

mission, it will be Paul who is sent to the gentiles 'to open their eyes, to turn (them) from darkness to light' (Acts 26:18).

Although it is often said that Luke seems to write the Jews off, we would suggest that Luke finds in Isaiah an authority for his defence of the gentile mission. Together with Israel's glory, Jesus' mission will include salvation for the gentiles.

Chapter 6

Isaiah in John's Gospel

Catrin H. Williams

Introduction

Isaiah occupies a prominent, if not the highest, position among the scriptural texts that have contributed to the shaping of John's gospel. The four explicit quotations from Isaiah may well be outnumbered by those from the Psalms, but, in terms of providing frequent striking parallels to John's language and imagery, Isaiah and the Psalms are undoubtedly equal partners.¹ Several expressions, themes and motifs point to the profound influence of Isaiah, especially Deutero-Isaiah, on John's narratives and discourses, although, as in the case of the Psalms, they are often difficult to pin down to single scriptural references. A number of the Johannine motifs widely viewed as drawn from Isaianic material also bear traces of additional scriptural sources.² Other motifs in John recall not one but a configuration of Isaianic passages.³ Such allusive modes of verbal and thematic scriptural reference attest the deeply embedded and thoroughly absorbed character of John's use of Isaiah, and reflect the extensive process of christological reflection on scripture from which this gospel emerged.

Not all aspects of John's indebtedness to Isaiah lie so much below the surface that they could be missed by a scripturally uninformed reader. Three of the four explicit quotations are accompanied by overt references to the prophet through variations on the phrase 'Isaiah said' (*ἐἶπεν Ἠσαΐας*). This phrase occurs for the first time in the citation formula following the quotation from Isa. 40:3 (1:23; 'as the prophet Isaiah said'). It then reappears in the fulfilment formula before the quotation from Isa. 53:1 (12:38; 'this was to fulfil the word said by the prophet Isaiah'), and is repeated, twice again within the

¹ The margins of NA²⁷ include references to 32 and 31 allusions to Isaiah and the Psalms respectively. Some would view this as a conservative estimate of Isaianic (and Psalm) allusions in John; cf. G. Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (SNTSMS 22; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 162–83; A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), pp. 381–83.

² Among such motifs are the vine (Isa. 5:1–6; Ps. 78:8–11; Hos. 10:1), living water (Isa. 55:1; Prov. 13:14, 18–4) and the shepherd (Isa. 40:11; Ps. 23:1; Ezek. 34:23).

³ E.g., the image of light (Isa. 9:1, 42:6, 49:6; 51:4, 60:1), glory (35:2, 40:5, 48:11, 58:8, 59:19, 60:1), and, among verbal allusions, the absolute use of 'I am' (41:4, 43:10, 13, 46:4, 48:12, 51:12, 52:6).

same passage, before the quotation from Isa. 6:10 (12:39: 'because Isaiah also said') and to introduce the commentary on the prophet's words (12:41: 'Isaiah said these things'). It is on these occasions alone that John names an individual figure as the source of an explicit quotation, and, in this respect, the general introduction to the remaining quotation from Isaiah (6:45: 'as it is written in the prophets') is more in line with the other citation formulae used in the gospel.⁴

The initial formula 'as the prophet Isaiah said' (1:23) may stem, in part, from earlier tradition (cf. Mark 1:2-3 par.),⁵ although respect for source material is not necessarily the only motivation for the inclusion of this formula, particularly as the emphasis on the spoken words of Isaiah is taken up and accentuated in the similarly phrased statements in 12:38-41. Quotations from Isaiah consequently frame the beginning and end of John's narrative about Jesus' public ministry (1:19-12:50), and the unusually explicit naming of Isaiah on both occasions alerts attention to the prophet and his words. An investigation of the form, function and location of all four explicit Isaianic quotations in their new Johannine context is therefore crucial for determining the role and significance of Isaiah in John's gospel.

Quotations

Isaiah 40:3 in John 1:23

The first explicit quotation occurs in the opening testimony of the one described in the prologue as 'a man sent from God' (1:6), who came as a witness to the light so that all might believe through him (1:7). Having informed a delegation of priests and Levites from Jerusalem that he is neither the Messiah, Elijah nor the prophet, John the Baptist sets out his designated role with the aid of Isa. 40:3: 'I am the voice of one crying out in the wilderness. "Make straight the way of the Lord", as the prophet Isaiah said' (1:23).⁶ The identification of the Baptist with this nameless voice was already a firmly established tradition, which in the Synoptic gospels takes the form of an explanatory comment by the evangelists (Mark 1:2-3; Matt. 3:3; Luke 3:4). In John's narrative the addition of 'I am' (*ἐγώ*) to the quotation means that the Baptist here explicitly identifies himself with the one who, in the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah, proclaims God's message of imminent salvation and the universal disclosure of his glory (Isa. 40:3-5). And although the Greek text prevents us from drawing firm conclusions, the formula 'as the prophet Isaiah said' may also be intended as part of his speech rather than as the evangelist's

parenthetical remark, indicating that the Baptist discloses his role in awareness that he is realizing the words of the prophet Isaiah.

The probable source of the quotation in John 1:23 is the LXX rendering of Isa. 40:3: 'The voice of one crying out in the wilderness, "Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God!"'. The most notable differences from Isa. 40:3 LXX in John's quotation are the compression of its two parallel lines into one and the replacement of the initial command to 'prepare' (*ἐτοιμάσατε*) with a call, drawn from the second parallel line, to 'make straight' (*εὐθύνετε*; LXX *εὐθεῖας ποιεῖτε*) the way of the Lord. Even if the source text with which John was familiar already used the verbal form *εὐθύνετε* rather than *εὐθεῖας ποιεῖτε*, the other two variations require explanation.

Maarten Menken attributes both these variations to the redactional work of the evangelist. After examining several biblical and extra-biblical occurrences of the verb *ἐτοιμάζω* ('prepare'), including its use to denote the preparation of a way,⁷ Menken concludes that this verb possesses a distinct connotation that does not accord with the Johannine presentation of the relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus. The verb implies that one figure (in this case the Baptist) prepares a way for another (Jesus), and that only when the way is ready can the other figure come and use it.⁸ Since the Baptist's activity in John's gospel does not end with the baptism of Jesus but overlaps with Jesus' ministry during its early stages (cf. 1:29-42; 3:23-30), the substitution of 'make straight' for 'prepare' in the gospel's citation of Isa. 40:3 has, according to Menken, been motivated by the evangelist's portrayal of the Baptist as a key witness contemporaneous with Jesus rather than as a precursor who has already accomplished his task. The notion of John the Baptist 'preparing' the way for Jesus would also make him a figure of salvific significance, even the forerunner Elijah, something he has already denied to the Jerusalem delegation earlier in the scene (1:21).⁹ Therefore, although it is often argued that Isa. 40:3 has only a limited purpose in John's narrative, namely to enable the Baptist to identify himself with the unnamed voice of the prophecy, Menken's proposal suggests that John also attaches weight to the words assigned to that voice. In other words, since John elsewhere retains only those words or clauses in scriptural citations that are of direct relevance to their new surrounding context, the command 'Make straight the way of the Lord' would similarly have been omitted unless it possessed some significance in the testimony of the Baptist.

This interpretation of the wording of the Baptist's call carries further consequences which merit consideration, particularly in view of the presentation of the Baptist and his testimony in the opening narrative sections of the gospel. What is strongly implied by the exclusive focus on Jesus in the depiction of the

⁴ The other citation formulae in John refer to 'scripture' (7:38, 13:18, 17:12, 19:24, 28:36, 37), 'law' (8:17, 10:34, 15:25) or simply to what 'is written' (2:17, 6:51, 12:14; cf. 12:16).

⁵ Cf. M.J.J. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), p. 71.

⁶ Translations of biblical passages are taken from the NRSV unless otherwise indicated.

⁷ Cf. Job 38:25 LXX; Isa. 40:3 LXX; Mal. 3:1 Theodotion; Mark 1:3 par.; Luke 1:76; Rev. 16:12.

⁸ Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 26-28.

⁹ B.G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John* (SBLDS 133; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 10.

Baptist's testimony and activity (cf. 1:6–8, 15, 26–27, 29–34, 35–36) is that Isa. 40:3 is here subjected to christological interpretation: the way of the Lord proclaimed by John the Baptist is none other than the coming of Jesus. This appropriation, in the sense that the coming of the Lord and his salvation is made visible in Jesus, points to Jesus being included as the referent of the title 'Lord' (κύριος) in the scriptural quotation,¹⁰ as well as clarifying what, according to John, actually constitutes the way of the Lord. Menken has forcefully argued that this 'way' is not what is made ready for Jesus before he comes. But neither must it represent, in a metaphorical sense, the Baptist's own testimony to Jesus (the way *to* the Lord). Rather, understood as a subjective genitive, it denotes Jesus' own way. In Deutero-Isaiah, the 'way' signifies the coming of God to save his people and denotes his presence through the wilderness to Jerusalem (40:3–5, 9–11; 42:16; 49:10–11; 52:7–12); in John, it is the coming of Jesus that is made straight through the Baptist's testimony. This concentration on the single way of the Lord (rather than on his plural 'paths') helps explain further why John has truncated the two parallel clauses of Isa. 40:3 LXX into one.

Further support for interpreting 'the way of the Lord' with reference to Jesus is provided by the Baptist's declarations, based on traditional language (cf. Mark 1:7–8; Matt. 3:11), about Jesus as the one who comes (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) after him (1:15, 27; cf. 1:30). With the exception of the first example (1:15), which is positioned outside the narrative framework of the gospel, these references to Jesus as 'the one who comes' occur only after the Baptist has announced the way of the Lord to anticipate Jesus' first appearance. During the early stages of this way, when the Baptist sees Jesus coming towards him (1:29) and walking by (1:35), he bears witness on his behalf (1:29–34, 36), prompting two of his own disciples to become followers of Jesus (1:35–37). John the Baptist's designated role is to make straight the way by pointing to Jesus, who has hitherto remained unknown (1:26, 31, 33), as the one in whom the coming of the Lord for salvation is now realized.

If the words of the prophet Isaiah account for the role of John the Baptist as the first earthly witness to Jesus (1:23), the content of the Baptist's testimony as outlined in the subsequent pericope (1:29–34) also, but more allusively, betrays Isaianic influence. When he sees Jesus coming towards him and declares, 'Behold the Lamb of God (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) who takes away the sin of the world' (1:29), the most probable interpretation is that Passover lamb imagery, which plays a prominent role later in the gospel (cf. 19:14, 29, 36), has been combined with echoes of the description of the Servant of God in Isaiah 53 LXX.¹¹ The Servant, 'like a lamb (ὡς ἀμνός) before the shearer' (53:7), is

one who 'bears our sins' (53:4) and 'bore the sins of many' (53:12). The freedom with which John has applied Isaiah's vocabulary is evident from the replacement of the verb 'to bear' ([ἀνέ]ῆλετο) with the verb 'to take away' (ἔλετο), and from the expansion of the taking away to include 'the sin of the world'. Combining and adapting images in this way is not foreign to John's gospel, nor is the conflation of more than one scriptural passage in some of its explicit quotations.¹²

The influence of Isaianic statements about the Servant can also be detected at the end of the pericope in 1:29–34. In 1:34, where the Baptist declares, 'And I myself have seen and testified that this is the Chosen One of God', the majority of manuscripts read ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Son of God') rather than ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Chosen One of God'). However, the latter reading is early, and scribes are more likely to have altered the original designation to the favourite Johannine title, 'the Son of God', than vice versa.¹³ If one accepts 'the Chosen One of God' as the designation used by the Baptist for Jesus in 1:34, then he, like the heavenly voice in the Synoptic accounts of Jesus' baptism, is alluding to the opening lines of the first Servant song: 'Behold, my servant whom I uphold, my Chosen One (MT מִיָּחִיד; LXX ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου) in whom my soul delights' (Isa. 42:1). The Isaianic allusion is more overtly identifiable in John 1:34, since ὁ ἐκλεκτός is closer to the Hebrew and Greek versions of Isa. 42:1 than the designation 'the Beloved One' (ὁ ἀγαπητός) of the Synoptic accounts (Mark 1:11; Matt. 3:17; Luke 3:22). Moreover, Isa. 42:1 continues with a reference to God putting his Spirit on the Servant who will bring forth justice to the nations, in the Johannine narrative the Baptist acknowledges Jesus' identity as the Lamb of God and Chosen One of God as a direct result of seeing the Spirit descend and remain on him (1:32–33).

John the Baptist, in these first narrative sections of John's gospel, is depicted as one who embodies the Isaianic voice in the wilderness and who allusively takes up Isaianic prophecies about the Servant as the content of his testimony. Having maintained that his role is to act as the authoritative, divinely ordained, witness proclaiming 'the way of the Lord' (1:23), his testimony about Jesus (1:29–34) stems from what he himself has seen (1:34). Direct revelation from God (1:33) enables him to bear witness to Jesus as 'the Chosen One of God' and as 'the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world'. His testimony thus already anticipates 'the hour' (12:23, 27) and looks ahead to Jesus' death as the supreme event of salvation. For this reason the Baptist, during the initial stages of Jesus' ministry, can only be depicted as claiming to

¹⁰ See further M. Hengel, 'Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese', *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 4 (1989), p. 266.

¹¹ Cf. A. T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lambs' Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2000), p. 62.

¹² For example, the explicit quotation in John 19:36 ('none of his bones shall be broken') appears to combine the wording of a Pentateuchal passage (Exod. 12:10, 46 or Num. 9:12) with a psalm text (137:21 LXX).

¹³ Among those who favour the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ (attested by P^{vid} s⁴ b e ff^s sy^{sc} Amb¹) are C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 2nd edn (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 178; J. Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 255, 257–58, 289.

make straight, not prepare beforehand, the way of the Lord, because the earthly mission of Jesus as the realization of that way has only just begun.

Isaiah 54:13 in John 6:45

The discourse on the bread of life (6:22–59) provides the setting for John's second explicit quotation from Isaiah. Jesus, for the first time, quotes words from scripture in his response to 'the Jews'; their murmuring recalls the reaction of their ancestors in the wilderness (cf. Exod. 16:2, 7–9, 12) and expresses their failure to accept Jesus' claim to be the true bread from heaven (6:41–42). His appeal to scripture in 6:45a intersects his declarations that no one can come to him and be raised by him unless they are drawn by the Father (6:44) and have heard and learned from the Father (6:45b). It is written in the prophets, "And they shall all be taught by God" (καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδασκτοὶ θεοῦ).¹⁴

This quotation from 'the prophets' is both brief and distinctive in terms of its textual form. A number of prophetic passages express the theme of God's eschatological teaching.¹⁴ However, as recently demonstrated,¹⁵ certain arguments lend weight to Isa. 54:13, particularly its LXX rendering, as the single source text in John 6:45: 'And (I shall make) all your sons taught by God' (καὶ πάντας υἱοὺς σου διδάσκειν θεοῦ, with ὅπως understood from 54:12). Although close verbal resemblance in their use of the designation 'taught by God' may not, in isolation, prove conclusively that John 6:45 is indebted to the LXX rather than the Hebrew text of Isa. 54:13 (MT תִּתֶּן יְהוָה), it is strengthened by the fact that both render the divine name as θεός instead of κύριος, the more commonly attested rendering for the tetragrammaton in the LXX. Furthermore, the plural reference in the introductory formula, 'it is written in the prophets', need not indicate that the quotation is drawn from more than one prophetic source (for example, Isa. 54:13 combined with Jer. 31:33–34), but rather that John, in line with several Jewish and early Christian parallels,¹⁶ selects this formula to denote an individual passage in 'the prophets', the second division of the Jewish scriptures (cf. 1:45). The characteristic Johannine practice of using a non-specific citation formula is adopted here instead of mentioning Isaiah by name, because the emphasis is upon the prophetic testimony of scripture in support of Jesus' claims rather than upon the spoken witness of Isaiah in his role as an individual prophet (cf. 1:23, 12:38–41).

Two of John's interpretive modifications to the quotation call for brief comment. First, the introductory words 'they shall be' (ἔσονται) highlight the future orientation of Isa. 54:13 LXX: 'And (I shall make) all your sons taught by God'. This promise, which looks forward to the divine instruction of all the inhabitants of a restored Jerusalem, came to be interpreted in later rabbinic traditions as denoting God himself teaching the Torah in the eschatological future (cf. *Pes. R.* 32:3–4; *Pes. K.* 12:21). Secondly, John compresses 'all your sons' to 'all' (πάντες). This can be plausibly explained in the light of the immediate context in the LXX: 'Behold, proselytes will come to you through me, and will flee to you for protection' (54:15a).¹⁷ The extension of the promise of salvation to proselytes becomes, in John 6:45, a prophecy applicable to all, gentiles as well as Jews, who are open to hearing and learning from God.

Examining the immediate context of Isa. 54:13 LXX exposes textual features that may well have influenced its form in John 6:45, but this should not be isolated from the task of determining the meaning of the quotation in its new setting. The quotation builds upon Jesus' claim that no one can come to him unless drawn (to faith) by the Father (6:44). He then provides a commentary in 6:45b by picking up the word 'all' (πάντες) from the quotation and declaring that everyone (πᾶς) who has heard and learned from the Father comes to him. To be truly 'taught by God' they must come to Jesus, for only he has seen the Father and descended from above (6:46). Thus, the divine teaching foretold by Deutero-Isaiah and eagerly awaited, according to Jewish expectation, in God's teaching of the Torah is, according to John, presently encountered through hearing and believing Jesus, God's authoritative agent from heaven. The line of argumentation developed in 6:44–46 in fact further clarifies the omission of the phrase 'your sons' from Isa. 54:13. In a section of discourse dominated by issues of parentage and origins, Jesus' claim to direct knowledge of God signifies that the designation 'taught by God' applies above all to himself, the unique Son who has received teaching directly from his heavenly Father (cf. 7:16–17; 8:28). This is the claim that Jesus' Jewish audience, without the proper initiative for faith, cannot accept. By alluding to their 'fathers' in the wilderness (6:31) and by focusing on their knowledge of Jesus' human parentage (6:41–42), they cannot see beyond the category of earthly sonship, a category which the inclusion of the Isaianic 'your sons' (of Jerusalem) could also pervert. John's definition of the lineage and descent of believers in terms of their divine rather than physical birth (cf. 1:12–13; 3:3)

¹⁴ Jer. 24:7; Joel 2:27, 29; Hab. 2:14, but particularly Jer. 31:34 (38:34 LXX): 'No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, "Know the Lord", for they shall all know me (ἅπαντες ἐπίγνωσιν με)

¹⁵ Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 71–77; A. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate* (WUNT 2:83; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), pp. 151–67.

¹⁶ For a list, see Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 69–70.

¹⁷ By interpreting the difficult Hebrew clause נָתַן נָא in Isa. 54:15a as derived from נָא I ('to dwell as stranger') rather than נָא II ('to sit up strife'), the LXX introduces ποσὶ πάντων (from the noun πᾶς). See A. T. Hanson, *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SPCK, 1980), pp. 160–61; Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, p. 76; Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift*, pp. 153, 160–61.

means that only those of heavenly origin can, by coming to Jesus and accepting his word, also be truly taught by God.¹⁸

According to John it is in the light of Jesus' identity as the definitive revelation of God that the scriptural prophecy of Isa. 54:13 must be interpreted. The quotation (6:45) is not only to be understood with reference to Jesus' own words (6:44–46), but the promise of a new kind of teaching, whose content is true knowledge of God, is said to find its fulfilment in Jesus. For this reason the interpretative key to this second quotation from Isaiah, like the first (40:3), is an understanding of scripture as testifying on Jesus' behalf.

Isaiah 53:1 and 6:10 in John 12:38–41

John concludes the account of Jesus' public ministry with summary reflections dominated by two explicit quotations from the prophecies of Isaiah (12:37–43), Isa. 53:1 in verse 38 and Isa. 6:10 in verse 40. Both passages were widely known and used as early Christian proof-texts concerning Jewish unbelief (Isa. 53:1 in Rom. 10:16; Isa. 6:9–10 in Matt. 13:14–15; Acts 28:26–27; cf. Mark 4:12; Luke 8:10; Rom. 11:8), but John's unparalleled linking of the two quotations, as well as their textual form and accompanying interpretative comment, demand that they be examined here together.

John assesses the unbelief and rejection encountered by Jesus during his ministry (12:37) as fulfilling the word of the prophet Isaiah: 'Lord, who has believed our message, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?' (12:38). This quotation, which agrees in every respect with its rendering in Isa. 53:1 LXX, highlights two important and closely related themes. First, the reality of unbelief outlined in 12:37, 'they did not believe in him' (οὐκ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν), serves as a fulfilment of Isa. 53:1a, 'who has believed our message?' (τίς ἐπίστευσε). Secondly, this line, together with Isa. 53:1b, provides a summary of the negative response to Jesus' ministry: those who rejected Jesus have failed to see the revelation of 'the arm of the Lord' in his signs. John 12:37–38 therefore emphasizes that most people did not believe in Jesus despite the one aspect of his ministry that was most likely to produce faith, his visible manifestations of power.

As to the identity of the speaker of Isa. 53:1 in its Johannine setting, the most likely contenders are Jesus or Isaiah himself. From the immediate context of these summary reflections it could be claimed that Jesus is envisaged as addressing God about people's lack of belief in him. However, although the use of a quotation formula to mark the fulfilment of a word spoken by Isaiah

does not necessarily mean that the prophet is the speaker of the quotation,¹⁹ in this particular case it cannot be ruled out that Isaiah is the one understood to be addressing 'the Lord' and articulating the presently fulfilled unbelief in the message or report about Jesus. If Jesus is the speaker, God is the 'Lord' (κύριε) addressed at the beginning of the quotation. If Isaiah is the speaker, it may prove unnecessary to choose between God and Jesus as the one addressed by the prophet, particularly in view of the Johannine emphasis on Jesus' oneness with the Father (cf. 10:30; 17:11) and the christological interpretation of Isa. 40:3 established in John 1:23.

The second quotation from Isaiah serves to explain the lack of belief in Jesus: 'And so they could not believe, because Isaiah also said . . . ' (12:39). The source of the quotation is unquestionably Isa. 6:10, but marked differences from all other known versions of this passage have prompted scholars to subject every word of its Johannine rendering to thorough scrutiny.²⁰ As a result, only the most significant interpretative features and their implications need to be outlined here. The distinctive nature of the quotation becomes apparent when John 12:40 is compared with the Hebrew and LXX versions of Isa. 6:10.²¹

John 12:40	Isa 6:10 MT	Isa 6:10 LXX
He has blinded their eyes	Make the heart of this people fat	For the heart of this people has become fat
	and make their ears heavy	and their ears are dull of hearing
and hardened their heart,	and shut their eyes,	and they have closed their eyes,
lest they should see with the eyes	lest they see with their eyes	lest they should see with the eyes
and understand with the heart	and hear with their ears	and hear with the ears
and turn, and I heal them.	and understand with their heart	and understand with the heart
	and turn and be healed.	and turn, and I heal them.

Among the distinguishing features of its rendering in John 12:40 are the absence of the reference to 'this people', the omission of the two lines relating to ears and hearing, and the change in line sequence placing 'eyes' before 'heart'. These differences result, in all probability, from Johannine redactional

¹⁹ The citation formula 'as the prophet Isaiah said' in John 1:23 points to Isaiah as the 'source' of the words now spoken by John the Baptist.

²⁰ C. A. Evans, *In See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6:9–10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation* (JSOT Sup 64, Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), pp. 129–35; R. Schnackenburg, *John 12:39–41: Zur christologischen Schriftauslegung des vierten Evangelisten*, in *Das Johannesevangelium IV*, 2nd edn (Freiburg: Herder, 1990), pp. 145–50; Merken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 99–122; Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift*, pp. 235–55.

²¹ To facilitate a comparison of the three versions of Isa. 6:10, the translations offered here are more literal than those found in the NRSV.

activity,²² particularly in view of the close correspondence between these divergences and the immediate context in which Isa. 6:10 is quoted. With reference to a certain unbelieving group within Judaism, the narrative comment preceding the quotation (12:37) singles out Jesus' signs (seen with the eyes) as the one aspect of his ministry that should, from a Johannine perspective (cf. 2:11, 23; 4:48; 20:31), have resulted in faith (in the heart).²³

The first two lines of the quotation in John 12:40, 'He has blinded (τετύφλωκεν) their eyes and hardened (ἐπαύρωσεν) their heart', also raise questions about the identity of the 'he' responsible for the blindness that leads to unbelief. These opening statements part company with the initial lines of Isa. 6:10 LXX, where the emphasis on the people's heart being fat and on their eyes being closed is described as an already existing condition for which they themselves are responsible (6:9). According to the Hebrew text, the prophet Isaiah is the one instructed by God during his call-vision in the temple to 'Make the heart of this people fat' and to 'shut their eyes'. God brings about this obduracy through the agency of his prophet. And it is this initiative on God's part that is made explicit in the first two lines of the quotation in John 12:40, pointing to the Hebrew text of Isa. 6:10 as their source. Hence, despite attempts at identifying different initiators of this obduracy (the devil, 'the arm of the Lord', Jesus or 'our message'),²⁴ for John, as most scholars agree,²⁵ it is initiated by God. Nevertheless, the unexpected shift to the first person singular in the final line of the quotation, with wording corresponding exactly to the LXX ('and I heal them') rather than to the Hebrew text ('and be healed'), points to Jesus rather than God as its subject. The obduracy brought about by God will mean that those who lack belief cannot turn in order for Jesus, God's representative, to heal them. To support the view that Jesus is understood as the subject ('I') of the last line in Isa. 6:10, even as the speaker of the whole verse, John's immediately subsequent assessment of Isaiah's words must also be taken into account.

In a highly condensed commentary John explains how he is able to interpret the prophet's testimony with reference to Jesus: 'Isaiah said these things because he saw his glory and spoke about him' (12:41). The figure whose glory Isaiah is said to have seen is certainly Jesus, because he is consistently the referent of the pronoun αὐτός in the surrounding narrative comments (12:37.

they did not believe in him'; 12:42: 'many, even of the authorities, believed in him'). It is an interpretation also demanded by the emphasis found elsewhere in the gospel on the impossibility of seeing God other than through Jesus (cf. 1:18; 6:46).

Identifying the 'event' from which the prophet's words originate is not the only purpose of John 12:41; there are indications, as will be shown, that its aim is to provide a succinct estimation of the significance of Isaiah's vision.²⁶ The wording of 12:41 does, however, suggest a specific setting for the reference to Isaiah having seen 'his glory' (δόξα). This must be the prophet's temple vision (Isa. 6:1–13) which forms the broader context of the preceding quotation (6:10). The Hebrew text notes that Isaiah sees the Lord (יְהוָה) and hears the seraphim confirm that 'the whole earth is full of his glory' (6:3). The LXX version of Isa. 6:1 goes further by specifying that it is God's glory rather than the hem of his robe that fills the temple: 'I saw the Lord (κύριος) sitting upon a throne, exalted and lifted up; and the house was full of his glory (δόξα)'. And although John's acquaintance with targumic interpretations must remain a matter of conjecture, it is noteworthy that 'glory' features even more prominently in the Targum of Isaiah, where the prophet is said to see 'the glory of the Lord resting upon a throne' (6:1), 'the glory of the Shekinah of the eternal king, the Lord of hosts' (6:5). If Isa. 6:1–13, especially the LXX version, has influenced John's assertion that 'Isaiah saw his (Jesus') glory', it follows that Jesus is being identified as the embodiment of God's glory, the visible manifestation of his presence. He also becomes the bearer of the name κύριος,²⁷ as already testified by the Baptist at the beginning of the gospel narrative and implied by the christological application of Isa. 53:1 in the immediate context of John 12:41. Jesus appears to the prophet and converses with him, declaring that God ('he' of Isa. 6:10) has caused the spiritual blindness and hardness of heart of those who cannot be healed by Jesus ('I' of Isa. 6:10).

Jewish precedents for making God's glory the object of Isaiah's vision would undoubtedly have paved the way for the interpretation of Jesus as the embodiment of that glory. The consciousness of John's comment ('because he saw his glory', ὅτι εἶδεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) has, however, prompted much speculation as to which aspect of Jesus' glory John believed the prophet to have seen. The widely accepted view that Isaiah is understood to have encountered his pre-existent glory certainly accords with the pre-existence Christology expressed elsewhere in the gospel (cf. 1:1; 17:5, 24). John's appeal

²² Schnackenburg, *Joh 12:39–41*, pp. 143–50; Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 99–122.

²³ Menken, *Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 106–08.

²⁴ On the various proposals see J. Painter, 'The Quotation of Scripture and Unbelief in John 12:36–43', in C.A. Evans and W.R. Stegert, eds., *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel* (SNTS sup 104; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 432–58.

²⁵ See R. Käshagen, *17. Jüdische Kritik und Heil* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 76; Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1990), pp. 188–92; Schnackenburg, *Joh 12:39–41*, pp. 146–49. No new subject (such as the devil) is suggested by the immediate context of 12:37–41, and John presents the prophet either as reporting ('Isaiah said') the activity of another figure ('he') or as recounting what is said about this figure by yet another speaker ('I').

²⁶ The textual variant ὅτε ('when') focuses on the occasion of Isaiah's vision, whereas ὅτι ('because') can also point to the consequences of the prophet's temple vision.

²⁷ Isaiah 6 LXX uses κύριος to translate 'the Lord' (יְהוָה, vv. 1, 8, 11) and 'the Lord of hosts' (יְהוָה מַלְאָכָיו, v. 3). The only exception is in v. 12, where יְהוָה is rendered as θεός. According to Menken (*Old Testament Quotations*, pp. 119–20), this variation may have prompted John to distinguish between 'the Lord' (Jesus) who converses with the prophet, and 'God' of whom the Lord speaks in the third person singular (v. 12). This would also accord with the distinction already established in John 12:40 between God ('he') and Jesus ('I').

to the temple vision would then imply that, since a direct vision of God is impossible, the pre-existent Jesus is the glorious figure whom Isaiah saw seated upon the throne.

There are nevertheless sound arguments for explaining the remark 'he saw his glory' in terms of Isaiah's vision of the glory of the earthly Jesus. Isaiah was already understood in the first-century Jewish context as a visionary prophet and foreseer of the future. Writing in the second century BCE, Ben Sira (48:24–25, Hebrew Ms B) describes the prophet Isaiah as follows: 'By a spirit of strength he saw the future and comforted the mourners of Zion. He declared what shall be until eternity and hidden things before they come to pass.' The influence of several Isaiatic passages can be detected in these lines.²⁸ The statement about Isaiah seeing the future relates, as indicated by the next clause, to his prophecies about the exiles' return to Zion (40:1, 41:22–23, 52:9, 61:2–3); he is also said to declare 'what shall be until eternity', whereas 'hidden things' (τὰ κρυπτά) suggests the revelation of divine secrets. An important parallel is found also in Jesus' claim about Abraham in John 8:56 ('Your ancestor Abraham rejoiced that he would see my day; he saw it and was glad', καὶ εὐφρανέσθαι ἐξ ἡμέρας), to be understood in the context of a variety of Jewish traditions based on Genesis 15 in which the patriarch is said to have been granted visions of the future and the end times.²⁹

The overall status and function of John 12:41 also suggest that belief in Jesus pre-existent glory is presupposed at this juncture, but that the remark 'he saw his glory' refers primarily to the manifestation of the divine glory in the earthly Jesus, as seen ahead of time by the prophet Isaiah in his temple vision. The interpretative function of this verse is to act as an explanatory comment in a narrative unit which focuses retrospectively on the negative response to Jesus' earthly ministry (12:37–43). The first part of the unit is held together by its three references to Isaiah which, on the third occasion (12:41a), enlarges upon the preceding two references to the words of Isaiah (12:38, 39) for the purpose of introducing John's assessment of these words with reference to the earthly Jesus.³⁰ The clause 'Isaiah said these things' (ταῦτα εἶπεν) need not, in this respect, relate solely to the quotation drawn from Isa. 6:10, but can embrace both quotations.³¹ John's christological application in 12:41 can then be explained as follows: the prophetic testimony presented by Isaiah (53:1,

6:10) reflects his vision of Jesus' earthly glory (12:41b: 'because he saw his glory'), which enabled him to speak as he did about Jesus' earthly mission and to predict the unbelief that Jesus would encounter during his earthly life (12:41c: 'and he spoke about him').

Interpreting 12:41 in relation to the narrative unit of 12:37–43 also suggests that John sets up a contrast between Isaiah, who saw the glory of the earthly Jesus, and those who, despite seeing the signs, failed to see his glory (12:37–38; cf. 2:11; 11:4, 40) because of the blinding of their eyes and the hardening of their heart (12:39–40).³² While Jesus' divine glory remained hidden from those who could not see (cf. 9:39–41), Isaiah possessed the kind of sight, not only physical but spiritual, that enabled him to recognize Jesus' true identity (cf. 1:14; 8:56). Therefore, in contrast to the failure of believing Jewish authorities to disclose their belief in Jesus because of their fear of the Pharisees and their preference for human glory rather than 'the glory that comes from God' (12:42–43; cf. 5:44), Isaiah, as a result of his temple vision, recognized Jesus as the embodiment of God's glory.

If the explanatory comment in 12:41 reflects knowledge of the broader setting of Isa. 6:10, is there any evidence that the context of Isa. 53:1 is also taken into account? In Deutero-Isaiah this verse forms a bridge between the proclamation of the humiliation and exaltation of the Servant (52:13–15) and the main part of the song (53:2–12). In John 12:38 the immediate function of Isa. 53:1 is to offer scriptural proof for the lack of belief in Jesus, while Isa. 6:10 provides an explanation of that unbelief. Nevertheless, the unparalleled juxtaposition of these quotations, together with their accompanying christological commentary (12:41), have prompted some to propose that Isa. 6:10 and 53:1 were intentionally linked together, either by John or at a stage prior to the gospel's composition, because of verbal and thematic links in their wider context.³³ The combination of the two would then result from the application of the Jewish exegetical rule of *gezerah shawah*: different passages in which the same words occur, usually in a distinctive pattern, are used to explain each other. In this particular case close verbal similarities, otherwise rarely attested in scripture, can be identified between the opening verses of Isaiah's temple vision (6:1–13) and the fourth Servant song (52:13–53:12):

Isa. 6:1 MT: I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, exalted and lifted up (שָׂרָא וְנִשְׂבָּח); and the hem of his robe filled the temple.

Isa. 52:13 MT: Behold, my servant shall prosper; he shall be exalted and lifted up (שָׂרָא וְנִשְׂבָּח) and shall be very high.

²⁸ Cf. P. van Bockel, 'Die prä-existente Doxa Jesu im Johannesevangelium', *Bijdragen* 34 (1973), pp. 272–73.

²⁹ This has most recently been formulated by R. Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), pp. 49–51. See also C. A. Evans, 'Obduracy and the Lord's Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel', in C. A. Evans and W. E. Stegmann, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), pp. 230–32.

³⁰ See M. A. Knibb, 'Isaiatic Traditions in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', in C. C. Boyles & C. A. Evans, eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 649.

³¹ 4 Esra 3:14: 'To him [Abraham] only you revealed the end of the times, secretly by night'; cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 9:6, 9; 2 Bar 4:4; *LAB* 18:5, 23:6; *Targ. Isa.* 43:12.

³² This secures close continuity between the use of *arabos* to denote the earthly Jesus in the surrounding narrative comments (12:37: 'they did not believe in him' (ἐἰς αὐτόν); 12:42: 'many even of the about him' (περὶ αὐτοῦ)).

³³ *Targum* can evidently be used by John with reference to an earlier single statement (e.g., 9:22, 40), but it is more commonly used to denote a series of preceding statements (e.g., 6:59, 8:30, 13:21, 14:25).

By reading these two statements as interdependent passages, so that the depiction of the Lord sitting on a throne is understood with reference to the Servant,³⁴ John, it is claimed, would have been able to interpret Isaiah's vision as a revelation of Jesus, exalted Lord and Servant. In other words, Isaiah saw Jesus, the Servant, as the embodiment of God's glory ('he saw his glory') and, as a result, spoke about him.

If an interdependent reading of this kind does underpin the juxtaposition of Isa. 53:1 and 6:10 in John 12:38–41, its underlying exegetical pattern has been so thoroughly absorbed that it cannot, in isolation, provide firm support that the summary reflections in John 12:37–43 betray awareness of the wider setting of Isa. 53:1. These reflections do, however, occur towards the end of a chapter in which several of its distinctive motifs resemble those found in the Deutero-Isaianic passage about the humiliation and exaltation of the Servant, the passage which immediately precedes Isa. 53:1.³⁵

In Isaiah 52 the description of the Lord's return as king to a restored Jerusalem is swiftly followed by the announcement of the suffering and future exaltation of the Servant and of the reaction of many nations (52:13–15), while John's account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem leads to a narrative about the approach of certain Greeks and to Jesus' responding discourse (12:20–36).³⁶ The distinctive Johannine motif of 'seeing' is given concrete expression in the request of the Greeks to Philip, 'Sir, we wish to see (θεῖν) Jesus' (12:21) and prepares for Jesus' statement that all (πάντας) will be drawn to him when he is lifted up from the earth (12:32). This possesses an interesting parallel in Isa. 52:15 LXX,³⁷ which, more explicitly than the Hebrew text, links the message about the Servant to the response of many nations: their reaction to him will be one of wonder, because they, who have not been told about the Servant, shall see (ὄψονται), and they, who have previously not heard, shall understand.

The request of the Greeks to see Jesus prompts him to announce, 'The hour has come for the Son of man to be glorified (δοξασθῆναι)' (12:23; cf. 12:28), later followed by his declaration, 'And I, when I am lifted up (ὑψωθῶ) from the earth, will draw all people to myself' (12:32; cf. 12:34). If John 12:21 and Isa. 52:15 LXX share a similar motif rather than an exact linguistic parallel, the language of exaltation (lifting up) and glorification in Jesus' speech recalls Isa

52:13 LXX, where both verbs are already combined to express God's promise, 'Behold my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted and glorified greatly' (καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα). The future (passive) forms of both verbs, as well as the reference to the future 'seeing' of the nations (52:15 LXX), mean that these statements could be interpreted by John as predictions finding their eschatological fulfilment in Jesus. The discourse, moreover, confirms that this vocabulary is applied to Jesus' approaching death: his first declaration about glorification leads to the saying about a seed which must die to bear fruit (12:23–24), and the ambiguity surrounding earlier references to Jesus being 'lifted up' or exalted (3:14; 8:28) is removed on this third occasion by the narrative comment, 'He said this to indicate the kind of death he was to die' (12:32–33). John thus combines Jesus' physical lifting-up on the cross with its interpretation as the moment of his exaltation. Where Isaiah speaks of the future exaltation and glorification of the Servant (52:13) before giving an account of his humiliation and death (52:14–53:12), John interprets the exaltation and glorification of Jesus as evident in, rather than following, his humiliation and death: Jesus' death, for John, is the supreme disclosure of his divine glory.

Declarations phrased in language strikingly reminiscent of the exaltation and glorification of the Servant therefore figure prominently in Jesus' final speech before he hides from the crowds and concludes his public ministry (12:36). This leads, through explicit citation of the words of Isaiah, to John's reflections on unbelief as the dominant response to Jesus' ministry. In contrast to those, as foretold by Isaiah, whose eyes were blinded and could not see, the prophet could speak about Jesus in the way that he did because, in his vision, he saw the glory that Jesus would reveal on earth. John's concisely worded remark that Isaiah 'saw his glory' is not, in this respect, directed at one particular aspect of Jesus' earthly mission, such as the signs that should have resulted in faith (12:37), but neither is it isolated from the events that follow his public ministry. The climactic manifestation of divine glory in Jesus' death has already been announced with the aid of language drawn from the prophecies of Isaiah (12:23–32), while the summary reflections offered by John (12:37–43) are themselves an anticipation of the events of 'the hour'. The rejection and crucifixion of Jesus are an expression, indeed the inevitable outcome, of the unbelief and obduracy of which Isaiah has spoken.

Concluding Remarks

In a gospel that clearly favours allusive reference to scripture over an extensive collection of quotations, the four Isaianic passages selected for citation by John do provide some valuable clues about the reception of Isaiah in John's gospel. The fact that three of the four quotations had already acquired prominence in early Christian tradition may have initially dictated their inclusion in the gospel, but each one has been subjected to thorough Johannine interpretation,

³⁴ LXX Isaiah also contains similar correspondences between the two verses: ὡπνῶδες and δοξάω (52:13).

³⁵ See, for example, H. W. Volff, *Isaia 53 in Urtext und Übersetzung*, 3rd edn (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1952), pp. 83–85; J. Beutler, 'Greeks Come to See Jesus (John 12:20)', *Bib 71* (1990), pp. 333–47; C. A. Evans, 'Obduracy and the Lord's Servant', pp. 22–36, proposes that John 12 can, in part, be defined as a midrash on Isa. 52:7–53:12.

³⁶ Identifying the Greeks of John 12:20–21 as gentiles is forcefully argued by J. Frey, 'Hellenen – Gotteskinder: Zu Gestalt und Funktion der Rede von den Hellen im 4. Evangelium', in R. Feldmeier and U. Heckel, eds., *Die Hellen: Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden* (WUNT 170; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), pp. 249–64.

³⁷ Beutler, 'Greeks Come to See Jesus', pp. 341–46.

particularly so in the light of the gospel's christological concerns. By drawing primarily, but not exclusively, on the LXX version of Isaiah, the four quotations have been woven into their new contexts in a variety of ways: through interpretive modifications to the wording of their source text and with the aid of citation formulae and explanatory comments on their content. The quotations from Isaiah at the two ends of Jesus' public ministry also bring to the surface what amounts, in their broader context, to christological reflection on other passages from the prophecies of Isaiah, particularly through allusive reference to the Isaianic Servant.

The widespread recognition among Jewish and early Christian writers of the significance of the future-orientated perspective attested in the prophecies of Isaiah is one also shared by John. The language of fulfilment is applied for the first time in the gospel to interpret Isaiah's prophetic word about unbelief as fulfilled in the negative response to Jesus' ministry (12:38), although this language is already implicit in the interpretation of 'the way of the Lord' as realized in Jesus (1:23) and in the understanding of Isaiah's promise of God's teaching as presently encountered through belief in Jesus, the only one to have seen the Father (6:45). The distinctively Johannine contribution to the theme of eschatological fulfilment, one which shapes John's reading of Isaiah, is the christological emphasis on Jesus' identity as the visible manifestation of God. Isaiah was able to speak as he did about Jesus because his vision of glory in the temple was a vision of Jesus as the embodiment of God's glory.

John's account of Jesus' public ministry begins and ends with quotations from Isaiah, and it is his spoken prophecy, rather than what is written in 'scripture', that is evoked at these key points in the narrative. As the prophet who speaks and, in 12:41, as the visionary who sees, Isaiah is presented as a very particular example of how the scriptures bear witness to Jesus (cf. 1:45, 5:39). Isaiah's words give authority and content to the testimony of John the Baptist who, like the prophet, can carry out his role as a witness to Jesus because he is the recipient of divine communication (1:32–34, 12:41). Isaiah's spoken testimony therefore receives particular focus when the emphasis lies on what he, as an individual prophet, has seen. That Isaiah saw 'his glory' belongs to the christological core of John's gospel (cf. 1:14) and places the prophet firmly within the chain of witnesses to Jesus' true identity and the significance of his earthly mission.

Chapter 7

Isaiah in Romans and Galatians

J. Ross Wagner

Isaiah in Romans

Among the Pauline letters, Romans contains by far the most quotations of and allusions to Isaiah. In addition to fifteen marked citations,¹ there are perhaps a dozen additional allusions to Isaiah.² Not only are Isaiah's words cited more often than those of any other scriptural book,³ but Isaiah himself appears as a named speaker five times.⁴

Isaiah is by no means the only scriptural voice heard in Romans, however.⁵ Isaianic material frequently appears in Romans conflated with other texts or situated among clusters of scriptural citations. As Isaiah's distinctive voice joins with a whole chorus of scriptural witnesses, it is the cumulative weight of their testimony that undergirds Paul's argument. Paul's rhetorical strategy⁶ points to an underlying hermeneutical strategy as well. By reading Isaiah in conjunction

¹ That is, 'marked' by a citation formula or otherwise clearly set off from the surrounding context: Rom. 2:24 = Isa. 52:5; Rom. 3:15–17 = Isa. 59:7–8; Rom. 9:27–28 = Isa. 10:22–23, 28:22; Rom. 9:29 = Isa. 1:9; Rom. 9:33 = Isa. 28:26/8:14; Rom. 10:11 = Isa. 28:16; Rom. 10:15 = Isa. 52:7; Rom. 10:16 = Isa. 53:1; Rom. 10:20 = Isa. 65:1; Rom. 10:21 = Isa. 65:2; Rom. 11:8 = Isa. 29:10/Deut. 29:3; Rom. 11:26–27 = Isa. 59:20–21/27:9; Rom. 14:11 = Isa. 45:23; Rom. 15:12 = Isa. 11:10; Rom. 15:21 = Isa. 52:15. Marked citations of Isaiah in the other undisputed letters number as follows: 1 Corinthians three; 2 Corinthians two; Galatians one.

² The criteria for determining allusions are more imprecise: see Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale, 1989), pp. 29–32; Florian Wilk's careful investigation, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 445–46 identifies the following allusions, some of which are more plausible than others: Rom. 4:25 = Isa. 53:12; Rom. 8:32 = Isa. 53:6; Rom. 8:33–34 = Isa. 50:8–9; Rom. 9:6 = Isa. 40:7–8; Rom. 9:20 = Isa. 29:16/45:9; Rom. 9:30 = Isa. 59:9; Rom. 9:30–31 = Isa. 51:1; Rom. 10:19 = Isa. 1:3; Rom. 11:26a = Isa. 45:17; Rom. 11:34 = Isa. 40:13; Rom. 13:11 = Isa. 56:1; Rom. 14:21 = Isa. 22:13. The only other book that comes close to this total is Psalms, with twelve citations. Cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* (BHT 69, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), pp. 21–24; Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (SNTSMS 74, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 83–184. On Paul's use of Psalms in Romans, see Sylva C. Keesmaat, 'The Psalms in Romans and Galatians', in Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken, eds., *The Psalms in the New Testament* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), pp. 139–61.

³ Rom. 9:27–28; 9:29; 10:16; 10:20–21; 15:12.

⁴ Apart from Isaiah, Stanley counts 30 marked citations of Israel's scriptures in Romans: *Language*, pp. 83–184. The margins of N^{AS} suggest numerous possible allusions.

⁵ See Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004).