lament over the King of Tyre, was read during Holy Week—a fact which seems to have caused Burkitt some astonishment.[1] Jeremiah 1.1 was also read on Palm Sunday. As we have seen, Büchler considers that this lection replaced Ezekiel 16 as haphtarah to Exodus 1.1, though it accords much better with the subject-matter of Exodus 4.10–17. In any case, it seems extremely likely that the triennial cycle influenced the lectionary usage of the Syriac-speaking Christians of the fifth and early sixth centuries.

What is the relation between the Synoptic accounts of the cleansing and St. John's account? It is doubtful if the Synoptic accounts can be understood in isolation from their context, and a detailed investigation of Mark 11–13 and the Lukan and Matthean parallels would be out of place here.

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, p. 30, n. 8.

We shall, however, examine three points of correspondence between Mark 11–13 and parallels and the lectionary readings for Shebat:

(1) Isaiah 56.7, which is cited in all the Synoptic accounts of the cleansing of the Temple, was a lectionary reading for Shebat.

(2) Luke 19.29–21.38 clearly reflects the themes and lections of Shebat, in particular the lectionary sequence Genesis 49–Exodus 4 and the second- and third-year lections Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28.

(3) The evolution of the lectionary system may possibly provide a clue to Mark's artificial chronological scheme in chapters 11–13, and to the puzzling incident of the fig tree (11.12–14 and 20–25).

(1) *All the Synoptic Gospels record that Jesus quoted Isaiah 56.7 when he cleansed the Temple.* The Bodleian MS. 2727[3] cites Isaiah 55.12–56.7 as haphtarah to Exodus 4.18, which would be read at the end of Shebat. However, the relevant homilies in *Tanḥuma* and *Shemoth Rabbah* do not at all reflect this prophet passage, which seems to be a typical 'Consolation of Israel' haphtarah of late origin. Mann[1] considers that the Midrashic homilies presuppose another and more early haphtarah, namely, 2 Samuel 15.7 ff., which tells of Absalom's treachery towards his father David. According to Mann, Isaiah 55.2 ff. was read as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 28.1.[2] There is an intrinsic connexion between the first verses of the seder and the haphtarah, and the whole exposition in *Debarim Rabbah* vii. 1 well reflects such a haphtarah. He cites an almost identical prophet passage, Isaiah 55.3 ff., for Genesis 49.1, taking as the starting-point of his investigation the fact that the same Yelammedenu question and answer is found in both *Tanḥuma Wayeḥī*, § 7 (to the Genesis seder) and *Debarim Rabbah* vii. 1 (to the seder beginning Deuteronomy 28.1). As an alternative haphtarah to the Genesis seder, he cites Isaiah 48.12 ff., which is in fact listed at the head of the last chapter of *Aggadath Bereshith*, and which seems much better suited to the contents of the seder. Genesis 49.1 would be read about the beginning of Shebat in the first year of a Nisan cycle, and Deuteronomy 28.1 in the same month in the third year: thus in any case the passage Isaiah 55.2 ff. would be read in Shebat. The modern synagogue reads Isaiah 55.6–56.8 as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 31.

We can perhaps test the matter a little further. We have seen that John 17–18 reflects the lectionary sequence Genesis 48–49, and that the Evangelist's account of how Peter wounded the servant of the high priest has been influenced by the oracle on Simeon and Levi in Genesis 49. The Lukan account of the triumphal entry reflects another oracle from the same

[1] Op. cit., p. 370.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 350–7.

seder—the oracle on Judah. Now *both* Evangelists have an allusion to the haphtarah Isaiah 48.12 ff. at this point:

Isaiah 48.12 ff.	*John 18.20*	*Luke 19.41 f.*
Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; from the beginning I have not spoken in secret . . . . Oh that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river.	I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues . . . and in secret spake I nothing.	And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace!

Luke cites Isaiah 56.7 almost immediately afterwards; now this is the very haphtarah which Mann, on the basis of the Midrashic exposition, proposes as an alternative to Isaiah 48.12 for Genesis 49.1.

(2) *Luke 19.29–21.38 reflects the lections of Shebat, particularly the lectionary sequence Genesis 49–Exodus 4.* It will be convenient to set out the haphtaroth:

Genesis	49.1	Isaiah 48.12 or 55.3
,,	49.27	Zechariah 14.1 (Bodleian MS. 2727[3])
Exodus	1.1	Ezekiel 20 (Büchler), Isaiah 62.2 (Mann), Isaiah 27.6 skipping to a verse in 28 (Adler Collection 470 and other Geniza lists)
,,	3.1	2 Kings 20.8 (Massoretic division), Jeremiah 1.1
,,	4.18	2 Samuel 15.7 (Mann)

In the Lukan account the lectionary sequence appears as follows:

Luke	19.29	The triumphal entry into Jerusalem.	Cf.	Genesis	49.10 f.
,,	20.1	By what authority?	,,	Exodus	2.14
,,	20.27	Moses at the bush.	,,	,,	3.1 ff.
,,	21.15	'I will give you a mouth and wisdom'	,,	,,	4.12

Justin (*Dialogue*, 53), Origen (*Genesis*, *Hom.* xvii. 7), and Eusebius (*Gospel Demonstrations* viii. 1) all regard the triumphal entry as the fulfilment of the oracle on Judah in Genesis 49.9 ff., in particular, of verse 11 'Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine'. Isaiah 48.18 and 56.7, verses from the alternative haphtaroth cited by Mann, appear in the lamentation over Jerusalem and the account of the cleansing that follow in Luke 19.41–48. Isaiah 62.2 ff., the haphtarah proposed by Mann for Exodus 1.1 ff., appears in the Matthean account of the triumphal entry. Verse 11 runs 'Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh', and in Matthew 21.5 this verse is conflated with Zechariah 9.9. In Luke 20.1 ff. there is an account of disputes with the scribes, chief priests, and Sadducees which depends on the lectionary sequence Exodus 1–3. Exodus 4 seems to be reflected in Luke 21.15:

Exodus 1–4	*Haphtaroth*	*Luke 20–21*
2.14. Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?	*Ezekiel 20.1.* And it came to pass . . . that certain of the elders of Israel came to enquire of the Lord, and sat before me. And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, . . . Are ye come to enquire of me? As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be enquired of by you.	*20.1.* And it came to pass . . . as he was teaching . . . there came upon him the chief priests and the scribes with the elders . . . saying unto him, Tell us: by what authority doest thou these things? or who is he that gave thee this authority? . . . (*v. 8*). Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.
3.6. I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.	*2 Kings 20.* Hezekiah's deliverance from death. Cf. his prayer of thanksgiving (*Isaiah 38.18*): 'For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee. . . . The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day.'	*20.37.* But that the dead are raised even Moses showed in 'The Bush', when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now he is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto him.
3.10. Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh. . . .	*Jeremiah 1.6.* Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child. But the Lord said unto me, Say not, I am a child. . . . Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.	*21.12.* They shall lay their hands on you . . . bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake. . . . Settle it therefore in your hearts not to meditate beforehand how to answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or gainsay.
4.10. And Moses said . . . Oh Lord, I am not eloquent . . . for I am slow of speech and of a slow tongue. And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? . . . Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say.	*2 Samuel 15.7 ff.* Absalom's treachery to David.	*v. 16.* But ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends.

Is it possible that in his reply to the Sadducees' question Jesus is giving an explanation of the difficult statement in Hezekiah's prayer that only the living, and not the dead, can praise the Lord? Outside the Book of Daniel the doctrine of the resurrection is not clearly taught in the Old Testament, and Hezekiah's prayer would seem to provide a strong argument against it: Jesus, however, shows that in the light of the teaching of the seder the words have quite another force. Deuteronomy 25.5, which the Sadducees cite, would be read about this time in the third year of the cycle.

The haphtarah Isaiah 27.6 ff. may have included 28.16, 'Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation', with which we may compare Luke 20.17–18 and the Markan and Matthean parallels. Another first-year haphtarah for Shebat which seems to have influenced Luke 21 (= Mark 13 and Matthew 24) is Zechariah 14, where it is predicted that the mount of Olives will be the scene of the coming of Yahweh with his holy ones on the Day of the Lord.

All the Synoptic Gospels mention the mount of Olives in connexion with the triumphal entry; and it was on the mount of Olives, according to Mark and Matthew, that Jesus foretold the destruction of the Temple. The haphtarah predicts the gathering of all nations against Jerusalem to battle, the coming of the Lord, the removal of the mountain, and the flight of the inhabitants of Jerusalem 'to the valley of the mountains', all of which themes are found in Mark 13 and parallels. Mark 13.32 may perhaps reflect Zechariah 14.7—the coming Day is 'known unto Yahweh' and to him only (cf. Matthew 24.36).

The verb ἐκδίδωμι (Luke 20.9) is used in all the Synoptic Gospels in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, but nowhere else in the New Testament: in the LXX it is found in Exodus 2.21; elsewhere in the Pentateuch only in Leviticus 21.3. Just as Israel rejected the first redeemer, Moses, and questioned his authority, saying, 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?', so they rejected the last redeemer, Jesus, questioning his authority (Luke 20.2) and putting him to death (Luke 20.15). The sequence of sedarim Exodus 1–4, then, seems to have influenced Luke 19.29–21.38, and is reflected also in Mark 11.27–33, 12.18–27, and 13.9–13: all these sedarim, and some of the haphtaroth, are noted in the Revisers' marginal references.

The themes of the second- and third-year lections for Shebat are similarly reflected in Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the Temple and the woes that would ensue. At this time the 'curses' of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28 would be read—passages which predict the tribulation that would come upon Israel as punishment for disobedience, and which foretell siege, famine, and headlong flight before her enemies. In Luke 21, in particular, the siege against Jerusalem is explicitly predicted in terms which reflect both these oracles:

Luke 21.20 ff.	*Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28, 32.*
But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation (ἐρήμωσις) is at hand. . . . For these are days of vengeance (ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως), that all things which are written may be fulfilled. . . . And they shall fall by the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles. . . . And there shall be . . . distress of nations . . . men fainting for fear. . . . And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.	*Leviticus 26.31 ff.* And I will make your cities a waste, and will bring your sanctuaries unto desolation. . . . And you will I scatter among the nations, and I will draw out the sword after you. . . . Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate (LXX πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐρημώσεως αὐτῆς) and ye be in your enemies' land. . . . And as for them that are left of you, I will send a faintness into their heart . . . and the sound of a driven leaf shall chase them. *Deuteronomy 32.35 LXX.* In the day of vengeance (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως) I will recompense . . . for the day of their destruction is near to them, and the judgements at hand are close upon you. *Deuteronomy 28.49 ff.* The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far . . . as the eagle flieth. . . . And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down. . . . And the Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth.

The word ἐρήμωσις, which is found in all the Synoptic Gospels at this point, but which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, occurs in the Greek Pentateuch in Leviticus 26.34, 35 only.

So far we have been examining isolated lections. Now let us look at the common theme that links all these lections for Shebat, the theme of *Oracles—Death—Mourning* (see above, p. 29). In the first year of a Nisan cycle, for example, Genesis 49–50 tells of the oracles of Jacob to his sons ('Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days'), his death, and the period of mourning observed for him. Similarly in the third year the lections tell of Moses' oracles of both blessing and calamity, his death, and the thirty days of weeping for him in the plains of Moab. He knows that after his death evil will befall Israel 'in the latter days' (Deuteronomy 31.29), for they are a nation without understanding, and will not 'consider their latter end' (Deuteronomy 32.29). In Leviticus 26, which would be read in the second year, Moses predicts woes upon the nation, the destruction of their sanctuaries and cities (v. 31) and their death in the land of their enemies. In his exposition of the closing chapters of Deuteronomy Philo remarks that when the time came for Moses to die he was possessed of the Spirit, and prophesied the things that should come to pass, including his own death; and that the tribes received these oracles 'as a sort of legacy' (*De Vita Mosis* II. 288 ff.). Thus it is entirely in keeping with the theme of these lections that the Evangelists should record how Jesus, just before his death, gave to his disciples an oracle concerning things to come.

Further, it is remarkable that in the lections for Shebat, oracles of a general character concerning the latter days are combined with more specific predictions of woes upon Israel—siege, destruction of cities *and sanctuaries*, and exile—and in one of the haphtaroth (Zechariah 14) the siege against Jerusalem is expressly mentioned. Among the things foretold in these lections is the coming of the Lord to the mount of Olives with his holy ones (Zechariah 14.5), and a similar oracle is found in Deuteronomy 33.2 LXX, 'The Lord is come from Sinai . . . with the ten thousands of saints'; while Genesis 49.10 foretells the coming of a victorious ruler of the house of Judah. Again, it is entirely in keeping with the themes of these lections that Jesus' last oracle was given on the *mount of Olives*, and that in

it he combined a prediction about the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple with an apocalyptic discourse foretelling his second coming.

The lections for Shebat, then, contained predictions of the advent of the Lord. Zechariah 14.5 foretold the *second* advent (we may compare 1 Thessalonians 3.13, where Paul speaks of 'the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints' in obvious allusion to this haphtarah); and it seems possible that the oracle on Judah in Genesis 49.10 was taken by St. Luke as a prophecy of the *first* advent, for in his account of the fulfilment of this oracle in the triumphal entry he gives the words of homage of the crowds in a form which recalls the words of the heavenly hosts at the incarnation (compare Luke 19.38 and 2.14). The Messiah comes first in humility, riding on a colt, then in glory, with the clouds of heaven. But there is reason to think that a doctrine of a first and second coming of the Messiah was also associated with the early chapters of Exodus. *Ruth Rabbah* v. 6 runs:

> The future Redeemer will be like the former Redeemer. Just as the former Redeemer revealed himself and later was hidden from them (and how long was he hidden? Three months, as it is said, *And they met Moses and Aaron* (Exodus 5.20)), so the future Redeemer will be revealed to them, and then be hidden from them. And how long will he be hidden? R. Tanḥuma, in the name of the Rabbis, said, Forty-five days, as it is said, *And from the time that the continual burnt-offering shall be taken away . . . there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Happy is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days* (Daniel 12.11–12). . . . He who believes in him will live, and he who does not believe will depart to the Gentile nations and they will put him to death.

The same ideas concerning the withdrawal of the Messiah, and the same comparison between the Messiah and Moses, is found in *Bemidbar Rabbah* xi. 2 and *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* ii. 9, 3. There seems little doubt that such ideas were already current in New Testament times. In Acts 7, for instance, Stephen's whole exposition of the early chapters of Exodus is shaped by the comparison he draws between Moses the redeemer and Jesus the redeemer: though Moses was rejected by his brethren at his first intervention on their behalf, he was accepted by them as their deliverer when he visited them the second time. This idea is the main source of verse 25, 'he supposed that his brethren understood how that God by his hand was giving them salvation', which finds no parallel in the Old Testament account; while in verse 35 what is said of Moses *τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέσταλκε* echoes what is said of Jesus in Acts 5.31, and it might even seem that the use of the perfect *ἀπέσταλκεν* arises because of the comparison between the first redeemer and the last.

It is striking, too, that in this passage in Acts, where the allusions to Exodus 1–3 constitute nearly half the entire speech (i.e. verses 6, 7, 14, 15, and 17–35), there are also allusions to the haphtaroth. Verse 39 reflects

Ezekiel 20.8, 24, and verse 42 reflects Ezekiel 20.39. Joshua 24, which was read as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 29.9 in Shebat in the third year of the cycle, is alluded to in verses 16, 42, and 45, and Jeremiah 1.16 in verse 41. Acts 7.51, 'Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost', echoes Isaiah 63.10, the continuation of the haphtarah which Mann allocates to Exodus 1.1, and which, as we have seen, has influenced the Matthean account of the triumphal entry. The reference in Acts 7.44 to the movable tent carried about in the wilderness from the days of Joshua may be compared with the LXX addition to Joshua 24.33. All these allusions, except the last two, are noted in the Revisers' marginal references. Lastly, *ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίαις* (Acts 7.51) is found in Leviticus 26.41 LXX, and *χειροποίητος* (Acts 7.48) occurs in the Greek Pentateuch in Leviticus 26.1, 30 only. Leviticus 26 would be read early in Shebat in the second year of the cycle. There are allusions to the third-year sedarim in Acts 7 in verses 38 (cf. Deuteronomy 32.47), 45 (cf. Deuteronomy 32.49), and 53 (cf. Deuteronomy 33.2).

(3). *The lections of this season may provide a clue to the chronology of Mark 11–13.* We have already noticed that the Pentateuch is so arranged that a group of mournful lections fall to the beginning of Shebat or the beginning of Ab, no matter whether a Nisan or a Tishri cycle is used, and that these lections may possibly have been influenced by some ancient mourning cycle among the Jews, such as the weeping for Tammuz (see above, pp. 30 ff.). Dr.Snaith traces an association between the dances described in the Mishnah as taking place outside Jerusalem at the beginning of the Christian era on the 15th Ab and on the 10th Tishri, the Song of Songs, and, ultimately, the age-old fertility rites of the Tammuz-Adonis cults.[1] Later evidence for a lectionary sequence linking Ab with Tishri is found in both Pesiktas, which contain homilies for a group of sabbaths having the 9th Ab as a focal point, and linking this mournful period with the penitential season of New Year. It is certainly remarkable that a specific period of mourning should be mentioned in the Pentateuch in connexion with the death of both Jacob (Genesis 50) and Moses (Deuteronomy 31–34), and that in each case this corresponds with the period that would elapse between the date on which the particular lection would be read and a date immediately before the next Passover (if a Nisan cycle is used) or the next Day of Atonement (if a Tishri cycle is used). Further, with a Nisan cycle, the description of the burial of Jacob in the cave of the field of Machpelah (Genesis 49–50) would be read at the beginning of *Shebat*, and the description of the burial of Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah (Genesis 23, a passage which has obvious affinities with Genesis 49–50) would be read at the beginning of *Ab*. If Genesis 23 fell to the beginning of Ab, then Genesis 25, which tells of the

[1] N. H. Snaith, op. cit., p. 54.

death of Abraham, would fall to the end of Ab, since two lections were formed from the long chapter Genesis 24. No specific period of mourning is mentioned in Genesis 25 in connexion with Abraham's death: nevertheless, the Book of Jubilees does add this detail, and gives the period of mourning as forty days, *exactly the period that would elapse between the end of Ab, when the lection would be read, and the 10th Tishri.*[1]

Now the second- and third-year lections Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28, which fall to the beginning of Shebat with a Nisan cycle, fall to Ab with a Tishri cycle. The Mishnah (*Megillah* iii. 6) states the general rule that these particular lections ('the blessings and the curses') are read on fast days. The Tosefta (*Megillah* iv. 9) cites them as readings for the 9th Ab, and mentions Deuteronomy 4.25–40 as an alternative lection. The Talmud (*Megillah* 31b) cites Leviticus 26.14 as the section from the Torah for the 9th Ab, and adds: 'Nowadays the custom has been adopted of reading *When thou shalt beget children* [Deuteronomy 4.25] and for haphtarah *I will utterly consume them* [Jeremiah 8.13].' The allocation of Leviticus 26 or Deuteronomy 28 to the 9th Ab, the great day of lamentation for the destruction of the Temple, is easily explained: with a Tishri cycle, they would fall to that time in the regular course of reading. But how are we to explain the choice of the alternative lection Deuteronomy 4.25? On this question Büchler[2] remarks: 'According to the division of R. Eliezer, who brings the Torah to a conclusion on the 7th Shebat, Deuteronomy 4.25 would actually be reached on the 9th Ab.' Büchler is evidently referring to the opinion of R. Eliezer that Moses died on the 7th Shebat (*Mekilta* on Exodus 16.35). From this statement of the Rabbi's, Büchler argues that Deuteronomy 34, which tells of Moses' death, must have been read on that date. But, as we have shown, R. Eliezer's opinion need not necessarily reflect such a practice, but could equally well be explained by the fact that the lection telling of Moses' *birth* (Exodus 2) would be read on the 7th Shebat: hence, since he died on his birthday, he must have died on the 7th Shebat.

A simpler explanation of the choice of Deuteronomy 4.25–40 as an alternative lection for the 9th Ab is that this passage, though it closely resembles the 'blessings and curses', is very much milder in tone.

A third explanation can only be put forward tentatively. The allocation of 'the blessings and curses' to the 9th Ab depends on the use of a Tishri cycle, and with such a cycle Deuteronomy 4.25 would fall approximately to the second sabbath in Nisan. Now this date curiously coincides with evidence found in a work ascribed to Ephraim Syrus. In a Palm Sunday sermon entitled 'A sermon against the Jews delivered on the first of the week of Hosannas, of the same our father, the holy Mar Ephraim the Syrian', there is an allusion to a fast held simultaneously by the Jews: and although this fast occurs on Palm Sunday, it is noteworthy that the special

[1] Jubilees xxiii. 7. [2] Op. cit., p. 457.

allusions are to the destruction of Jerusalem, and to events generally associated with the 9th Ab. Since the Jewish reckoning of Easter continued in Syria after its proscription by the Council of Nicaea, Palm Sunday might, according to this reckoning, approximately coincide with the 10th Nisan. Thus, if the evidence is to be trusted, in the sixth century, if not earlier, a fast corresponding to the fast of the 9th Ab was observed by the Jews of northern Syria on about the 10th Nisan.

Thackeray[1] finds further confirmation of this evidence from his investigation of the origins of Baruch. He has shown convincing reasons for thinking that Baruch was designed for use in the synagogue during the season between the 17th Tammuz and the Day of Atonement, and that the same *catena* of ideas as is found in Baruch reappears in the series of homilies for this season found in the early *Pesikta*. Thackeray is chiefly concerned to show the way in which Baruch takes up the themes of the *haphtaroth* of this series. But even the most cursory reading of the book shows that the *Pentateuchal* lections on which it is based are Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26, the very lections that the Tosefta cites as readings for the 9th Ab. In Baruch 1.8, which seems to be a misplaced gloss on verse 14, Thackeray finds a guess at the suggested liturgical use of the book: it is to be read on the 10th Sivan, or, according to the Syriac variant, *on the 10th Nisan*. Now the liturgical use of Baruch on the 10th Nisan suggested by the Syriac reading finds a remarkable confirmation in the homily attributed to Ephraim Syrus, for in this homily there is a clear citation from the first of the Baruch cantos, which the Jewish Synagogue are represented as singing on the very day the homily was preached—Palm Sunday, or about the 10th Nisan. Thus the homily supports the conjecture that the occasion on which 'Baruch' or the Jewish Dispersion which he represented desired his book to be read was some mourning ceremony of the spring New Year. Thackeray remarks: 'Why the mourning ceremony should fall in the spring is not clear. I can only conjecture that the Jews of northern Syria, following old Babylonian custom, kept their New Year feast in the spring, and in connexion with it a Day of Atonement on the 10th Nisan, answering to the Palestinian fast of the 10th Tishri at the autumn New Year.'

It may be urged, however, that Baruch is too late to be used as evidence for liturgical practice before A.D. 70. Thackeray considers that the earlier part of the book was written in Hebrew during the period of the war with Rome, probably shortly before A.D. 70, but in any case not earlier than the first Christian century. Dr. Pfeiffer,[2] however, urges that the pervading pessimism and the wretched condition of the Jews depicted in Baruch's prayer reflect the plight of the Palestinian Jews between 586 and 142 B.C. In the first century of our era it would have been absurd for a Jew to say

[1] Op. cit., pp. 80–111.
[2] R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times*, pp. 415 f.

'we are but few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us' (2.13) with reference to his own times, since there was then a numerous dispersion of the Jews in every city of the Mediterranean world: indeed, already about 85 B.C. Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV. vii. 2) said that it would be difficult to find a place in the world without Jews. All that can be said with any certainty of such a cento of Old Testament allusions as Baruch is that Part I is modelled on Daniel 9, and with this proviso he allocates Baruch Part I to approximately the second half of the second century B.C.

We suggest that even if Baruch was written as late as the second half of the first Christian century, the mourning cycle on which it depends was known already to Philo, for his tractate *De Praemiis et Poenis* contains exactly the same *catena* of ideas as is found in Baruch and, later, in the group of homilies focused on the 9th Ab given in both Pesiktas. These *Pesikta* homilies, Baruch, and Philo's tractate are all based primarily on the 'curses' of Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26. All three speak of Israel as a mother bereaved of her children in terms that are drawn from Deutero-Isaiah, particularly Isaiah 54, and all three describe the final regathering of Israel's scattered children and the punishment of the enemy. All three elaborate the idea that true wisdom lies in keeping the commandments, and in Baruch and Philo this thought is linked with an allusion to Deuteronomy 30.11–14. In xxviii. 163 and xxix. 171 Philo seems to hint at some occasion of *public* confession and mourning: we may compare the injunction in Baruch 1.14. The occasion may well have been the fast of the 9th Ab, for we know from the statement of R. Eleazar ben Zadok (first century A.D.)[1] that this fast continued to be observed during the days of the second Temple (b. *Erubin* 41a).

It would seem, then, that in the early part of the first Christian century, if not before, there was in existence a cycle of mourning lections based on Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26, and having the destruction of the first Temple as its main theme. In some Jewish communities this cycle linked the fast of the 9th Ab with the penitential season of New Year and the Day of Atonement; in others, the cycle was linked with the *spring* New Year. The Syriac variant in Baruch 1.8, and the Palm Sunday homily attributed to Ephraim Syrus, suggest that the Jews of northern Syria followed the latter practice, and the fact that the Tosefta and the Talmud cite Deuteronomy 4.25 as a variant lection for the 9th Ab may perhaps confirm the Syrian evidence, for this lection would fall to the 10th Nisan with a Tishri cycle. Can we find in some such variation in lectionary practice the origin of Lent?

Now it seems possible that Mark 11 reflects just such a variation in lectionary practice. The Markan notes of time at this point seem to indicate that the triumphal entry took place on the 10th Nisan, and the cleansing

[1] For the dates of R. Zadok, see Büchler, *Studies in Jewish History*, p. 28.

of the Temple on the 11th. Nevertheless, the Evangelist records that on the day of the cleansing Jesus sought figs from a fig tree, although 'it was not the season of figs' and nothing edible could be expected before Sivan. Luke is evidently embarrassed by Mark's dating, for he omits the whole incident and the notes of time. Now the Markan dating agrees with the date suggested for the mourning cycle by the Syriac reading in Baruch 1.8, and the episode of the fig tree reflects Jeremiah 8.13, haphtarah to Deuteronomy 4.25, the alternative lection to 'the blessings and curses'. In this haphtarah the prophet laments the coming destruction of Jerusalem:

> I will utterly consume them, saith the Lord: there shall be no grapes on the vine, *nor figs on the fig tree*, and the leaf shall fade. . . . Oh that I had in the wilderness *a lodging place of wayfaring men; that I might leave my people and go from them!* for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongue as it were their bow for falsehood. . . . Take ye heed every one of his neighbour, and trust ye not in any brother. . . . Their tongue is a deadly arrow; it speaketh deceit: one speaketh peaceably to his neighbour with his mouth, but in his heart he layeth wait for him. . . . And I will make Jerusalem heaps, a dwelling place of jackals (LXX κατοικητήριον δρακόντων).

Mark 11.12 ff. records the fulfilment of this prophecy. Jesus finds no figs on the fig tree; he does not lodge in Jerusalem, but leaves the city every evening; the Pharisees and Herodians, concealing their hostility with compliments, attempt to catch him in talk.

The second part of the story of the fig tree reflects the haphtarah Jeremiah 51.50, which Büchler assigns as the Prophet portion for Deuteronomy 28.[1] This haphtarah is also reflected in the oracle on the fall of Babylon in Revelation 18, which immediately follows the vial plagues, and, like them, depends on the lections of Shebat; while Jeremiah 9.11 or 51.37 seems to have influenced Revelation 18.2 and also Baruch 4.35:

Haphtaroth from Jeremiah	*Revelation 18*	*Mark 11, Baruch 4*
51.63. And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates; and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise again.	*v. 21.* And a strong angel took up a stone as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with a mighty fall shall Babylon, the great city, be cast down, and shall be found no more at all.	*Mark 11.23.* Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart . . . he shall have it.
9.11. And I will make Jerusalem heaps, a dwelling place of jackals (LXX κατοικητήριον δρακόντων) without inhabitant. *51.37.* Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for jackals . . . without inhabitant.	*v. 2.* Fallen, fallen, is Babylon the great, and is become a habitation of devils (κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων) and a hold of every unclean spirit, and . . . of every unclean and hateful bird.	*Baruch 4.35.* For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting . . . and she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.

[1] Op. cit., vi. p. 68. See Büchler's whole exposition of the development of the *Pesikta* series of Punishment and Consolation sabbaths, pp. 62–73.

The cry 'Come forth, my people, out of her' (Revelation 18.4) depends on Isaiah 48.20, 'Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans'. This verse formed part of the haphtarah Isaiah 48.12 ff., a haphtarah which is also reflected in Luke 19.42 and John 18.20. The warning to flee out of Babylon is an echo of the warnings in the Synoptic Gospels, where Jerusalem is the city of doom, whose fall heralds the end of the world (Mark 13.14 and parallels): the harlot of the Apocalypse may also symbolize Jerusalem.[1]

In spite of Mark's precise chronological scheme in 11–13, there is good reason to think that his arrangement here is artificial, and that he has grouped together a number of incidents that were in fact spread over a somewhat longer period. Dr. Vincent Taylor suggests that Mark wished to describe in detail the successive days of the last tragic week, and for this purpose assembled in the best manner possible existing units of tradition which in some cases belonged to other periods in the story of Jesus.[2] A consideration of the lectionary background suggests two possible reasons for Mark's arrangement of these incidents:

[1] The identification of the harlot of Revelation 17–18 with a *single* city, and that city Rome, raises several difficulties: (1) In Revelation 11.8 we read that the dead bodies of the two witnesses lie in the street of 'the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified'. Here, then, the great city is primarily Jerusalem. (2) 'The great city' of 17.18 is set in antithesis to 'the holy city' of 21.2—the harlot is a parody of the bride. Since the bride is the new or heavenly Jerusalem, the harlot may symbolize the earthly Jerusalem. The same movement of thought is found in the Palm Sunday sermon attributed to Ephraim Syrus: the 'harlot synagogue full of stains' will be cleansed with the precious blood, and comforted with promises taken from Isaiah 54.11 and 60.3: 'Lo! upon the palms of my hands have I graven thy high walls, O Jerusalem! Thine iniquity is forgiven thee. . . . For lo! I will make all thy stones beryls, and thy choice foundations will I make stones of sapphire, and thy battlements, I will make them as excellent jaspers, and thy doors will I make of crystal stone . . . and I will dwell in the midst of thee. Lo! the nations shall come to thy light, and the Gentiles to meet thy rising.' It is probable that a common lectionary basis underlines St. Ephraim's sermon, the Book of Baruch, Revelation 17–20, and the *Pesikta* series of Ab homilies. (3) The most natural interpretation of 17.16 is that it refers to the destruction of Jerusalem by Rome in A.D. 70 seen as a fulfilment of Ezekiel 16.37, 39. (4) In Revelation 17–18 the writer draws equally upon Old Testament prophecies of the doom of heathen cities, such as Babylon or Tyre, and prophecies of the fate of Judah and Jerusalem; and this would be more natural if the prophecy applied, at least in part, to Jerusalem.

These difficulties are removed if we take the harlot as a symbol of the cities of the Empire, including Jerusalem. 'Babylon' is Rome, but it is also the Jerusalem whose citizens rejected their Messiah and chose Caesar (compare John 19.15), and who will therefore suffer Rome's ultimate fate. The writer may have been influenced in his exposition by the fact that occasionally in the prophecy of Jeremiah (in 9.11 and 51.37, for instance) the fate of Babylon and that of Jerusalem is described in almost identical terms. Similarly, the 'great city' of chapter 11 is perhaps to be understood as signifying Jerusalem, but not only Jerusalem, for we read that men 'from the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations' look at the dead bodies of the two witnesses. The churches are scattered throughout all the cities of the Empire, and any city who treats the witnesses of Jesus as he himself was treated models herself on Jerusalem, who killed the prophets and stoned them that were sent to her (Matthew 23.37). 'The great city' is first of all Jerusalem, then any other city that identifies itself with her deeds.

[2] Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 450.

(1) The Evangelist's purpose may be theological: he wishes to show that the prophecies contained in the group of mourning lections received their first fulfilment in the events of Passion Week; hence he telescopes the lections for the period from the beginning of Shebat to the beginning of Nisan so as to set prophecy and fulfilment side by side. The words of 13.30, 'This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished', support the interpretation that a first fulfilment, at any rate, was not far off, and it is remarkable how the precise notes of time in 13.35 are taken up in Mark's account of the last supper, the arrest, and the trial. Further, some such interpretation seems necessary if we are to give full weight to the way in which the temple motif dominates the narrative at this point—to the prediction on the mount of Olives (13.2), the accusation of the witnesses at the trial (14.58), the words of the passers-by at the crucifixion (15.29), and the rending of the veil of the Temple at the very moment of Jesus' death (15.38). The death was an enacted prophecy of the Temple's fall.

(2) It seems just possible that the Evangelist has been influenced by the lectionary practice of some community such as the Church in Antioch. As we have seen, there is some slight evidence for thinking that the Jews of north Syria, following old Babylonian custom, kept their New Year Feast in the spring, and in connexion with it read the mourning lections on the 10th Nisan (Mark's date for the triumphal entry); and the Church in Syria may have followed their practice. The connexion of Peter with Antioch would favour such a view.

In any case, it is suggested that it is to the lections that ultimately became those for the 9th Ab that we must look for an understanding of the Synoptic accounts of the cleansing of the Temple and Jesus' prediction of its destruction. It is entirely in keeping with the themes of these lections that Jesus' last oracle combines a prediction about the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple with an apocalyptic discourse foretelling his second coming. In exactly the same way Revelation 16–18, which is based on these lections, combines an oracle concerning the destruction of the harlot-city (a symbol which certainly includes Jerusalem) with an oracle on the Last Things; for the seven vials contain the last plagues, and 'in them is finished the wrath of God'. The mention of the 'abomination of desolation', false Christs, and false prophets in Mark 13 finds its parallel in the mention of the beast (the Antichrist) and the false prophet in Revelation 16.13. The prediction of the second coming and the command to watch in Mark 13 is echoed in Revelation 16.15, 'Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments'; and the oracle concerning the destruction of the Temple (Mark 13.2) is echoed in Revelation 16.17–18.24. Finally, it may be pertinent to remark here that Isaiah 55.6–56.8, which includes the words 'My house shall be called an house of prayer for all peoples', is, in the

modern synagogue, the prophetic lection for the afternoon of the 9th Ab; and that Zechariah 9.9 is a haphtarah of the Ab cycle of homilies according to the *Pesikta Rabbati*.

The Fourth Evangelist has thus preserved the proper place of the cleansing of the Temple in the liturgical cycle. But he disregards the Synoptic chronology to the extent of placing the incident at the beginning instead of the end of Jesus' ministry, and we now inquire what were his motives for doing so? Even supposing that historical time, as compared with lectionary time, is a matter of relative indifference to him, why does he take the trouble to transpose the incident and thus present his readers with what looks like a glaring contradiction of the earlier tradition? for the incident would still have been in its proper liturgical position if he had placed it immediately after the story of Lazarus.

By the time the Fourth Evangelist wrote his Gospel he was to a certain extent bound by the tradition about Jesus' life and teaching already crystallized in Mark's Gospel. But the situation in which he wrote made one change, at least, imperative. Mark wrote in the sixties, when the next event on the horizon was the fulfilment of Jesus' oracle about the destruction of the Temple. That event, when it took place, would usher in the second coming of the Messiah with power and great glory. But when John wrote, the Second Temple had fallen, years had passed, and still the parousia was delayed. Thus it was urgently necessary that the oracle in Mark 13 about the Temple and the second coming should be reinterpreted.

Now the words attributed to Jesus by the witnesses at his trial (Mark 14.58) become, in John's account, an actual prediction by Jesus himself of the Temple's destruction. It would seem that he has first combined the oracle about the Temple in Mark 13.2 with the words of the witnesses, and then linked this prediction with the story of the cleansing. In this way not only does his own account of the cleansing epitomize the whole last section of Mark's Gospel, but also the relationship between the several Markan incidents is made plain: Mark 13.2 together with 14.58 was the *spoken* part of the prophecy against the Temple; the cleansing and the crucifixion formed the *enacted* prophecy of its doom.

The Christian of John's time might well argue thus: 'We are taught that before his death Jesus predicted the destruction of the Temple, woes upon the nation, and his own second coming, and warned his disciples to be watchful and to give heed to the signs of the times. The sign that he foretold has come to pass: the Temple has been destroyed. But what of the event that ought to follow it, the return of the Messiah?' St. John might then reply: 'The destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem fulfilled only the first half of the oracle—"Destroy this temple", or, if you read Mark's account, "There shall not be left one stone upon another". The

part which is still unfulfilled is, "And in three days I will raise it up". Just as the oracle about the fall of the Temple received its *first* fulfilment in the crucifixion (for what was the Lord's Passion but a first enactment of the woes to come upon the nation?), so the words "In three days I will raise it up" were *first* fulfilled in Jesus' resurrection. The temple of Jesus' body was destroyed, but was raised up on the third day in token that a new and spiritual temple is to be built. When this work is completed, when the Gentiles have heard and believed the Gospel and the last living stone has been added to the Church, then the prophecy will receive its final fulfilment and the Messiah will return.'[1]

This reinterpretation of Mark's oracle seemed to require that St. John's account of the cleansing should be followed by an account of those events in Jesus' ministry which foreshadowed the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles, that is, by accounts of a journey north and preaching in Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria, and finally Galilee, where a Gentile army officer and his whole house are added to the Church. The Markan tradition provided for such an interpretation, for Mark 11 ff. contained such sayings as 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations' (11.17); 'The lord of the vineyard . . . will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others' (12.9); while controversies arising from the Gentile mission may well form the background of the teaching in 12.28–34 that love is the fulfilling of the Law, and that such love to God and man is more than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices. When the Temple fell, such offerings would, in any case, cease. Now if John had kept to the Markan dating of the cleansing of the Temple, he would have had to omit this journey north, for he could not possibly crowd all these incidents into Passion Week: in that case his interpretation of Mark 14.58 (the temple which the Lord will raise up is his mystical body, the Church) would not have been conveyed with the same force. If he had placed the whole section just before 11.55 (where, from the lectionary point of view, it would have been in place), he would have spoiled the climax of Jesus' manifestation of himself to the Jews (chapters 6–12) by separating the last great sign to them of the raising of Lazarus from Jesus' presentation of himself to them as Messiah and their rejection of him (chapter 12).

St. John, then, makes the transposition that is necessary if he is to bring out the meaning of the cleansing of the Temple. But are we indeed justified in calling it a transposition? It is arguable that he achieves his purpose without any real departure from the Synoptic tradition that the cleansing took place at the last Passover of the ministry, for he does not intend his first section (chapters 1–4) to be taken as an account of the first year or so of

[1] St. John reinterprets, but does not abandon, the earlier New Testament eschatology. His 'realized eschatology' does not preclude a doctrine of the second coming.

Jesus' ministry, but rather as a bird's-eye view of the whole history of the Christian Church from the incarnation and the call of the earliest disciples to the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles through the missionary labours of the Church. In other words, chapters 1–2 cover Jesus' ministry from his birth to the cleansing of the Temple at the *last* Passover, while in chapters 3–4 the Evangelist is speaking from the standpoint of the post-resurrection Church, through whose agency Jesus continues the evangelization of Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria, and the uttermost ends of the earth. This is indicated with his usual subtlety and delicacy of language. The words of 2.22 'When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said' correspond with those of Luke 24.6–8, 'Remember how he spake unto you . . . saying that the Son of man must . . . be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remembered his words', and reflect the situation after the resurrection. In the discourse with Nicodemus that follows, Jesus has risen and ascended to the Father, and no longer addresses a single person, nor speaks as a single person: '*We* speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen; and *ye* receive not our witness. . . . And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man *which is in heaven*' (3.11, 13). A long period of apostolic work and witness has already elapsed: 'I sent you to reap that whereon ye have not laboured: others have laboured, and ye are entered into their labour' (4.38). The section ends with an echo of the Church's prayer for the second coming: 'Lord, come down.' Perhaps no one but St. John, who seems to live in an eternal present which includes the past and the future, could write in this way, at one moment addressing the Synagogue from the standpoint of the Church of his own day, and the next moment remarking 'for John was not yet cast into prison'. John 1–4, then, is a short history of the founding and growth of the Christian Church, and as such it forms an introduction to what follows in 6–21.

3. WORSHIP: JESUS AND THE SAMARITANS

The theme of the new temple and its worship is continued in John 2.23 ff. Membership of the new community is not through physical descent from Abraham, but by the new birth (3.3), and worship is no longer centred in the Temple at Jerusalem, nor in any other fixed sanctuary, but is henceforth 'in spirit and in truth' (4.23). Jesus' itinerary as recorded in this section foreshadows the spread of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Judaea, Samaria, and the uttermost ends of the earth: it sets the pattern for the later apostolic ministry, and his words and works are recounted in the light of that later ministry; hence the Evangelist seems sometimes to put on Jesus' lips the reflections of a later age.

The dating of John 4 depends mainly on whether verse 35 is to be taken as an indication that the time of the visit to Samaria was four months before the harvest, or whether the words are simply a proverbial saying. There is no clear evidence that 'There are yet four months and then cometh the harvest' was a proverb or rural saying: the Palestinians seem to have estimated the period between the sowing and harvesting of wheat as six months, not four (cf. j. *Taanith* 64a בעולם הזה התבואה עושה לששה חדשים).[1] The words in verse 35, then, are presumably to be taken as an indication of the time of year. Jesus sees in the faith of the Samaritans an anticipation of the harvest of the Gentiles that was to be the consequence of his death (cf. 12.24); thus when the disciples, looking at the fields, rightly estimate that the harvest is four months ahead, he replies that the harvest is even now ready for the reapers (cf. Luke 10.2). Barley began to ripen about the middle of Nisan, and Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks, marked the commencement of wheat harvest, and is called the 'feast of harvest' in the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 23.16). Four months to the beginning of wheat harvest would thus be early in Shebat, and in fact John 4 tallies remarkably closely with the lections that would fall to the first or second sabbath in Shebat.

With a triennial cycle beginning in Nisan the reading of the second and fourth books of the Pentateuch, Exodus and Numbers, began in Shebat. It would seem that the lectionary reading for that month which has principally influenced John 4 is Exodus 2, which tells how Moses encountered the seven daughters of the priest of Midian beside a well, assisted them to draw water for their flocks, and became the husband of Zipporah. With a cycle beginning in Tishri, the seder read at this time would be Genesis 24, which tells how Rebekah drew water for Abraham's servant and became the bride of Isaac. The similarity of the two stories reflects the arrangement of the Pentateuch to suit a double cycle of lectionary readings. The close resemblance of thought and language between these two sedarim and John 4 is best seen if the three passages are set side by side:

Genesis 24	*Exodus 2*	*John 4*
v. 11. And (the servant) made the camels to kneel down without the city by the well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to draw water.	*v. 15.* But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh and dwelt in the land of Midian, and he sat down by a well. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water and filled the troughs. . . .	*v. 6.* Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus by the well. It was about the sixth hour. There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water: Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink.
v. 15. And it came to pass . . . that, behold, Rebekah came out . . . with her pitcher upon her shoulder . . . and she	And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them,	*v. 10.* Jesus answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who

[1] On the basis of a tradition preserved in the Tosefta (*Taanith* 1.7) it is sometimes suggested that the proverb meant that there were four months between the end of sowing and the beginning of harvest. This puts a rather forced construction on Jesus' words.

Genesis 24	*Exodus 2*	*John 4*
went down to the fountain and filled her pitcher and came up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give me to drink . . . . And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.	and watered their flock. And when they came to Reuel their father . . . they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water for us and watered the flock. And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread.	it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.
v. 33. And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand.		*v. 31.* In the mean while the disciples prayed him, saying, Rabbi, eat. But he said unto them . . . My meat is to do the will of him that sent me and to accomplish his work.
v. 26. And the man bowed his head, and worshipped the Lord.	*3.12.* When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.	*v. 20.* Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.
v. 48. And I bowed my head, and worshipped the Lord.	*4.31.* And the people believed, and . . . they bowed their heads and worshipped.	
v. 52. And . . . he bowed himself down to the earth unto the Lord.		

The influence of Genesis 24 on John 4 is perhaps to be seen in the two different words used for *well*. The word *spring* (πηγή = עין) is used in John 4.6, 14, and *well* (φρέαρ = באר) in verses 11 and 12. The same variation is found in Genesis 24, where באר (LXX φρέαρ) is used in verses 11 and 20, and עין (LXX πηγή) in verses 13, 16, 29, 30, 42, 43, and 45. As haphtarah to Genesis 24.42 the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] lists Isaiah 12.3 ff., which begins 'Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation'.

The parallels between John 4 and the seder Exodus 1.1–2.25 are equally close. According to the Johannine reckoning the sixth hour is noon, and John 4.6 'Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus by the well: it was about the sixth hour' recalls Exodus 2.15 as expanded by Josephus: 'And when he [Moses] came to the city of Midian . . . he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city, and the time of day was noon.'[1] The next seder, Exodus 3.1 ff., may possibly have been known as 'The Bush' (see Mark 12.26): it tells of the revelation to Moses of the Divine name 'I Am', and of God's promise to him 'Ye shall serve God upon this mountain'. This may be compared with John 4.20, 21, 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe

[1] *Ant.* ii. 11. xi. 1, quoted by Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 241.

me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.'

This Exodus seder would be read on the first or second sabbath in Shebat in the first year of a cycle beginning in Nisan. The corresponding seder for the third year of such a cycle would be Deuteronomy 27, a passage of the utmost importance for the interpretation of John 4. Again the theme of the worship of God in his chosen place appears, for in this lection Mount Ebal is designated as the site of the first altar after the entry into Canaan. The Samaritan text reads instead 'Gerizim', the mountain from which the blessings were pronounced (Deuteronomy 27.4, 12). Now Mount Gerizim, at the foot of which Jacob's Well lies, would be directly before the eyes of the Samaritan woman when she abruptly changed the topic of conversation with the words: 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.' Thus the unexpected turn of the conversation from the topic of living water to the topic of the proper place of worship—*apparently quite unrelated themes*—is explained by the fact that one of the lections for the time when the conversation took place was that very text of Deuteronomy which was the Samaritans' proof that 'the place which the Lord your God shall choose to put his name there' was Gerizim and not Zion. Likewise in Exodus 2–3 we find first the theme of drawing water from a well, then the theme of the holy mountain.

The theme of the worship of God in his chosen place is also found in the two alternative haphtaroth for Exodus 1.1 already mentioned, Ezekiel 20 (Büchler), and Isaiah 27.6 ff., which is mentioned in several Geniza lists. Verse 40 of the first haphtarah runs: 'For in my holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the Lord God, there shall all the house of Israel . . . serve me.' Similarly, Isaiah 27.13 predicts the coming of a day when God's people will be recalled from the lands of their dispersion, and 'shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem'. The conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman took place in the neighbourhood of Shechem, and yet the Evangelist names the city not Shechem but Sychar, which means 'drunken'. Is it possible that there is here an allusion to the next verse of the haphtarah, 'Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim' (Isaiah 28.1)? It seems more likely, however, that the allusion is to Joshua 24.32, which refers to the portion of land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. The Hebrew for portion is שכם, which can mean either 'shoulder' or else the proper noun 'Shechem', and in Joshua 24.32 LXX it is transliterated, *Σίκιμα*. Now according to Büchler, Joshua 24 was read as haphtarah to Deuteronomy 29.9, which was read in Shebat in the third year of the lectionary cycle.

John 4 contains several allusions to the haphtarah from Joshua 24. Joshua 24.13 runs, 'And I gave you a land *whereon thou hadst not laboured*,

and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat': we may compare John 4.38, 'I sent you to reap that *whereon ye have not laboured*; others have laboured, and ye are entered into their labour'. Finally, Joshua 24.14, 'Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth' seems to be echoed in John 4.24, 'God is Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth'. We have already noticed the influence of verses 29 ff., which tell of the death of Joshua and of Eleazar, on the story of Lazarus, which falls to the same month as John 4 in the lectionary cycle. Is it simply coincidence that this same haphtarah has influenced verses 16, 42, 44, and 45 of Acts 7, which is similarly based on lections that would fall to Shebat?

Lastly, the theme of the woman with many lovers is found in Ezekiel 16, which Büchler considers was the original haphtarah to Exodus 1.1, and in Hosea 2.1 ff., which he apportions as haphtarah to Numbers 1.1. Numbers 1 would fall to Shebat in the second year of the cycle. Now this is precisely the theme of Revelation 16–18, which begins with the plagues of the seven vials (closely modelled on the plagues of Egypt) and continues with the theme of the harlot, in a passage which reflects Hosea 2 and Ezekiel 16.

To recapitulate: John 4 depends mainly on the Pentateuchal lections for Shebat Exodus 2–3 and Deuteronomy 27, and on the Prophetic lections Joshua 24, Hosea 2, and possibly Ezekiel 16. Genesis 24, which would fall to Shebat with a Tishri cycle, is also reflected. The theme of the woman who goes to the well to draw water is found in Exodus 2 and Genesis 24, and the similarity of these two passages reflects the internal polarity of the Pentateuch. The theme of the worship of God in his chosen place is found in Exodus 3, Deuteronomy 27, Ezekiel 20, and Isaiah 27. John 4.20–24 closely corresponds to the theme of Joshua 24. In the days of Joshua worship was not confined to any particular spot but had as its focal point the movable tent which was carried about in the wilderness: God required of Israel worship 'in sincerity and in truth'. Finally, the theme of the woman with many lovers is found in Hosea 2 and Ezekiel 16. In the latter passage, the woman is Jerusalem: Samaria, her elder sister, has done according to her ways, but has not equalled her in wickedness. John 11 and John 4 reflect a lectionary sequence:

Nisan cycle:	Genesis 50	Mourning for Jacob	John 11
	Exodus 1–2	Jethro's daughters at the well	,, 4
Tishri cycle:	Genesis 23	Mourning for Sarah	,, 11
	,, 24	Rachel at the well	,, 4

Now it can hardly be a coincidence that all the passages in the Fourth Gospel that can fairly be dated Shebat–Adar reflect the same lections and contain the same themes. In John 2.13–22 Jesus predicts the fall of the

Temple; in John 11.47–53 Caiaphas makes the same prediction ('The Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation'), and in John 4 Jesus speaks of the time when worship will no longer be confined to the Jerusalem or the Gerizim Temple. *Ὁ τόπος* in 4.20 means the Temple, as in 11.48. Outside the Fourth Gospel, the same lections are reflected, and the same themes found, in Acts 7 and Mark 11–13 and parallels. In Acts 6.13 the charge made against Stephen was that he spoke blasphemous words against 'this holy place', and in his speech he replies that since God does not dwell in temples made with hands, his worship is not restricted to any special place: the patriarchs worshipped God acceptably while there was still no holy place, and in fact the only land that Abraham possessed was what he bought for a burying-place (Genesis 23, which would fall to Shebat with a Tishri cycle, or Genesis 50.13). The story of Stephen concludes with the account of the 'great lamentation' (*κοπετός*) made over him: *κοπετός* occurs here only in the New Testament, and in Genesis 50.10 only in the Greek Pentateuch. It may be mere coincidence that the mission to *Samaria* follows immediately after Stephen's death. It is striking, however, that John 2.13–22 is followed by an account of preaching in Jerusalem, Judaea, and Samaria, and that in Acts 8 the death of Stephen is the immediate cause of a parallel spread of evangelization. Peter's condemnation of Simon Magus in Acts 8.23, 'I see that thou art a gall root of bitterness', reflects Deuteronomy 29.18, a lection for Shebat. The theme of a woman many times married appears in John 4 and also in the Sadducees' question in Mark 12.18 ff. and parallels.

Our investigation would thus appear to support the view that the Gospels are the written deposit of the apostolic preaching, and that this preaching was based on Old Testament texts which were selected according to a recognizable principle, and not at random.

13

THE PROBLEM OF A TISHRI CYCLE

THE evidence for the existence of a triennial cycle of lectionary readings beginning in Tishri has already been examined in Chapter 2, pp. 16–20, and need not be repeated here. Although this evidence is slight compared with the evidence for a Nisan cycle, yet the existence at some period of a Tishri as well as a Nisan cycle seems to be confirmed by the polarity of the Pentateuch, which shows half-yearly parallels in the themes of the sedarim: i.e. the theme of, say, Genesis 23 is repeated in Genesis 49–50, which would be read about six months later; the theme of Genesis 24 is repeated in Exodus 2, and the theme of Exodus 27.20 f. in Leviticus 24. Such a double lectionary system must reflect the double new year, which was probably a compromise between the old Nippurian autumnal new year and Hammurabi's innovation with its celebration in the spring. The persistence of the autumnal new year is reflected in the Aramaic-Syrian lists of Christian writers of the first century, where both the civil and the ecclesiastical years are reckoned from Teshrit, not Nisan.

We have seen that the Fourth Evangelist appears to use such a double lectionary system as the background for the first division of his Gospel. It may be argued, however, that it is unlikely that different synagogues would use different systems during the same period, and that the fact that the Fourth Gospel *appears* to depend on a double cycle is sufficiently accounted for by what we have termed the polarity of the Pentateuch. If, for example, the discourse with the woman of Samaria (John 4) is firmly based on the scene beside a well described in Exodus 2, then it cannot fail to show resemblances with the similar passage Genesis 24; but this is not to say that the Evangelist was consciously using both passages on the basis of a double lectionary system.

Now there seems to be little doubt about St. John's conscious use of the Nisan cycle in this case. As we have seen, the three lections that would fall to the first or second sabbath in Shebat with such a cycle would be Exodus 2, Numbers 1, and Deuteronomy 27. In Exodus 2, Moses draws water for the daughters of the priest of Midian, and in the next chapter the site of the proper place of worship is revealed to him: 'Ye shall serve God upon this mountain.' The theme of the proper place of worship is echoed in Deuteronomy 27, which is the very chapter used by the Samaritans to prove that it was Gerizim, and not Zion, that was the chosen place of sacrifice; and it is the use of this passage that underlies the abrupt turn in the conversation

recorded in John 4.20: 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.' Büchler allocates Hosea 2.1 ff. as haphtarah to Numbers 1.1. Now Hosea 2.1 deals with the theme of the woman with many lovers. There is thus exact correspondence of theme between these lections and John 4—the theme of drawing water from a well, the theme of the chosen place of worship, and the theme of the adulterous woman.

If, then, St. John is using the Nisan cycle here, perhaps the links with the Tishri cycle are accidental? But not only is there a correspondence of theme between John 4 and Genesis 24 that is closer, if anything, than the correspondence with Exodus 2, but there is also a linguistic tally in the use of two different words for well, *φρέαρ* and *πηγή*, corresponding exactly with באר and עין in the Genesis passage: and this looks more like conscious imitation of Genesis 24 than accidental resemblance. It may further be argued that this linguistic correspondence is nevertheless accidental: the use of synonymous, or almost synonymous, words is in any case characteristic of the Fourth Evangelist; witness the difference in the form of the two injunctions to Peter in chapter 21—'Feed my lambs' and 'Tend my sheep'. But, as we shall show, the variation in the verb in John 21.15 and 16 exactly reflects a similar variation found in the haphtarah that forms the lectionary background, Ezekiel 34.[1] We conclude, then, that St. John's account of the discourse with the woman of Samaria *consciously* reflects a double lectionary system.

The relation of John 6–12 to the Tishri cycle

This conclusion is amply confirmed by an examination of the second division of the Gospel, chapters 6–12, against the background of a Tishri cycle. Our discussion must necessarily be brief: a complete account of St. John's relation to the lections of a Tishri cycle will require another book. At present we shall confine ourselves to one or two points of contact between lection and Gospel for each festival:

Feast	*Nisan cycle*	*Tishri cycle*	*John 6–12*
PASS-OVER	*Exodus 16* (*LXX*). And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, What is this? for they knew not what it was; and Moses said to them, This is the bread which the Lord has given you to eat. This is that which the Lord has appointed	*Deuteronomy 8*. And he humbled thee . . . and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee to know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing (LXX *ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι*) that proceedeth	*Ch. 6*. Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. . . . It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken

[1] See further below, p. 226.

Feast	*Nisan cycle*	*Tishri cycle*	*John 6–12*
	(τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε Κύριος).	out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.	unto you are spirit, and are life.
NEW YEAR	*Deuteronomy 1.* And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother. . . . Ye shall not respect persons in judgement, ye shall hear the small and the great alike . . . for the judgement is God's.	*Deuteronomy 32.* The Rock, his work is perfect; for all his ways are judgement . . . . For the Lord shall judge his people . . . . If . . . mine hand take hold on judgement, I will render vengeance to mine adversaries . . . . See now that I, even I, am he . . . I kill and I make alive . . . and there is none that can deliver out of my hand.	*Ch. 5.* For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son also quickeneth whom he will. For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgement unto the Son . . . and he gave him authority to execute judgement, because he is the Son of man. . . . The hour cometh in which all that are in the tombs . . . shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement.
TABERNACLES	*Genesis 38.* And . . . it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot. . . . And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt. When she was brought forth, she sent to her father in law, saying, . . . Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the signet, and the cords, and the staff. And Judah acknowledged them and said, She is more righteous than I.	*Numbers 5.*[1] If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him . . . and there be no witness against her, neither she be *taken in the act* . . . the priest shall set her before the Lord: and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel, and of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take . . . . *Haphtarah Hosea 4.14.* I will not punish . . . your	*Ch. 8.* And the scribes and the Pharisees bring a woman taken in adultery; and having set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman hath been taken in adultery, *in the very act*. . . . But Jesus stooped down and with his finger wrote on the ground. But when they continued asking him he . . . said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.

[1] Numbers 5.11 ff. would fall to Tabernacles with a triennial cycle beginning on the fourth sabbath in Tishri. The Samaritans and the Babylonian Jews, who adopted the annual system, began their Pentateuchal readings on this sabbath, and some scholars, Mann among them, have argued that this was also the first sabbath of the lectionary cycle among the Palestinian Jews. Büchler, however, points out that it is nowhere stated in the Babylonian Talmud that this formed the starting-point in the time of the Amoraim. The question must await a fuller examination of St. John's relation to a Tishri cycle.

With a Nisan cycle, Numbers 5.11 would be read at the end of the year, shortly before Passover. Now it is remarkable that the Ferrar Group of manuscripts places the *pericope adulterae* immediately before Luke 22.1, which runs 'Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover'. Here again, as in John 8.1, the insertion of the *pericope* seems to have been done with a full understanding of the relation of Luke's Gospel to the lections of the triennial cycle.

Feast	*Nisan cycle*	*Tishri cycle*	*John 6–12*
		brides when they commit adultery; for they themselves go apart with whores.	
CHESHVAN	*Leviticus 13.* And the leper in whom the plague is . . . he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; *without the camp* shall his dwelling be. *Haphtarah 2 Kings 5.* Now Naaman . . . was a mighty man of valour, but he was a leper. . . . And Elisha sent a messenger unto him, saying, Go and wash in Jordan . . . and be thou clean.	*Numbers 12.* And Miriam was leprous, as white as snow . . . . And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? let her be shut up *without the camp* seven days.	*Ch. 9.* When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his eyes with the clay, and said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam . . . . He went away therefore, and washed, and came seeing.
DEDICATION	*Genesis 47.* And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we, and our fathers . . . to sojourn in the land are we come, for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks. . . . And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, . . . if thou knowest any able men among them, then make them rulers over my cattle. *Haphtarah Ezekiel 37.* And my servant David shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd.	*Numbers 27.* And Moses spake unto the Lord, saying, Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, which may *go out before them*, and which may come in before them, and which may *lead them out*, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd. And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua . . . a man in whom is the spirit . . . and give him a charge.	*Ch. 10.* . . . he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth, and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and *leadeth them out*. When he hath put forth all his own, *he goeth before them*, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice. . . . I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture.
	Deuteronomy 22. Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt surely bring them again unto thy brother . . . and so shalt thou do with every lost thing of thy brother's.	*Exodus 23.* If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden . . . thou shalt surely help with him.	
SHEBAT	*Genesis 49.* And (Jacob) said unto them . . . bury me with my fathers in	*Genesis 23.* And Sarah died . . . and Abraham came to mourn for	*Ch. 11.* When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also

Feast	*Nisan cycle*	*Tishri cycle*	*John 6–12*
	the cave . . . that is in the field of Machpelah which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought . . . for a possession of a buryingplace . . . . And (Jacob) was gathered to his people. And Joseph fell upon his father's face and wept upon him . . . and he made a mourning for his father seven days.	Sarah and to weep for her. . . . And Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre . . . . And the field and the cave . . . were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.	weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit and was troubled, and said, Where have ye laid him? They say unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept. . . . Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the tomb. Now it was a cave, and a stone lay against it.
		Haphtarah Hosea 5.7 ff. Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us.	Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus. When therefore he heard that he was sick, he abode at that time two days in the place where he was. Then after this he saith to the disciples, . . . Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep.
	Deuteronomy 32. And the Lord spake unto Moses . . . saying, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, unto mount Nebo . . . and die in the mount . . . as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor.	*Numbers 33.* And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the Lord, and died there.	Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.

John 9 and the Tishri cycle

We will now examine in greater detail the relation of the Tishri cycle to *one* of the incidents of this second division of the Gospel, and will choose for the purpose St. John's account of the healing of the man born blind. When we discussed this miracle in relation to the lections that would fall to the first sabbath in Cheshvan with a Nisan cycle, we saw that Jesus' command to the blind man, 'Go, wash in the pool of Siloam', reflected the haphtarah 2 Kings 5, the story of the cleansing of Naaman by immersion in the Jordan and his confession of the God of Israel, which would form a natural starting-point for teaching on Christian baptism. Elsewhere in the New Testament, however, the Old Testament passages specifically cited as symbolizing baptism are the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 14–15) and Noah and the Deluge (Genesis 6–8). The first of these passages is regarded as a type of baptism in 1 Corinthians 10.1–13, where it is coupled

with an allusion to the Rock of Horeb (Exodus 17); the second is interpreted in the same way in 1 Peter 3.18–22. Thus, if we consider the Nisan cycle only, it would appear as if St. John ignored these particular Old Testament types of baptism. With a Tishri cycle, however, we find that these very passages fall to Cheshvan in the regular course of reading, and thus correspond to Leviticus 13 and its haphtarah 2 Kings 5 in the Nisan cycle; and the influence of the Genesis seder and its haphtarah is clearly to be discerned in John 9. It would seem, then, that here again St. John has been influenced by a double lectionary cycle: and it is therefore interesting to find that in one of the early second-century frescoes in the catacombs the healing of a blind man is portrayed among other symbols of baptism, including those we have been discussing—the salvation of Noah and the miracle of Moses and the Rock of Horeb.

It is, then, precisely those Old Testament passages that are already linked with the theme of baptism in the New Testament tradition that would fall to the period immediately after Tabernacles with a Tishri cycle, and thus form the lectionary background of John 9. The lections in question are as follows:

First year of cycle	Genesis	8.15[1]	with	Isaiah	42.7 ff.[2]
Second ,, ,, ,,	Exodus	16.28	,,	,,	58.13 ff.
Third ,, ,, ,,	Numbers	11.23	,,	,,	45.9 ff.

With regard to the seder for the first year of the cycle, Genesis 8.15 ff., the story of Noah and the ark appears frequently in early Christian writings as a type of baptism. The Yelammedenu sermon on this seder found in Midrash *Tanḥuma* is remarkably interesting in the light of John 9, for the starting-point of the homily is found in the initial verse of the haphtarah, Isaiah 42.7, 'to open the blind eyes'; hence the question and answer found in the homily concerning *tasteless saliva as a remedy for an ailing eye on the sabbath.* This is forbidden 'because one acts as if applying medicine on the sabbath'. The sermon continues with the remark that there is a cure in this world for every ailment, the cure for the effects of the evil Yetzer being repentance. God expected the generation of the flood to repent: on its failure to do so, he destroyed it, saving only Noah and his family, whom he brought out of the ark. Here there is a return to the first verse of the haphtarah '. . . to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house'. Compare John 9, where we read how Jesus opened the blind eyes by the use of spittle on the sabbath.

The relation of the haphtarah to John 9 is striking. In this haphtarah the Servant of Yahweh is addressed with the words 'I the Lord . . . will give

[1] If the previous seder began at Genesis 8.1, it would have consisted of only fourteen verses. It seems more likely that there has been a process of shifting of sedarim, some communities beginning the new seder at 8.1 while others began at 8.15.

[2] For the haphtaroth cf. Bodleian MSS. 2822[7f], 2727[3], and Büchler, op. cit., vi. 61.

thee . . . for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house. . . . And I will bring the blind by a way that they know not; in paths that they know not will I lead them: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked places straight.' Further, verse 12 contains the words 'give glory to the Lord'—the words with which the Pharisees address the blind man, and which are also found, as we have seen, in Isaiah 66, one of the haphtaroth for the first sabbath in Cheshvan with a *Nisan* cycle. The theme of Isaiah 42.18–20 admirably suits our Lord's words to the Pharisees in John 9.39–41; the haphtarah may well have extended as far as this, since the Bodleian MS. 2727[3] lists 42.7–21.

In the second year of a Tishri cycle the seder that would fall to the first sabbath in Cheshvan would be Exodus 16.28–17.16, the story of how Moses struck the rock in Horeb. Here again there is a correspondence between the theme of the seder and the theme of John 9. In John 9.14, 16 we read that Jesus made clay and anointed the blind man's eyes on the sabbath, and was thus regarded by the Pharisees as a sabbath-breaker. Now the theme of sabbath observance is found in Exodus 16.29, which speaks of the prohibition against gathering the manna on that day. The haphtarah, Isaiah 58.13 ff., also takes up the same theme: 'If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight . . . and shalt honour it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord.' There are also remarkably close linguistic tallies between John 9 and the Exodus sedarim that would fall to the beginning of Cheshvan. The verb λοιδορέω occurs in the Gospels in John 9.28 *only*, and in the LXX in Exodus 17.2. Θαυμαστός occurs in John 9.30, and in the LXX, in the previous seder for the second year, Exodus 15.11. Θεοσεβής occurs in the Pentateuch (LXX) in the next seder, Exodus 18.21 *only*, and in the New Testament, in John 9.31 *only*.

The lections for the third year of a Tishri cycle (Numbers 11.23–12.16 and Isaiah 45.9 ff.) show the same linguistic affinities with John 9. The seder tells how Moses prayed for Miriam, who had become a leper; verse 14 runs 'And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days?' The verb πτύω is found in the LXX in this verse *only*: in the New Testament in John 9.6 and the parallel Markan miracles (Mark 7.33, 8.23) *only*. The noun πηλός is found in the haphtarah, Isaiah 45.9—'Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! . . . Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou?' This haphtarah seems to provide an answer to the disciples' question about the blind man, 'Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?' The man seemed to be a clear case of undeserved suffering. Was God then unjust? The answer given in the haphtarah is quoted by

St. Paul in Romans 9.20 f.: 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus? Or hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?' The words of Numbers 12.2 LXX 'Has the Lord spoken to Moses only (*μὴ Μωυσῇ μόνῳ λελάληκε Κύριος;*)' seem to be echoed in John 9.29 *ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν ὅτι Μωσῇ λελάληκεν ὁ Θεός*. We conclude that John 9 reflects the lections of a Tishri cycle as well as those of the Nisan cycle already examined in Chapter 8 above.

Cheshvan, to which month all these lections would fall, equals roughly November, and is described in an Assyrian commentary as the 'month of the unbinding of the band'. The menologies for this month for days 6, 16, and 26 refer to a custom of releasing a debtor or a prisoner. The texts generally use *lip-ṭur*, 'let him release', in the injunction for releasing a prisoner, which leads Langdon[1] to infer that by the phrase 'unbinding of the band' the commentary means to describe Cheshvan as the month when a prisoner was released. The Babylonian myth of the month was clearly connected with the underworld sea, the *apsû* over which Ea presided. The themes of the underworld sea and of the release of a prisoner appear in the lections that would fall to Cheshvan with both a Tishri and a Nisan cycle:

Genesis 7.11 '. . . on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.' Noah is *shut up* in the ark.

Exodus 15.8, 5 '. . . the floods stood upright as an heap; the deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.' *v. 5*. 'The deeps covered them: they went down into the depths like a stone.' Similarly there are references in the next seder to the waters of Marah, the springs of Elim, and the water that flowed from the rock in Horeb. In Exodus 14.3 Pharaoh says of the Israelites 'the wilderness hath *shut them in*'.

Numbers 12.15 Miriam is *shut up* without the camp seven days.

In each case the verb סגר is used.

With a Nisan cycle, in the first year we read of Joseph, whose master *put him in prison* (Genesis 39.20 ff.); in the second year, of the leper, who had to be *shut up* (סגר) seven days (Leviticus 13.4, 5, 21, 26, 31, 33). The leper was compelled to dwell *without the camp*, the phrase found in Numbers 12, which would fall to the same sabbath as Leviticus 13 with a Tishri instead of a Nisan cycle. In the haphtarah to Leviticus 14 (2 Kings 7) we find the phrase 'windows in heaven'—cf. Genesis 7.11, the corresponding seder with a Tishri cycle. In the third year of the Nisan cycle, Deuteronomy 8.15 refers to the miracle of the rock in Horeb; 9.21 to the brook that descended out of the mount; 11.4 to the crossing of the Red Sea; 11.13–18 to God's

[1] S. Langdon, op. cit., p. 131.

promise to give the rain of heaven, and his warning that he will '*shut up* the heaven' if Israel worships other gods. Thus the myth of the month, the myth of the underworld sea over which Ea, the god of water, presided, is reflected in the Old Testament lections which would be read in that month, and upon it depend the two themes of (*a*) Yahweh as the God who has power over the waters, both the waters of the great deep and the waters above the heavens; and (*b*) the release of a prisoner.

Outside the Fourth Gospel the only miracles recorded which involved the use of saliva are the healing of the deaf-mute and the blind man (Mark 7.31–37 and 8.22–26). Now here, as in John 9.6, the verb *πτύω* is used—a verb found in the LXX in Numbers 12 only. Further, in the Markan account of the healing of a blind man (Mark 8.25) the adverb *τηλαυγῶς* occurs, which closely resembles *τηλαυγής*, used in Leviticus 13.2, 4, 19, 24 LXX of the 'bright' spot of the leper. In Leviticus 13.23 *τηλαύγημα* is used of the spot itself, the word here being a hapax legomenon, as is also *τηλαυγῶς* in Mark 8.25. In the Markan account of these miracles the deaf-mute is taken aside privately before his healing, and the blind man is brought *outside the village*. In Leviticus 14.3 the priest is instructed to go *out of the camp* in order to examine a leper. Since the thought of baptism seems to be present in the pair of Markan miracles as well as in John 9 (the use of saliva and of the word 'Effeta'—a latinization—later formed part of the baptismal ceremonial of the Western Church), our Lord's action may be looked on as symbolic: those who receive Christian baptism are thereby excluded from the 'camp of Israel', just as the blind man of John 9 was cast out of the synagogue. We may compare Hebrews 13.13, 'Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach'. Similarly, Luke 4.16–30, which seems to be based on the same lections, describes how Jesus himself was 'cast forth out of the city' (see above, Chapter 8, p. 125 f.).

All these linguistic parallels, taken together with the remarkable Yelammedenu homily to Genesis 8 found in Midrash *Tanḥuma* (in its original form perhaps the oldest Haggadic collection extant), and the similarity of the themes of these Cheshvan lections with the Babylonian myth of the month, amount to strong evidence for the use of a Tishri cycle as well as a Nisan cycle in St. John's Gospel.

The Feast of Pentecost: John 21

We will conclude our study of the Fourth Gospel by considering the relation of the Epilogue, chapter 21, to the lections that would be read at Pentecost with a double triennial cycle.

St. John's narrative, far from being a straightforward record of a miraculous draught of fishes, is 'bent this way and that under the subtle influence of the symbolism'.[1] Seven disciples go fishing, and the number of fishes

[1] E. C. Hoskyns, op. cit., p. 553.

caught, one hundred and fifty three, is carefully recorded. It would seem that the story symbolizes the apostolic mission to the world in its double aspect of evangelism and pastoral care: the apostles are fishers, taking men alive, and shepherds, caring for the sheep and the lambs. Jesus is the risen and ascended Lord, who, though separated from his disciples, directs them in their work, which can only succeed as it is done in obedience to his word.

In default of any definite mention of time, and on the basis of what seems to be the lectionary background, we allocate this chapter to a time shortly after Pentecost—approximately the time of the summer solstice. Thackeray[1] draws attention to the association of the feasts with the cardinal points in the sun's apparent movements in the heavens, the equinoxes and solstices, or *Tekuphoth* as the Hebrews called them. Dedication was celebrated not long before midwinter and coincided approximately with Sun festivals at Rome and at Tyre. Tabernacles, Philo tells us (*De Specialibus Legibus* II. 204) fell at the autumnal equinox; and Passover approximately synchronized with the vernal equinox. Pentecost alone occupied an abnormal position, being fixed, when precise dates were introduced, a month before midsummer: and it may be that it supplanted an older midsummer festival which was suppressed because of its associations with Tammuz worship. Ezekiel represents the Tammuz weeping as taking place within the very precinct of the Temple (Ezekiel 8.14), so the fact that he omits Pentecost from his festal scheme may be significant.

Certainly the themes of the lections appointed to be read at Pentecost would be entirely suitable for an older festival of the summer solstice, the time at which the sun is farthest from the equator and *appears to pause* before returning. The common theme which runs through the two Prophetic passages cited by the Talmud (b. *Megillah* 31a) as lections for Pentecost, 'Habakkuk' or 'The Chariot' (Ezekiel 1), is the Divine chariot-drive or theophany in a thunder-storm, which is perhaps to be associated with the journey from one end of heaven to the other of the midsummer sun and the violent thunder-storms characteristic of the season. The fact that the sun seems to pause in the heavens at midsummer may account for the allusion in the Psalm of Habakkuk, verse 11: 'The sun and moon *stood still* in their habitation.' The Hebrew text, 'Sun, moon stood still in her lofty abode' demands a predicate for שֶׁמֶשׁ, which, according to Thackeray,[2] is to be found in the previous line רום ידיהו נשא: the Greek texts favour this construction. In particular, Thackeray draws attention to the Complutensian *τὸ ὕψος τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ ὑψώθη ὁ ἥλιος*, which he takes to mean 'The sun was raised to the (full) height of its appearance', in other words, stood at its highest station in the heavens, was at the solstice. He considers that although this phrase may not represent the original Hebrew,

[1] H. St. John Thackeray, op. cit., p. 42 f..
[2] Ibid., p. 55.

yet it may show that the translator saw in the words an allusion to the solstice. The other haphtarah mentioned by the Talmud, Ezekiel 1, describes a vision of God enthroned in the heavens, and this vision is actually dated the fifth of the fourth month, Tammuz, corresponding approximately to the summer solstice.

The themes of John 21 seem to accord well with the period Pentecost to summer solstice. The Feast of Pentecost celebrated the first-fruits of wheat harvest, and by a natural association of ideas symbolized, for the New Testament writers, the harvest of the Church's missionary labours: cf. Luke 10.2 'The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send forth labourers into his harvest', and John 4.35 f., 'Lift up your eyes and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest. And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal'. Cf. also Matthew 13.24–30, and 1 Corinthians 3.6–9. But the connexion between Pentecost and the apostolic mission is not merely one of similarity of ideas—already in the lectionary readings for Sivan were to be found the themes of:

(1) The priestly service of God.
(2) A theophany, and a meal eaten in God's presence.
(3) The participation of Gentiles in the worship of Israel.

Such lectionary readings formed a suitable background for Christian teaching concerning the apostolic ministry, the new covenant, with its eucharistic meal in which Jew and Gentile ate together,[1] and the mission to the Gentiles. In short, the theme of John 21 is the building up of the Church by the missionary labours and pastoral care of the apostles, and on the basis of the new covenant which finds its sacramental expression in the eucharist. Jew and Gentile partake of the one loaf and become one body in Christ.

Let us now examine the lectionary readings that would fall to the season Pentecost–Summer Solstice in the three years of a Nisan cycle:

First year. Genesis 15–18—the covenant with Abraham 'between the pieces'. All nations are to be blessed in Abraham. There is a theophany in chapter 15, which would fall to be read at Pentecost, and a second theophany in chapter 18, which would fall to the time of the summer solstice, and which takes place, according to the LXX, at noon, when the sun is at its highest point in the heaven. Genesis 18 is the only place in the Old Testament where God is represented as eating. In view of the fact that the

[1] It is evident that from early times the meal described in John 21 was thought to have eucharistic significance, for in primitive Christian representations of the eucharist fish are often substituted for wine, and the number of apostles present is sometimes shown as seven, as in this chapter, sometimes twelve, as in the feeding of the five thousand.

constellation Gemini belongs to the month Sivan, it may be worth mentioning that Rendel Harris[1] identifies the two men who are mentioned in that chapter as accompanying Yahweh with the Dioscuri, finding in the prominence given to hospitality, and the renewal of sexual functions, characteristic features of a Dioscuric visitation. It is remarkable that the Book of Jubilees dates the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 15) as the new moon of the third month, and the second theophany (Genesis 18) as the new moon of the fourth month—approximately the time of the solstice. Since no dates are given for these events in the Biblical text, it is possible that Jubilees reflects the triennial cycle at this point.

Second year. Exodus 19–24—the covenant at Sinai whereby Israel became 'a kingdom of priests and an holy nation'. The Book of the Covenant is sandwiched in between two accounts of theophanies in chapters 19 and 24 respectively. Again the first of these (which is dated 'in the third month') would fall to be read at Pentecost, and the second would be read at the solstice. The words of 24.9–11 seem aptly to convey the Elders' vision of God in the motionless heat of midsummer:

> Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel; and under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.

The Targum of Palestine explains that the work of sapphire stone was a memorial of the Israelites' servitude in Egypt in *clay and bricks*, and adds: 'And thereof did Gabriel, descending, *make brick*, and going up to the heavens on high set it, a footstool under the seat of the Lord of the world.' The same tradition is preserved in *Wayyikra Rabbah* xxiii. 8. It would seem that the mythological associations of the month Sivan have influenced the Targum at this point, for in the Nippurian calendar Sivan was named 'month when the brick is made in the mould' and was especially connected with brick-making and writing on clay tablets.[2] We remember that it is in Habakkuk, the prophecy cited by the Talmud as a Pentecostal lection, that the prophet is directed to write on clay tablets the vision that he has seen. Finally, Exodus 25 gives an account of the offering taken 'of every man whose heart maketh him willing (ידבנו)'. Cf. Deuteronomy 16.10, where it is enjoined that the Feast of Weeks is to be kept with 'a tribute of a freewill offering (נדבת) of thine hand'. The noun נדבה occurs also in Psalm 68.9, 'A rain of freewill offerings thou dost wave', and in Psalm 110.3, 'Thy people are freewill offerings in the day of thy power'. The former is the special Psalm for Pentecost according to both the Ashkenazic and

[1] *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, pp. 37 ff.
[2] Cf. S. Langdon, op. cit., pp. 115–19.

Sephardic Rituals, and Thackeray considers that this festival use explains both the allusion to the rain and the technical terms employed in verse 9;[1] the latter would fall to Pentecost with a triennial cycle of Psalms beginning in Nisan.[2] As haphtarah to the Exodus account of the preparations for building the tabernacle, the European rituals selected 1 Kings 5, since the account the latter passage gives of the preparations for building Solomon's Temple agrees in subject-matter with the Torah lesson. Finally, it seems worth noting that in Exodus 18.12 there appears the theme of the participation of a Gentile in the worship of Israel: in Midrashic exposition of this passage Jethro figures as the model proselyte.[3]

Third year. Numbers 16.1–23.9—the covenant with Aaron and his sons. The Levites are a gift to Aaron—compare the interpretation of the Pentecost Psalm 68 given in Ephesians 4.11, 12. In this section of the Book of Numbers there are two accounts of theophanies, the first to the whole congregation (16.19), the second to Balaam (23.4 and cf. 24.4); and here again the first of these would be read at or immediately before Pentecost, and the second at the time of the summer solstice.

We find, then, in these lections for Pentecost accounts of a theophany, the making of a covenant, a meal of which God himself partakes, or which is eaten in his presence, and a second theophany. In all three years of the cycle, the account of the first theophany falls approximately to Pentecost, and the second to midsummer. Further, the Book of Jubilees seems to connect the Feast of Pentecost with the making of covenants (cf. vi. 17, xv. 1), and it is indeed remarkable that the covenants with Abraham, Israel, and Aaron should all fall to be read at that time in the lectionary system.

With a cycle beginning in Tishri, the lection for Pentecost for the first year of the cycle would be Genesis 43.14 ff., which tells of the meal that Joseph prepared for his brothers when they dined with him at noon. The passage in the LXX contains two words of rare occurrence, the noun *μεσημβρία* (four times only in the Greek Pentateuch) and the verb *ἀριστάω* (Genesis 43.25, 1 Kings 14.24, and 3 Kings 13.7 only in the LXX). Of the four Pentateuchal occurrences of *μεσημβρία*, three are found in Genesis —in 18.1 and 43.16, 25. We noticed that the account of the theophany to Abraham, which took place at noon, when the sun is at its highest point in the heavens, would fall to be read at the summer solstice with a cycle beginning in Nisan. Is it a coincidence that the only other occurrence of the same word in Genesis should be in a passage which would be read at the same time—midsummer—with a cycle beginning in Tishri? With regard to

[1] Op. cit., pp. 58 f.
[2] Cf. A. Guilding, op. cit., pp. 48–55.
[3] Cf. *Mekilta* on Exodus 18.1; *Shemoth Rabbah* xxvii. 2. The Targum of Palestine puts on Jethro's lips a specific request to be made a proselyte.

the verb *ἀριστάω*, this occurs in the Fourth Gospel in chapter 21.12, 15 only, and, as we have seen, in Genesis 43.25 only in the Pentateuch (LXX).

These lectionary readings, in particular Exodus 24, seem to be reflected in John 21. The Evangelist describes how Jesus prepared a meal of bread and fish for his seven disciples: 'So when they got out upon the land, they see a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread. . . . Jesus saith unto them, Come and break your fast (*δεῦτε ἀριστήσατε*).' In the lectionary readings for the month Sivan we read how Joseph, a type of Jesus, prepared a meal for his brothers and dined (*ἀριστάω*) with them (Genesis 43); Abraham prepared a meal for his three heavenly guests (Genesis 18); Melchizedek the king-priest met Abraham with bread and wine (Genesis 14); seventy of the elders of Israel 'beheld God, and did eat and drink' (Exodus 24). John 21 seems also to have been influenced by the prophetic lection Habakkuk (cited by the Talmud as a Pentecostal haphtarah), which contains the imagery of men taken like fishes in a net:

Pentecostal lections	*John 21*	*Related Synoptic texts*
Habakkuk 1.13 ff. Wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously . . . and makest men as the fishes of the sea? . . . He taketh up all of them with the angle, he catcheth them in his net, and gathereth them in his drag (LXX *καὶ εἵλκυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς σαγήναις αὐτοῦ*).	And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes. . . . Simon Peter therefore went up and drew the net to land, full of great fishes, a hundred and fifty and three.	*Mark 1.16 f.* And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net (*ἀμφιβάλλοντας*) in the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.
Habakkuk 2.2 f. (*LXX*). Write the vision, and that plainly on a tablet, that he that reads it may run . . . though he should tarry, wait for him; for he will surely come, and will not tarry.	If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. This saying therefore went forth among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. . . . This is the disciple which . . . wrote these things.	*Matthew 13.47 f.* Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net (*σαγήνη*), that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was filled, they drew up on the beach.
Exodus 24.14. And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we come again.		
23.26. The number of thy days I will fulfil.		

The use of the double cycle results in Dedication lections falling, with a cycle beginning in Tishri, to the summer solstice; hence the 'shepherd' theme already noticed in chapters 10 and 18 reappears in chapter 21. Peter is solemnly instituted as the shepherd of the sheep, and his institution is also his rehabilitation. This reappearance of Dedication themes at Pentecost accounts for the mention of the fire of coals (*ἀνθρακιά*), a noun first used in chapter 18 in the account of Peter's denial and found again in 21.9 only. Even more striking is the way in which the Dedication haphtarah Ezekiel 34, used in John 10 as a prophecy of Jesus the Shepherd of Israel, is now

used at midsummer of Peter. The variation in the verb, '*Feed* my lambs' —'*Tend* my sheep', which has often been commented on, depends directly on this haphtarah:

Ezekiel 34 LXX	*John 21*
v. 2. O Shepherds of Israel, do shepherds feed themselves? do not the shepherds feed the sheep? Behold, ye feed on the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool, and slay the fat: but ye feed not my sheep (*τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐ βόσκετε*).	*v. 15.* Feed my lambs (*βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου*).
v. 10. Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands, and will turn them back that they shall not tend my sheep (*καὶ ἀποστρέψω αὐτοὺς τοῦ μὴ ποιμαίνειν τὰ πρόβατά μου*).	*v. 16.* Tend my sheep (*ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου*).
v. 15. I will feed my sheep (*ἐγὼ βοσκήσω τὰ πρόβατά μου*).	*v. 17.* Feed my sheep (*βόσκε τὰ προβάτιά μου*).
v. 23. And I will raise up one shepherd over them, and he shall tend them (*καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς*), even my servant David.	

Peter is to be both shepherd and martyr, for our Lord predicts that when he is old he will stretch forth his hands and his enemies will bind him and bear him forth to death. In this prediction there may possibly be an allusion to the binding of Simeon recorded in Genesis 42.24.

Finally, we must consider the symbolism of the catch of a hundred and fifty-three fishes. This number has been explained in various ways; either as the precise recollection of an eyewitness, or as representing the perfect catch in accordance with the ancient belief that there were 153 different kinds of fish,[1] or as being in any case a number of great interest, for several reasons, to mathematicians. Setting aside the question whether St. John was a mathematician, let us seek an explanation on lowlier ground—the influence of the lection 1 Kings 5, read as a haphtarah at midsummer. This lection speaks of the labourers and officers, numbering 153,000 and some few hundreds, whom Solomon employed when he built the Temple. The parallel passage in 2 Chronicles 2.17 adds that the men were strangers. To the question why these 'proselytes' were given such a prominent share in the building of the Temple, Midrash *Bemidbar Rabbah* viii. 4 gives the answer, 'To inform you that the Holy One, blessed be He, brings nigh those that are distant and rejoices over the distant as over the nigh. Nay

[1] Cf. Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel 47.9–12.

more, He gives peace to the distant sooner than to the nigh, as it says, Peace, peace, to him that is far off and to him that is near (Isaiah 57.19).'[1] Similarly, *Mekilta* applies Jeremiah 23.23 to the 'proselyte' Jethro: 'I am he that brought Jethro near, not keeping him at a distance.' The 153 fishes, then, represent the full total of Gentile converts.

Why is Pentecost passed over in chapters 1–20 of the Gospel? The reason would seem to be that this festival is associated in the mind of the Evangelist with the mission to the Gentiles, who are the *harvest* of the Church's missionary labours. This mission to Gentiles did not take place until after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, and can thus in a sense be regarded as primarily the work of the Church. The Gospels report but few contacts of Jesus with Gentiles, and such occasions are clearly represented as exceptional (cf. Mark 7.27 and Matthew 15.24). Jesus avoided such places as Tiberias and the coastal cities of Judaea, all strongly Hellenistic in organization and culture, and when he went into the 'parts' of Caesarea Philippi, Tyre, and Sidon, it was apparently only under pressure. If the four Evangelists had been able to tell that Jesus ministered freely to Gentiles, it seems certain that they would have done so. The conclusion is clear: the ministry of Jesus was deliberately limited to the Jews. The mission to the Gentiles, though it had its roots in the teaching of Jesus, was not inaugurated until the Apostolic Age.

Jesus' ministry to the Gentiles, then, is a post-resurrection ministry carried out through the agency of his Church. Thus, in the Gospels, the healing of Gentiles is usually represented as being performed from a distance, or through intermediaries (Luke 7.1–10, Mark 7.24–30, John 4.46–54). In the healing recorded in Luke 7 the faith of the centurion who believed the word without requiring any visible sign is praised with the words 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel'. Israel refused to believe in spite of the miracles performed in their midst: the Gentiles believed the apostolic preaching, though they had never seen the Lord, and it is perhaps Gentile believers whom Jesus had in mind when he said 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed' (John 20.29). In John 12 we read that the Greeks who wished to see Jesus approached him through Philip and Andrew. Our Lord's saying on that occasion about the corn of wheat that falls to the ground and dies indicates that the harvest of the Gentiles cannot take place until after his death and resurrection: as with a grain of wheat, there is no fruit apart from death and burial. Hence the feast that typifies the harvest of the Gentiles, the Feast of Pentecost, is passed over in the liturgical year until after the resurrection.

[1] Isaiah 57.19 is cited in MS. 470 of the Adler Collection as the last verse of the haphtarah to Exodus 21.1, which would be read immediately after Pentecost. The opening verses of the haphtarah give God's promises to the strangers 'who join themselves to the Lord to minister unto him, and to love the name of the Lord'. Cf. Ephesians 2.11–22.

We conclude that John 21 is an epilogue added either by a disciple who perfectly understood the Fourth Evangelist's liturgical scheme, or, more probably, by the Evangelist himself. The arrangement of the Gospel seems to require the inclusion of this chapter. Just as the first division ends with a journey north which foreshadows the spread of the Gospel to the Gentiles, and the second division ends with the incident of the Greeks and with Jesus' saying 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw (ἕλκω) all men unto myself', so the third division (on the assumption that it includes chapter 21) ends, not with Jesus' death and resurrection, but with a symbolic statement of the outcome of that death—the ingathering of Gentiles through the missionary labours of the Church under the leadership of Peter, who draws in (ἕλκω) the haul of fish, and who is to re-enact the Lord's passion. Chapter 21, then, is the Fourth Evangelist's equivalent of the Acts of the Apostles.[1] The peculiarities of vocabulary, which have led some commentators to reject it as an integral part of the Gospel, result, in part at least, from the use of the Pentecostal lections.

[1] In particular, we may compare Acts 10–11, where Peter, accompanied by *six* brethren Acts 11.12 = John 21.2), opens a door of faith to the Gentiles.

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CONCLUSIONS

FROM our study of St. John's relation to the triennial cycle there emerges the following picture of the growth of the Jewish lectionary system and its influence on the New Testament writings:

(1) Early in the fourth century B.C., or perhaps a little later, the constituent documents of the Pentateuch were finally adapted to suit a triennial cycle of synagogue lectionary readings. The evidence afforded by the Pentateuchal datings and the insertion into the narrative of appropriate festal passages such as Numbers 9 seems to show that the final redactors had in mind a cycle beginning in Nisan. However, the possibility that there was an earlier redaction to suit a Tishri cycle cannot be overlooked, for the Pentateuch shows an internal polarity in the form of half-yearly parallels in the narrative that is most simply explained on the basis of successive redactions to suit different cycles. Such a double lectionary system reflects the double new year which can be traced back to the Babylonian calendar, and survives in the Jewish reckoning of the 1st Tishri as New Year's Day. As the result of this or some similar process, the Pentateuch in its final form makes adequate provision for a double lectionary system, and at the same time follows a rough chronological sequence.

It is clear that the final school of redactors already possessed the five books of Moses. Genesis, with a certain amount of redaction, would be an obvious choice for the first year of the cycle, and Deuteronomy for the third year. The material that formed the lections of the second year of the cycle—most of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus, and the early chapters of Numbers—is precisely the part of the Pentateuch that is generally attributed to the Priestly school and reckoned to be latest. Exodus shows signs of having been considerably expanded, and it is possible that the second account of the making of the tabernacle in chapters 35–39 is simply a piece of padding for lectionary purposes so that Leviticus could correspond with Deuteronomy in the lectionary cycle, both these books being started just before New Year. In short, the school of writers who finally adapted the Pentateuch were priests whose interests were liturgical rather than historical, and it may well be that the Jewish tradition which traces to Ezra much that pertains to the reading of the Law is a reliable one.

(2) The next stage was probably the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek for lectionary purposes. This would be followed by the translation

of certain prophetic portions, again with lectionary needs in mind, because suitable haphtaroth would be required for the Pentateuchal lessons. Such a process would explain the uneven texture of the Greek translation of the prophetic books—they were not translated as a whole, like the Pentateuch, but piecemeal by various communities at various times to suit particular lectionary needs.

(3) We may suppose, then, that by the first century A.D. the sedarim of the triennial cycle were no novelty, nor in an early amorphous stage of development, but already old-established and fixed. As far as the haphtaroth were concerned, the beginning of each lection would be fixed, but there was no doubt a good deal of variation as to length, and alternative haphtaroth may have been provided to give a certain freedom of choice. By the first century there would already have grown up in the synagogue a tradition of homiletic exposition of these lections: such a tradition is occasionally reflected in the writings of Philo.

(4) It is clear from the Synoptic Gospels that Jesus habitually taught in the synagogues, and the Fourth Gospel emphasizes the fact: 'I ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in secret spake I nothing' (John 18.20). Our Lord's synagogue sermons would not be preserved in isolation but against the background of particular seasons or festivals of the Jewish liturgical year, and the seder and haphtarah read beforehand would be linked in the minds of the hearers with Jesus' sermon. Thus at the Feast of the Dedication in one year of his ministry Jesus may have preached the parable of the Good Shepherd recorded in John 10; at Dedication in another year the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son recorded in Luke 15; and these parables would be 'interpreted' in the light of such lections as Ezekiel 34 and Deuteronomy 21.10 ff. Papias's remark about Matthew's compilation of the logia might be understood in this way. The connexion, then, between Jesus' teaching and Jewish liturgy is historical and not merely editorial.

(5) The use of the Old Testament lectionary readings is less consciously explicit in the earlier New Testament writings, and more explicit in the later writings. The earliest New Testament writers are not at pains to make the lectionary background clear—they simply take it for granted. In 1 Corinthians 15, for example, St. Paul is expounding the meaning of Christ's resurrection. Our Lord rose from the dead in the middle of the month Nisan, and it is as natural as breathing for St. Paul to explain the significance of the resurrection in terms of the synagogue lectionary reading for the second sabbath in Nisan—Genesis chapter 2. A good many of his plays on words (the play on *ἱκανός* in 2 Corinthians 3, for example) depend for their point on the lectionary background; but it is all done in a spontaneous and unselfconscious way. Similarly, the background of the long teaching section

of St. Luke's Gospel[1] is a continuous series of lections covering the months Tishri–Tebeth, but Luke takes it for granted that his readers will appreciate this fact without any help from him, and is curiously vague as to time and circumstance. When he rejoins his Markan source, he does so at the correct point in the lectionary sequence—surely an indication that interesting results might be expected if the whole Synoptic problem were reconsidered in the light of first-century lectionary practice. When we come to the later New Testament writings there has been time for the development of a traditional method of interpretation of Jesus' life and teaching as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, and we find the lections of the triennial cycle used in a more conscious and systematized manner.

(6) In the Fourth Gospel the use of the Old Testament lections is entirely systematic and explicit; indeed, the Gospel might fairly be described as a Christian commentary on the lections of the triennial cycle. The Evangelist seems to have wished to preserve a tradition of Jesus' synagogue sermons that has found no place in the Synoptic Gospels, and to present them in a form which would be familiar and acceptable to Christian Jews who had been recently excluded from the synagogue. The authenticity of the discourses of the Fourth Gospel, especially in relation to the circumstances in which they are said to have been spoken, has impressed Jewish scholars, and there seems no reason to doubt that such discourses as the sermon on the heavenly bread faithfully represent Jesus' own teaching, though the language is, of course, the Evangelist's.

The *action* of the Gospel is strictly subordinated to the teaching, and it is in the narrative sections rather than the discourses that the use of the lections raises in an acute form the question of the value of the Gospel as history. It has often been argued that the Evangelist must have been an eyewitness of the events that he describes, since his narrative is marked by minute details of persons, time, number, place, and manner which cannot but have come from direct experience. It is true that an accumulation of small details often gives the impression of first-hand experience, but when again and again these details, absent from the parallel synoptic accounts, are found to correspond so closely with the lectionary readings, one begins to suspect that some of them, at least, depend on the lectionary background rather than on true historical reminiscence. This applies particularly to such details as the 153 fishes, the city called Ephraim, the six vessels each containing two or three firkins, the name of the high priest's servant, and the duration of the crippled man's illness, since every one of these details finds its parallel in a lection for the season in question.

Such misgivings are not fully met by reminders that St. John is mainly

[1] Luke 9.51–18.14.

concerned to bring out the theological truth enshrined in the events that he records—that he gives us, not bare history but the interpretation of history, a painting rather than a photograph. Let us consider, for example, his account of the arrest of Jesus. It is impossible to see how any *theological* purpose can be served by the introduction of the names Kedron and Malchus, and it is generally supposed that with the lapse of time the earlier tradition came to be enriched with such details, and that the Fourth Evangelist accepted them without question, or even deliberately added them to give verisimilitude. In either case, it is said, his reliability as a historian is impugned. Yet how can a writer who places such emphasis on the truth of the Church's witness set down in his Gospel anything that he does not believe to be fact?

Let us state the difficulty in the simplest terms. Did St. John in fact believe that the high priest's servant was called Malchus? We suggest that he did believe it, and that he believed it on the authority of holy scripture. He is convinced that those Old Testament writings that spoke beforehand of 'the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow' must be fulfilled to the letter. Now already in Mark we find the tradition that Jesus regarded his arrest and the flight of his disciples as the fulfilment of the prediction in Zechariah 13.7, 'Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered'; and Matthew, too, sees in the price paid to Judas for his treachery the fulfilment of another oracle from the same prophecy: 'And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them unto the potter in the house of the Lord' (Zechariah 11.13). The Fourth Evangelist thus had the authority of Jesus himself for regarding the words of Zechariah 11.4 ff. as a detailed prediction of the events connected with the arrest: 'Feed the flock of slaughter, whose buyers slay them and hold themselves not guilty; and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich. . . . For . . . I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king.' The prophecy is absolutely explicit: Jesus is to be betrayed by his neighbour, who will be made rich by the sale, and the parties to this transaction will hold themselves guiltless (cf. John 18.28). He and his disciples are to be delivered 'into the hand of his king (מַלְכּוֹ)'. This last saying corresponds with nothing in the earlier tradition. Since, however, the scripture must be fulfilled, it follows that what the prophet meant was 'I will deliver them into the hand of Malko', and Malko can be none other than the servant mentioned in the Lukan account. Thus the fact that St. John took this, and many other such details, from the synagogue lections is of some importance, for since the lections were inspired scripture they had for him an authority which far outweighed that of any human testimony, however well attested. Every part of the scriptures—the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings—spoke beforehand of Christ. Indeed an injunction in the Torah about the preparation of the Passover lamb ('neither shall ye break a bone thereof') is regarded as literally fulfilled in the events of the crucifixion; the mere details of the Passover law were inspired prophecy, just as much as Micah's specific saying that the coming ruler over Israel would be born in Bethlehem (cf. John 19.36 and 7.42). In the Fourth Gospel, then, the ultimate witness to Jesus is neither John the Baptist, nor Jesus' mighty works, nor the testimony of the beloved disciple and the Church for whose truth he vouches, but the Father himself, who spoke by the prophets.

SEDARIM OF A TRIENNIAL CYCLE BEGINNING IN NISAN

Nisan	4	Gen.	1.1	Nisan	7	Ex.	11.1	Nisan	3	Num.	6.22
,,	11	,,	2.4	,,	14	,,	12.29	,,	10	,,	8.1
,,	18	,,	3.22	,,	21	,,	13.1	,,	17	,,	10.1
,,	25	,,	5.1	,,	28	,,	14.15/15.1	,,	24	,,	11.23
Iyyar	2	,,	6.9	Iyyar	5	,,	15.22/16.4	Iyyar	1	,,	13.1
,,	9	,,	8.1/15	,,	12	,,	16.28	,,	8	,,	14.11
,,	16	,,	9.18	,,	19	,,	18.1	,,	15	,,	15.1
,,	23	,,	11.1	,,	26	,,	19.1/6	,,	22	,,	16.1
Sivan	1	,,	12.1/10	Sivan	4	,,	20.2/21.1	,,	29	,,	17.16
,,	8	,,	14.1	,,	11	,,	22.24	Sivan	7	,,	19.1
,,	15	,,	15.1/16.1	,,	18	,,	25.1	,,	14	,,	20.14
,,	22	,,	17.1	,,	25	,,	26.1	,,	21	,,	22.2
,,	29	,,	18.1	Tammuz	2	,,	26.31	,,	28	,,	23.10
Tammuz	6	,,	19.1	,,	9	,,	27.20	Tammuz	5	,,	25.1/10
,,	13	,,	20.1/21.1	,,	16	,,	29.1	,,	12	,,	26.52
,,	20	,,	22.1	,,	23	,,	30.1	,,	19	,,	27.15
,,	27	,,	24.1	Ab	1	,,	31.1	,,	26	,,	28.26
Ab	5	,,	24.42	,,	8	,,	32.15	Ab	4	,,	30.2
,,	12	,,	25.1/19	,,	15	,,	34.27	,,	11	,,	31.25
,,	19	,,	26.12	,,	22	,,	37.1	,,	18	,,	32.1
,,	26	,,	27.1	,,	29	,,	38.21	,,	25	,,	33.1
Elul	3	,,	27.28	Elul	6	,,	39.33	Elul	2	,,	34.1
,,	10	,,	28.10	,,	13	Lev.	1.1	,,	9	,,	35.9
,,	17	,,	29.31	,,	20	,,	4.1	,,	16	Deut.	1.1
,,	24	,,	30.22	,,	27	,,	5.1	,,	23	,,	2.2
Tishri	2	,,	31.3	Tishri	5	,,	6.12	Tishri	1	,,	3.23
,,	9	,,	32.4	,,	12	,,	8.1	,,	8	,,	4.25/41
,,	16	,,	33.18	,,	19	,,	10.8/11.1	,,	15	,,	6.4
,,	23	,,	35.9	,,	26	,,	12.1	,,	22	,,	7.12
,,	30	,,	37.1	Cheshvan	3	,,	13.29	,,	29	,,	9.1
Cheshvan	7	,,	38.1	,,	10	,,	14.1	Cheshvan	6	,,	10.1
,,	14	,,	39.1	,,	17	,,	14.33	,,	13	,,	11.10
,,	21	,,	40.1	,,	24	,,	15.1/25	,,	20	,,	12.20
,,	28	,,	41.1	Kisleu	2	,,	17.1/18.1	,,	27	,,	13.2
Kisleu	6	,,	41.38	,,	9	,,	19.1	Kisleu	5	,,	14.1
,,	13	,,	42.18	,,	16	,,	19.23	,,	12	,,	15.7
,,	20	,,	43.14	,,	23	,,	21.1	,,	19	,,	16.18
,,	27	,,	44.18	,,	30	,,	22.17	,,	26	,,	17.14
Tebeth	4	,,	46.28	Tebeth	7	,,	23.9	Tebeth	3	,,	18.14
,,	11	,,	48.1	,,	14	,,	24.1	,,	10	,,	20.1
,,	18	,,	49.1	,,	21	,,	25.14	,,	17	,,	21.10
,,	25	,,	49.27	,,	28	,,	25.35	,,	24	,,	22.6
Shebat	3	Ex.	1.1	Shebat	6	,,	26.3	Shebat	2	,,	23.10
,,	10	,,	2.1	,,	13	,,	27.1	,,	9	,,	24.19
,,	17	,,	3.1	,,	20	Num.	1.1	,,	16	,,	26.1
,,	24	,,	4.18	,,	27	,,	2.1	,,	23	,,	28.1
Adar	1	,,	6.2	Adar	4	,,	3.1	,,	30	,,	29.9
,,	8	,,	7.1/8	,,	11	,,	4.17	Adar	7	,,	30.11
,,	15	,,	8.12/16	,,	18	,,	5.11	,,	14	,,	31.14
,,	22	,,	9.13	,,	25	,,	6.1	,,	21	,,	32.1
,,	29	,,	10.1					,,	28	,,	33.1

APPENDIX

THE LECTIONARY CALENDAR

1. *The allocation of the sedarim*

THE list facing this page shows the allocation of the Pentateuchal lections to the sabbaths of a triennial cycle beginning on the first sabbath in Nisan. A typical case has been chosen where the first sabbath falls on the 4th day of the month, and the sedarim have been allocated seriatim on the assumption that the lections continued until the end of Adar.

One or two lections call for particular comment. Very short sedarim such as Genesis 8.1–14 and Numbers 25.1–9 have been omitted, since they are really indications that there has been a process of shifting of the starting-point of certain lections. Some communities, for example, would begin Seder 6 at Genesis 8.1, others at 8.15. Occasionally there is evidence of shifting in several consecutive lections, and this possibly reflects attempts to provide either four or five sabbath readings from the section of the Pentateuch that fell to a particular month: in any case, the main structure of the cycle is unaffected. Exodus 2.1 is listed in some codices as a new seder, and Mann[1] cites evidence which suggests that such a seder may have been contained in one version of Midrash *Yelammedenu*. However, it is missing in the Geniza lists of triennial cycle haphtaroth. Presumably it was provided for years when Shebat and Adar together contained nine sabbaths. The Midrashic sections in *Tanḥuma* and *Shemoth Rabbah* reveal the existence of sedarim to both Exodus 8.16 (A.V. 8.20) and 9.13—verses which are almost identical. Mann[2] suggests that those who had a seder at 8.12 would have the next one at 9.13, whereas those who commenced the previous seder at 8.16 would not start the next one at 9.13, not because such a seder would be too short (for there are twenty-five verses from 8.16 to 9.12) but in order to avoid having two sedarim beginning with almost identical verses. Finally, there is evidence from the Midrashim for the existence of a seder between Exodus 14.15 and 16.28, though this is not found in the Geniza lists.

Our reconstruction of the triennial cycle is, then, necessarily an approximation. Nevertheless, it can reasonably be claimed that minor fluctuations in the length of lections such as those we have instanced are unimportant, since they do not affect the main structure of the cycle, and this main structure can be fixed with a fair degree of accuracy. Mann points out that the Palestinian minhag at the time of the early Paiṭan Yannai who lived during the time of Byzantine rule corresponds on the whole to that evident from the Geniza lists with regard to the identity of both the sedarim and their respective haphtaroth. Even more impressive, and more pertinent to a study of the Fourth Gospel, is the fact that the results obtained from an allocation to the sabbaths of three lunar years of the sedarim evident from Geniza lists, Midrashic sections, and so on, are confirmed by the internal evidence of the Pentateuch itself, and, to a lesser extent, by Jewish tradition. Genesis 30.22, for example, falls to the last sabbath in Elul or the first in

[1] Op. cit., p. 406. [2] Ibid., p. 397.

Tishri, and provides a lectionary basis for the tradition that Rachel was remembered on New Year's Day. By the same reckoning Genesis 32.4–33.17, which tells how Jacob journeyed to Succoth and built booths there, would fall to the Feast of Booths. Similarly, the giving of the Law and the Decalogue is associated in Jewish tradition either with Pentecost or with New Year, and the Pentateuchal accounts of these events, Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, fall in the lectionary system to Pentecost and New Year respectively. The Samaritans combine both traditions, and recite the Decalogue at both festivals. Such examples are numerous, and several have been instanced in Chapter 3 above.

2. The lections of the months Shebat and Adar

An example, already noticed, of the correspondence between Jewish tradition and the lectionary system may now be somewhat amplified, since it illustrates our claim that in the early stages of lectionary development, at any rate, the lections were continued until the last sabbath in Adar in each year of the cycle.

The first year of the listed sedarim shows a case where Adar contains five sabbaths. We will now show the allocation of lections for every other possible distribution of the weeks:

Twelve sabbaths in Tebeth–Adar				*Five sabbaths in Tebeth*				*Five sabbaths in Shebat*			
Tebeth	7	Gen.	46.28	Tebeth	1	Gen.	46.28	Tebeth	2	Gen.	46.28
,,	14	,,	48.1	,,	8	,,	48.1	,,	9	,,	48.1
,,	21	,,	49.1	,,	15	,,	49.1	,,	16	,,	49.1
,,	28	,,	49.27	,,	22	,,	49.27	,,	23	,,	49.27
Shebat	6	Ex.	1.1	,,	29	Ex.	1.1	Shebat	1	Ex.	1.1
,,	13	,,	3.1	Shebat	7	,,	2.1	,,	8	,,	2.1
,,	20	,,	4.18	,,	14	,,	3.1	,,	15	,,	3.1
,,	27	,,	6.2	,,	21	,,	4.18	,,	22	,,	4.18
Adar	4	,,	7.1	,,	28	,,	6.2	,,	29	,,	6.2
,,	11	,,	8.12	Adar	5	,,	7.1	Adar	6	,,	7.1
,,	18	,,	9.13	,,	12	,,	8.12	,,	13	,,	8.12
,,	25	,,	10.1	,,	19	,,	9.13	,,	20	,,	9.13
				,,	26	,,	10.1	,,	27	,,	10.1

We have already noticed[1] that Deuteronomy 34.7 read in conjunction with Deuteronomy 31.2 leads to the conclusion that Moses died on his 120th birthday, and Jewish tradition holds to this view (see the Targum of Palestine on Deuteronomy 34). The tradition preserved in the *Mekilta* to Exodus 16.35 that that day was the 7th Adar needs no explanation, for it has simply been worked out from Deuteronomy 34.8 in combination with Joshua 1.11 and 4.19, which could be taken as showing that thirty-three days elapsed between Moses' death and the 10th Nisan. But the rival tradition that he died on the 7th Shebat cannot be similarly explained, for it seems to ignore these Biblical dates. Another tradition about the 120 years of Moses' life is found in Acts 7.23, 30, where there is an artificial division of his lifespan into three periods of 40 years: from his birth to his first intervention on behalf of his own people (Exodus 2); from his flight from Egypt to the revelation which led to his second intervention (Exodus 3.2, 7.7); and from this point until his death on the eve of the entry of the Hebrews into the promised land (Deuteronomy 31.2, 34.7).

[1] See above, p. 29, n. 1.

A glance at the lections for Shebat and Adar in the first and third years of the cycle will show that on the basis of a lectionary calendar in which the readings are continued until the *end* of Adar both these traditional dates are satisfactorily explained. The account of Moses' birth (Exodus 2) is read on the sabbath nearest to the 7th Shebat (usually the first sabbath, but occasionally the second, as, for example, when the 8th Shebat is a sabbath). Then, since Moses died on his birthday, he must have died on the 7th Shebat. Acts 7 implies that eighty years elapsed between Moses' birth and his second intervention on his people's behalf: Exodus 7.7, which states that he was 80 years old when he stood before Pharaoh, would be read on the sabbath nearest to the 7th Adar. In the third year of the cycle Deuteronomy 30.11–31.13 would be read on the first sabbath in Adar. This lection contains Moses' saying 'I am an hundred and twenty years old this day' (31.2), and provides a lectionary basis for the tradition that he died on his birthday, the 7th Adar. Deuteronomy 31.14 would then be read on the second sabbath in Adar, 32.1 on the third sabbath, and 33.1–34.12 on the last sabbath. These last two lections contain between them ninety-three verses, more than enough to furnish three lections in years in which Adar contained five sabbaths. Now it is remarkable that the three passages we have cited, Exodus 2.2, Exodus 7.7, and Deuteronomy 31.2, are the only passages in the Pentateuch that give an indication of Moses' age, and it can hardly be coincidence that they should all occur in lections that would be read on the sabbath falling nearest to the 7th Shebat or the 7th Adar. By contrast, an arrangement which brings the readings to an end on the *first* sabbath in Adar in each year of the cycle throws these three passages out of place and leaves the tradition about the 7th Shebat unexplained.[1]

The objection may be raised, however, that although our allocation of the sedarim gives a satisfactory lectionary basis for *both* the traditions about the date of Moses' death, it is unsatisfactory inasmuch as it fails to provide the additional lections that would be required in years when a Second Adar was intercalated. We will return to this point later. Furthermore, we are in disagreement with Dr. Büchler on the question of the date on which the cycle was terminated: it is therefore necessary to state very briefly his conclusions on this point.

Between the sabbath preceding the first day of Adar and the new moon of Nisan there are, according to the Mishnah (*Megillah* iii. 4), four sabbaths which have extraordinary readings of the Law assigned to them, and these are known by the names of Sheḳalim, Zakor, Parah, and Haḥodesh. The four portions read on these sabbaths were Exodus 30.12 ff. (or, in the view of some, Numbers 28.1–8), Deuteronomy 25.17–19, Numbers 19, and Exodus 12.1–20. According to Büchler, these lections arose originally from controversy: the portion of Sheḳalim, for example, was in the first place read early in Nisan in commemoration of the victory (in 79 B.C.) of the Pharisees over the Sadducees on the question of the Tamid offering, since, according to the Pharisees, the cost of the Tamid offering had to come out of the Sheḳalim collection. These special controversial lections and the festival lections (which similarly arose through controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees and Samaritans) formed the first stage

[1] It could conceivably be argued from Deuteronomy 1.3 that Moses died on the *1st* Shebat, since the whole of Deuteronomy is the discourse given on the last day of his life; but this verse seems an unlikely basis for a tradition about the *7th* Shebat.

in lectionary development. The second stage was the introduction of regular sabbath readings—the system known as the triennial cycle. In the triennial cycle the section for each year was concluded on or by the 7th Adar, and the new section was not commenced until the first sabbath in Nisan: it was this habit of reading Deuteronomy 34, the concluding section of the third-year lections, on the 7th Adar that gave rise to the tradition that Moses died on that day. With the introduction of regular readings, the four special lections were shifted to sabbaths in Adar, where they would cause no interference with the regular cycle.

Now at first glance this looks an attractive theory. It accounts for the origin of the custom mentioned in the Mishnah of reading four special lections during Adar, and it seems to confirm that the tradition about Moses' death on the 7th Adar really does reflect the practice of reading Deuteronomy 34 on that date. To be sure, the reading of Deuteronomy 34 on the 7th Adar would leave only three, not four, sabbaths unprovided with lections, but we may suppose that the tradition means the first *sabbath* in Adar, which might be the 1st of the month, leaving four sabbaths empty.

Let us now look at the allocation of lections for the last quarter of the year suggested by Dr. Büchler. With regard to the third year of the cycle, he states that the reading of Deuteronomy commenced on the 1st Elul and was concluded on the 7th Adar, but gives no detailed allocation of the lections.[1] With regard to the termination of the second year of the cycle he says: 'We only remark that Numbers was commenced on the second sabbath of the month Shebat, and that the four following selections were so arranged that the last one was read on the sabbath of the week in which the 7th of Adar fell.'[2] The arrangement he suggests would result in the reading of five (not four) lections on three sabbaths, for if Numbers 1.1 was read on the second sabbath in Shebat, Numbers 2.1, 3.1, 4.17, 5.11, and 6.1 would have to be read on the third and fourth sabbaths in Shebat and the first sabbath in Adar. But if, as we claim, the readings continued until the *end* of Adar, then the six lections from Numbers 1.1 to 6.21 fall to the third and fourth sabbaths of Shebat and the four sabbaths of Adar. When Adar contained five sabbaths, Numbers 6.22 was read on the 29th Adar, and on the next sabbath, the 7th Nisan, Numbers 7.48 was read. Numbers 7 tells of the offerings made by the princes when the tabernacle was set up, and verse 48, which describes the offerings made on the seventh day, would be appropriate for the 7th Nisan.

Dr. Büchler's allocation of lections for the end of the first year of the cycle is particularly puzzling. He remarks that Genesis was finished in the middle of Shebat and that Exodus was begun on the third week of the same month. Further on in the same article, however, he allocates Genesis 46.28 and 48.1 as the regular lections for the first and second Hanukkah sabbaths.[3] This would give the following division of sedarim:

Kisleu	25	Genesis	46.28	Shebat	1	No lection.	
Tebeth	2	,,	48.1	,,	8	No lection.	
,,	9	,,	49.1	,,	15	Exodus	1.1
,,	16	,,	49.27	,,	22	,,	2.1
,,	23	No lection.		,,	29	,,	3.1
				Adar	6	,,	4.18–10.29

[1] Op. cit. v. 433 and 440. [2] Ibid. v. 439. [3] Ibid. v. 443 and vi. 30.

This arrangement seems unsatisfactory. Firstly, it leaves three sabbaths unprovided with lections. Genesis 48 contains only 22 verses and could hardly be subdivided, and the same can be said of the next seder, Genesis 49.1–26; what remains of Genesis is insufficient for the four further lections required—indeed, it would not even provide two more. Secondly, no basis is given in this lectionary arrangement for the tradition that Moses' birthday (on which he died) fell on the 7th Shebat. Thirdly, several lections, comprising Exodus 4.18–10.29, and presumably their respective haphtaroth, would have to be read together on the first sabbath in Adar, since Dr. Büchler clearly states that the sedarim of the year came to an end on that sabbath,[1] and the lections for the second year of the cycle began with Exodus 11.1. What was the purpose of these supernumerary lections? Büchler gives no specific answer when he is discussing the allocation of the sedarim, but later he remarks that Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy had always to contain more sedarim than were otherwise strictly necessary so as to supply lessons for the sabbaths of an intercalated Adar: when the surplus was not necessary, two sedarim were read on one sabbath.[2] Presumably, then, he considers that in an intercalated year Exodus 1–10, Numbers 1–6.21, and the closing chapters of Deuteronomy were subdivided to provide for the Second Adar. Such a practice would give a most paradoxical arrangement of lections, since the *regular* occasion, First Adar, would, according to Büchler's theory, be supplied with special lections that interrupted the regular cycle, while the special and *irregular* occasion, Second Adar, would have the regular lections.

A further difficulty would be caused by the irregularity of intercalation. The decision to intercalate the year depended on the state of the crops and the lateness of the spring equinox, as is illustrated by the saying attributed in the Tosefta (*Sanhedrin* ii. 6) to Rabban Gamaliel, the Gamaliel of Acts 5.34:

> To our brethren, the exiles of Babylon, and those in exile in Media, and all the other Israelites in exile, 'May your peace be increased! We make known to you that the pigeons are still tender and the lambs thin, and that the season of spring is not yet come. It seems fitting to me and to my colleagues that we add to this year thirty days.'

Hence any year might be a leap year. This custom of intercalating Adar was ancient. The Sumerians inserted a month, when necessary, before the twelfth month, which was known as the month of barley harvest, in order to keep both the month-name and the harvest in the proper place. In the later Babylonian and Assyrian calendars the month-name was ignored, and the custom arose of inserting the intercalary month *after* Adar, and it was this custom that was adopted by the Jews of post-exilic times.

Let us consider Dr. Büchler's allocation of the lections in a year when a Second Adar was intercalated in the third year of the triennial cycle. Any year could be a leap year, and sometimes intercalation was not decided on until late in Adar. It is stated in the Mishnah, *Eduyoth* vii. 7, and the Tosefta, *Sanhedrin* ii. 13, that R. Joshua and R. Papias, who were of the second generation of Tannaim (about A.D. 80–130), testified that it was legitimate to intercalate throughout the whole

[1] Op. cit. v. 448. [2] Ibid. v. 459 f.

on the 2nd the red cow was prepared in order that the commandment recorded in Numbers 8.6 might be obeyed, and on the 3rd the Levites were sprinkled to purify them from defilement by dead bodies, for they had slain the worshippers of the golden calf. No lectionary basis is needed for the Amora's argument.

To recapitulate: Dr. Büchler's assumption that the lections of the regular cycle were from their inception terminated by the 7th Adar leads him to regard the four special readings of Adar as representing the earliest stage of lectionary development, and thus to make inferences about the age of the triennial cycle that are disproved by the internal evidence of the Pentateuch itself.

3. *The problem of intercalation*

The allocation of lections that we have suggested makes no provision for intercalation. We now suggest, very tentatively, that the four special lections Sheḳalim, Zakor, Parah, and Haḥodesh may have been intended originally to provide the additional readings required for an intercalated Adar. Certainly the themes of these lections made them most suitable for Adar, when the Temple half-shekel fell due, and when the fixing of the new moon of Nisan and the need for purification for those who had contracted uncleanness from a corpse were matters of particular importance in view of the approaching Passover. If these lections were chosen for a Second Adar, their suitability for that month would be no accident.

However, according to *Megillah* iii. 4 these special lections were read in the First Adar, whereas the intercalated month was a Second Adar. It is conceivable that once the habit of reading lections connected with the coming Passover during an intercalated Adar had been established it might be extended to include every Adar, and by Mishnaic times this was evidently done. But there is a further possible explanation for the reading in First Adar. It is the custom of the Karaites to intercalate the extra month of the leap year before the twelfth month Adar instead of after it. Dr. Snaith dismisses the argument that the Karaites were following an ancient pre-Ezraite tradition, and considers that if they were following any ancient custom then it was a very old Mesopotamian custom, and not a Jewish custom at all. Although the Babylonians adopted the practice of inserting the intercalary month *after* Adar, yet the older system persisted in the provincial areas until the whole civilization was finally broken up by the Parthians about the beginning of the Christian Era, and it is possible that the Karaites were influenced by some strange survival.[1] Does not this custom of the Karaites suggest that perhaps the habit of intercalating a Second, not a First, Adar was not so firmly established in early times as we might infer from the Rabbinic writings? If the four special lections were originally designed for an intercalated *First* Adar, this would explain why the Mishnah allocates them to that month: it would be a case of the survival of ancient usage. From b. *Megillah* 6b it appears that they were used in an intercalated Adar (a Second Adar) as well.

[1] *The Jewish New Year Festival*, p. 31.

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